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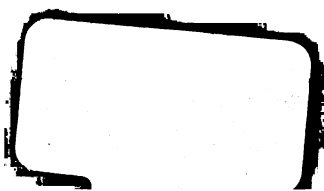
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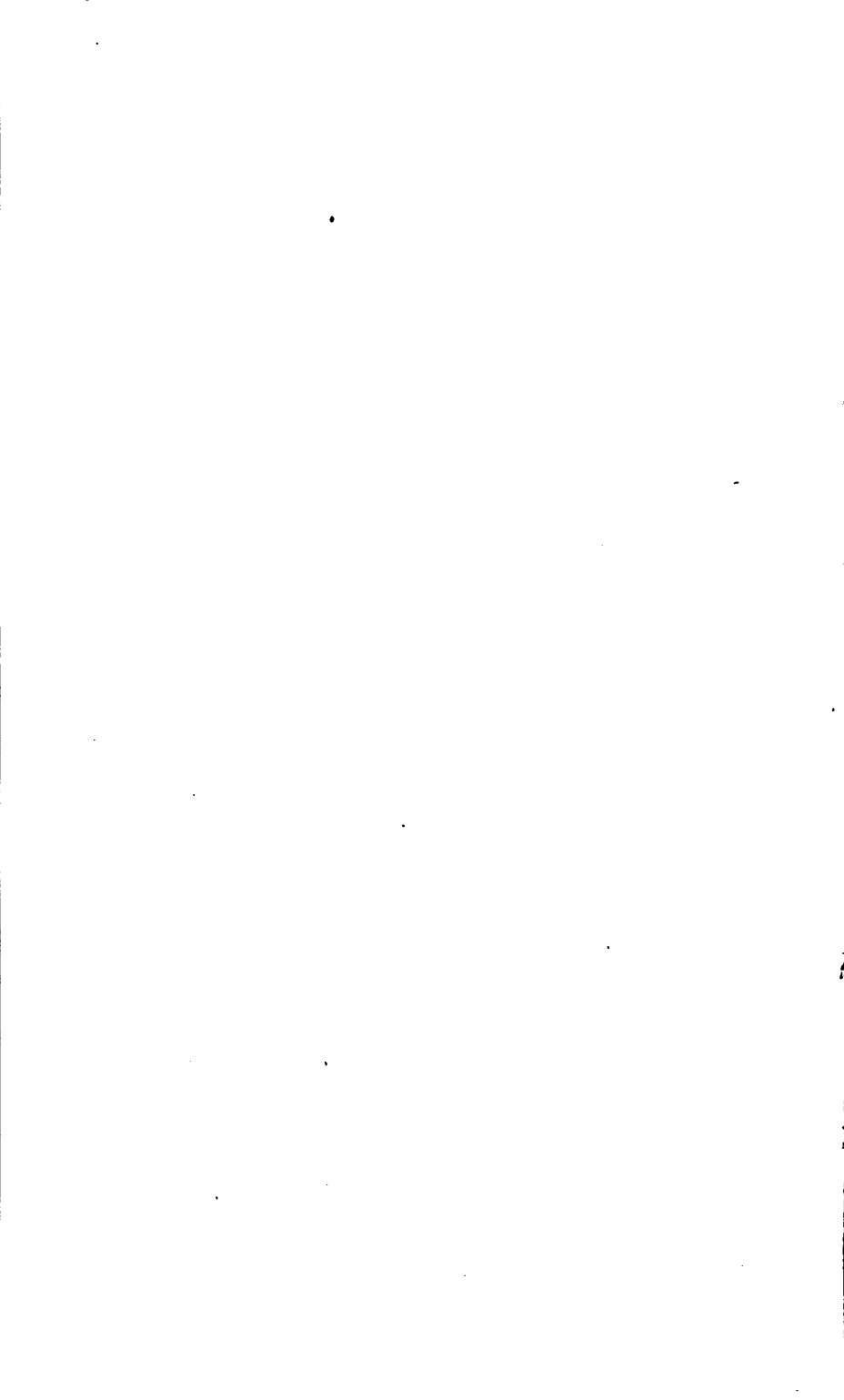












THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
SACRED LITERATURE  
AND  
BIBLICAL RECORD.

EDITED BY  
B. HARRIS COWPER;

EDITOR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK FROM CODEX A; A SYRIAC GRAMMAR, ETC.

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VOL. IV. (NEW SERIES).

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WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,  
14 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;  
20 SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1864.



17682.

LONDON:

MITCHELL AND HUGHES, PRINTERS,  
WARDOUR STREET, W.

NOY WEB  
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THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
SACRED LITERATURE  
AND  
BIBLICAL RECORD.

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No. VII.—OCTOBER, 1863.  
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**ON CURRENT METHODS OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM.**

It was long ago foreseen that the "battle of the evidences" would have to be fought over again. Arguments which used to be accounted irrefragable fell into contempt one after another. New discoveries, which seemed incidentally and powerfully to confirm our implicit faith in the whole Bible, were explained away. Objections to the inspiration and authenticity, the genuineness and credibility of the sacred books, were started in unexpected quarters. Men began to reason about words and phrases such as "inspiration" and the "Word of God," and to make applications of them which were as ingenious as they were novel, and as specious as they were hollow. Critics began more and more to honour and to use human science and the deductions of reason. Faith was no longer the condition and qualification for criticism, nor the special work of the Holy Ghost any longer needful in order to sound exegesis. "The divinity that dwells within us," in saints and sinners alike, and as much in doubters as believers; the natural religious consciousness, and the well-informed and disciplined intellect of us all, were accounted quite sufficient in religion. To a great extent religious truths were transferred to the same domain as ethics, and placed in the same position; and the Bible was removed into the sphere of ordinary literature. These things seldom met in one man; and assuredly were not the work of one man, but of

many. Nevertheless they came to pass, and many distinguished for scientific attainments, for research and learning, and for thought, became identified with the new school. Upon these, the old apologetics were powerless, and they and their disciples, like the leviathan of Job, "counted darts as stubble, and laughed at the shaking of a spear." New weapons of attack and defence had to be invented, and this required time. It was, moreover, difficult to awaken men to a sense of the importance of the movement which had set in, and when awakened, difficult to train them to the new tactics. Criticism had to be met by criticism, learning by learning, science by science, and thought by thought. Meanwhile, there were frequent defections from the old ranks, and the apparent truth of not a few of the new principles dismayed, if it did not convince, some who were set for the defence of the faith. Hence it was not surprising that the Church itself began to give evidence that its ministers were not all free from the new leaven. Polemics were of course incessant, but it was rather a guerilla warfare than a general engagement, although it was felt that it must come to that at last. Men felt that they were in a transition state, that great events were impending, and that though the victory must be on the side of God and truth, the struggle must be followed by some marked changes.

The dispute is not only not yet terminated, but it is more earnest than ever, and enlists a larger number. Earnest souls do not altogether regret this, and men of candid and honest minds, real lovers of truth, wish the questions in debate to be determined in favour of the truth they honour. What perplexes and embarrasses not a few at the present time is the character of some who espouse the new principles. Among them are men who proclaim aloud their love to God and man, their reverence for all that is high, holy, and divine, and their zeal for the Gospel. Nor can it be said that these, however we may think them wrong, do not live up to their professions. So far as we can judge, their personal characters are without a stain both as men and as disciples of Christ. They reject, sternly and uncompromisingly, much that others accept and love; but more than this we cannot say. We can accuse them of no dishonesty or hypocrisy; we must allow them to be frank and sincere. We cannot charge them with indifference, idleness, timidity, want of ability, learning, or skill. Nothing of the sort. Some of them are men of well-stored and well-disciplined minds, laborious and painstaking in their investigations, lucid and popular in their modes of thought and of expression. Yet we believe them wrong, greatly and grievously wrong, and that as well in many weightier as in many lesser matters. They seem to us to be in

the wrong track, and to be expending their lives and energies in the construction of a system which involves a large amount of error as well as of truth. It is not always hard to discover reasons for this aberration from the right, and for this adhesion to what is wrong. Very often it is traceable to the apprehension of some commonly overlooked fact, an undue conceit of the importance of such fact, and a hasty and too general inference from it. There are unquestionably facts in the domain of Biblical criticism for which no allowance is made in the phraseology which men are wont to employ. A love of brevity, the captivating form and sound of an expression, a disposition to exalt the Bible as far as language can exalt it, and attachment to long accepted formulas, combine to produce the result alluded to. Thus, "the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures," "the Bible is the Word of God," "the words of inspiration," "the impossibility of all error in the Bible," and many others, are phrases capables of concealing or excluding facts, and so far capable of concealing and excluding the truth.

God is assuredly not served by the concealment and exclusion of the truth. What does not serve Him, is no service to religion. What neither serves God nor religion, can hardly serve the Church, or man at large. Let us then be honest and fearless, and call the Bible what it is, not ignoring or overlooking the facts which that Bible embodies, the phenomena which it reveals. Let us ask what we mean, what we exclude, and what we include, by such expressions as those above quoted.

What is plenary inspiration? is a question which has been answered in many different ways. "Plenary inspiration" is made to cover all theories of inspiration, from that of mere prompting and superintending a writer, to the dictation of every word and the form of every word that is written.

What do we mean when we say, "The Bible is the Word of God?" Is it that the Holy Spirit in a manner uttered every word of it, and so uttered every word that it is his own? That this is true of many portions of the Scriptures is affirmed in those Scriptures, but why is it affirmed of special parts if it is true of the whole? May there not be an important sense in which the canonical Scriptures are not absolutely the Word of God? Take the Book of Job, or that of Ecclesiastes, and it is plain that opinions and statements are often there alongside of contradictory opinions and statements. We may even go further, and say that there are many things reported in the Bible which are neither true nor good, and which are nevertheless allowed to stand without correction or caution. What is the sense in which these things are the Word of God? Accurate

conceptions of the nature of inspiration can alone lead to a proper explanation of these phenomena.

What do we mean when we speak of the "words of inspiration?" Is it that the Holy Ghost in a manner dictated each individual word to the writers of the several books? If so, how account for some things already mentioned, and how explain the mental and moral peculiarities which the writers transferred to their pages? What under ordinary circumstances would be traced to the age, country, rank, calling, learning, training, disposition, habits of a writer, are all there. The very language is redolent with the peculiarities of a province or of a period, or of political influences. Over and above all this, comparative, textual, or verbal criticism tells us of apparent omissions, redundancies, and variations, multitudes of which come under the general designation of various readings. To deny these things is impossible; and in the face of a keen and active censorship, it is also impossible to say of this or of that recension of the text that it is *the Word of God*. Even on the principle of literal and verbal inspiration, no man can say of any copy of the Bible in existence that it is "the Word of God." It is only in a vague and general sense that this expression can properly be used, and it is only in such a sense that it has been used by many of the wisest and holiest of men. We have the profoundest conviction that it is right and proper to describe the Bible as the inspired *volume*, and that many things in it are indeed the *words* of inspiration, because they are the words which "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." But are we required to abandon the distinctions which used to be drawn by orthodox writers? If we are asked to believe in but one kind of inspiration, and to place every passage we find in the Bible upon the same level, a wrong is done to us. In a general sense the whole of the sacred text is the word of inspiration, but this is not true of every part in the same measure and degree. Distinctions may and must be drawn, or the consequence will be favourable to those whose principles tend to the denial of all real and true inspiration in the sense in which Christians have generally understood the word. To illustrate our idea, we will quote a brief article in the common editions of Calmet's *Dictionary*. We are there told: "Inspiration in the highest sense is the immediate communication of knowledge to the human mind by the Spirit of God; but it is commonly used by divines in a less strict and proper sense, to denote such a degree of divine influence, assistance, or guidance, as enabled the authors of the Scriptures to communicate knowledge to others, without error or mistake, whether the subjects of such

communications were things then immediately revealed to those who declared them, or things with which they were before acquainted. Hence it is usually divided into three kinds,—revelation, suggestion, and superintendence.”

The preceding extract will answer our purpose better than anything written under the influence of recent controversies, and it will very well introduce what we have to say of another common utterance, mentioned above: “The impossibility of all error in the Bible.” This cannot be true of the text as it now exists. For although the various readings which are known seldom relate to the solitary affirmations of any doctrine, they do sometimes involve the only statements we have of certain facts. Thus it may be undecided whether St. Paul wrote “God was manifested in the flesh,” or “Who was manifested in the flesh,” without affecting any doctrine, because St. John is acknowledged to have written “The Word was God,—and the Word became flesh.” The divine incarnation would still be asserted, even though it should be proved that St. Paul wrote “Who was manifested in the flesh.” But it is not so with every fact. For instance; did St. John, in his Gospel, chap. i., ver. 28, write that certain transactions occurred in Bethabara or in Bethany? Did the same evangelist write or not write the history of the adulteress in the beginning of his eighth chapter? The historical books of the Old Testament, and particularly the books of Chronicles as compared with Kings, exhibit a large number of discrepancies. We cannot deny these things; they are self-evident. Hence we are compelled to admit that many errors have crept into existing copies of the Scriptures. The question then is, whether the sacred penmen themselves were the authors of any of these errors? When two or more wrote separate accounts of the same transactions, did they contradict each other? Differ they might, as all will allow, in their wording of facts, and in the selection of facts, but did they irreconcilably differ from each other? To this enquiry two answers are given; that they did, and that they did not. That they did is asserted on the ground of the uniformity of reading in all codices now extant. That they did not, is affirmed on the ground that there are some various renderings by which contradictions are harmonized, that other discrepancies can be reasonably reconciled, and that from the nature of the case inspired writers must have told the truth. We do not expect, and we do not find that such reasons satisfy every one, but we think they are worthy of serious consideration, and if they do not account for all differences they account for some. It may be alleged, too, that the actual amount of the asserted contradictions is diminished by the fact, that



after all we do not know the basis of every calculation, and the grounds of every statement found in the Bible. Before we announce a contradiction, we must be in a position to say that a contradiction exists. Some writers, and even some of recent date, have often failed to distinguish between different statements, and contradictory statements. In their zeal to establish contradictions they have neglected the use of proper precautions, and have seemed more anxious to discredit the Scriptural narratives, than to ascertain what they really teach. This is an inference for which they are justly blamed.

But the idea of the absolute freedom of the Bible from all error involves another class of considerations. We have already glanced at this, but we must refer to it again. The Scripture writers were often only the reporters of what other men said or wrote. Now are we to believe that all whose sayings are recorded in the Bible were inspired to utter the speeches which are reported, or were at least preserved from error in them? By no means; we might as well be required to believe that all the actions reported were good and right. The Bible confessedly records many wrong and immoral actions; and we may concede that it reports many sayings which were erroneous. It is possible that some of the recorded expressions of good men were improper and erroneous. Not only is it possible, is it not a fact? We come then to this, that the inspired writers are only to be held responsible for the truth of what they themselves allege, and for the accuracy of their reports in all other cases. Since this is the case, critics and expositors ought to discriminate between what fairly belongs to the writers, and what in equal fairness belongs to others. We may be told that this is no easy task, and we admit it; but at the same time we think it is more extensively feasible than some seem to imagine,—more so than most suppose, if we may judge from the little that is even attempted in regard to it.

The evils which follow from the neglect of the principle to which we have now called attention appear in all classes of writers. A devout believer in the utter absence of error from the pages of the Bible often quotes as divine revelation what is nothing of the kind, or bases arguments upon words which carry no evidence, or is perplexed by statements which he cannot reconcile with others, or with his conscience. It cannot be said that such a man rightly divides the words of truth, and it is very clear that he may not seldom be harassed or silenced by acute objectors. A critic of the rational school is equally liable to blunder here. Many will remember that one of the writers in a celebrated volume of essays fell into a mistake of this kind. He referred

to a passage in Amos (vii. 11), in which we read "Jeroboam shall die by the sword;" and objected that this was a prophecy which was never fulfilled. The true explanation would have been that it was a prophecy which Amos never uttered: it forms part of an accusation which Amaziah, priest of Bethel, brought against Amos. We should rather believe that an idolatrous priest told a falsehood, than that a true prophet uttered a false prediction. There is not the shadow of proof that Amos predicted the violent death of Jeroboam, beyond the bare assertion of a malicious apostate priest. No discriminating critic could adduce passages of this kind as evidence that there are errors in the Bible which its writers are responsible for.

We cannot yet leave this argument. Other classes of texts require attention. One consists of passages in which the current and popular phraseology is adopted; another consists of passages in which hyperbolical and figurative epithets and phrases are employed; and a third comprises passages which may involve additions by writers of a later date. Let us look a little at each of these in view of this question of the freedom of the Bible from error.

There are statements in the Bible which are not correctly worded according to the dictates of modern science. The penmen employed the words and phrases with which they were familiar, and which were usual in the times wherein they lived. This course, in our judgment, was natural, prudent, and necessary. Language was not invented by the inspired writers, and they, therefore, naturally used it as they found it. It would be preposterous to expect anything else, and the fact has nothing in it to implicate their inspiration, for the Almighty never designed one of them to be a Euclid, an Archimedes, an Aristotle, a Hippocrates, or a Galen.

The use of common language was moreover prudent, because a strange form of speech would have been obscure, and would have diverted men's minds from the very things which were to be taught: it might possibly have required the addition of a glossary. Scientific truths have had to win their own way into the world, as well as in it, and it is sufficient if the Bible does not formally contradict them. Perhaps we shall be told it does formally contradict them sometimes, as when it calls the hare a ruminant. If it calls the hare a ruminant, and if the hare does not ruminate, the Bible does no doubt err in at least one matter of science. Inasmuch, however, as there are two *ifs* in the case, we presume it would not be wise for the present to lay much stress upon it. We suspect, and we hope we shall not be blamed for the concession, that there are interspersed among the Mosaic

laws, especially, precepts which yield something to the opinions as well as to the language of those times. It is not easy for us to understand how *a house* could be infected with real leprosy; but see Lev. xiv. 33, etc.

We have said that the use of popular forms of speech was necessary. The infusion of scientific ideas into common words is a slow process, and so is the formation of scientific terms, and their general adoption. All who are acquainted with Hebrew manners know that philosophical and scientific pursuits did not much prevail at any time among the ancient Jews. If they did little in art, they did less in abstract science. At most, all their terms for abstract ideas are borrowed from hard material conceptions, and very many of their technical terms of all sorts are mere accommodations,—substitutes for better. Words, then, and etymologies will do very little to demonstrate the erroneous conceptions of writers who used the only words they had. After all we can no more expect in the sacred penmen perfect immunity from the influence of popular opinions, than we can expect them to be free from the influences of natural scenery, local associations, or passing events. Surely we may say that, if there be one thing more wonderful than any other in the Bible rightly viewed, it is its marvellous agreements with the conclusions of experimental science. Here the Bible stands alone on a proud pre-eminence. This is a fact which has often been insisted upon, and it has served as a basis for the comparison of our sacred books with all the books accounted sacred elsewhere. The *Koran* of Mohammed, the writings of Indian scribes, and those of Buddhist sages, have many times figured in this enumeration. Some have gone further, and, beginning with the Apocrypha, have passed on to the Rabbinical books, have examined the genuine fathers and Church writers down to recent times, and in particular have turned to account the huge mass of legendary lore which drifts up and down in the Church like seaweed in the ocean. Beyond these things some have proceeded to the classic literature of Greece and Rome, and found in its poets and orators, its historians and its men of learning, so much absurdity under the appearance and name of science, that the contrast between it and the Bible has been most manifest. All these, and all other similar comparisons, are useful, and tell upon the popular mind. But they do not meet the requirements of the case; what is wanted is proof that our Scriptures, while they make no pretensions to teach science, do not contradict science, and may be explained in harmony with science. Most authors admit this, and affirm it, but there are a few who think they have discovered Sunday exceptions. We do not say there are no excep-

tions. Let us admit that there are. We fancy, however, that most of these are to be accounted for without impugning the divine inspiration of Scripture and without any injury to faith. They are either verbal or real. Those which are verbal will be found to consist in the adoption of popular phraseology, or in the use of figurative terms. None of these can fairly be adduced as arguments to prove error in the Bible. As for such as are real, our inquiries have convinced us that the inspired writers are not responsible for them, because they are either to be found in passages where these writers are merely reporters, or in passages where popular notions are taken advantage of for some spiritual purpose. The latter case alone can cause any difficulty, and that is a difficulty which is easily to be met. We may be asked how the God of truth could condescend to employ error as a vehicle for imparting instruction. In this way: the ideas that men already have are taken hold of as the shortest and most effectual means of leading them to moral and spiritual ideas which they have not. Such is the case in some of the prophetic books, and very conspicuously in the Apocalypse (*e.g.*, chap. ix. 1). This answer may not satisfy everybody; but it satisfies us, and we are not even careful to shew that the sacred scribes themselves knew better.

There are writers who believe, and would have us believe, that the first principles, and many of the deductions of almost all science, are to be found in the Bible. This we believe to be a decided error, and one which arises from an altogether mistaken idea of the nature and intention of Divine Revelation. God has taught us religious and moral truths, but He has not given us a revelation of natural or scientific truth. The science of their times is the science which we look for in the inspired writers, and we are content if, in the positive communications of heaven, we find no contradiction of laws and facts which men then knew not, but which have since been discovered by them. We have no sympathy whatever with the spurious criticism which finds railroads and steamboats, the electric telegraph and the modern solar system, in the Bible. Criticism must not only be believing and devout,—it must be honest and intelligent. Fanciful analogies are as worthless as imaginary contradictions.

Some have endeavoured to construct the Hebrew system of the universe out of the popular phrases and hyperbolic language of the Bible. These, and a little etymological trifling, are the sole materials of which Biblical cosmogonies are commonly made up. The absurdity of such work is surely self-evident. We do not say the Jews had none of the notions which have been ascribed to them, but we protest against the

exhibition of the schemes which have been constructed, as the cosmogonies, or what not, of the Hebrew nation. As every child knows, there was a time when astronomers were in peril of their lives for asserting the truth of the solar system. It was believed that the Bible declared something different, and hence it was accounted heretical to teach as they did. Time put an end to all this. The astronomical problem was solved, and faith continued. Geology was another bugbear, but it too has lost its terrors; and now both astronomy and geology are considered rather as suggesting the true exposition of Scripture, than as contradictory of it. Ethnology, comparative philology, and other sciences, have led to the production of many valuable facts illustrative of the Bible. And so things will go on. There will always remain some who will repudiate the science, and some who will refuse to see the harmony of the Bible with science for an opposite reason. This obstinacy of faith on the one hand, and of reason on the other, is a simple fact, and one which we might naturally look for. It is curious to observe how both agree to misunderstand Holy Scripture. Liberal and enlightened criticism is the friend of truth wherever it finds it, and believing that the Author of nature is the Author of revelation, has no fear that He will contradict himself. It knows, and it is modest enough to own, that it may err in the domain of reason; it also knows and owns that it may err in its exposition of some texts of Scripture; but it knows, too, that the results already positively ascertained by the most searching inquiries and the most powerful tests, justify the confidence which it has in the Bible.

The length of this article will not allow, and the subject of it does not require, us to go into minute and elaborate inquiries in verification and illustration of what we say. It is, however, necessary perhaps to add a few words to our allusions to the hyperbolic expressions which a frigid and unimaginative criticism might construe into contradictions and errors. The glowing imagination of an oriental often characterized the ancient prophet, and hence the gorgeous richness and exuberant hyperbole of his style. The imagery is often strange and exaggerated, as viewed by men less impassioned, and resolved to try the merits of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and John by the scalpel, or the foot-rule, or the syllogism, or the laws of syntax. Be it so: for our part we prefer to watch these wonderful utterers of words as we would watch the ocean waves, or the lofty eagle; to listen to them as we would listen now to the wild notes of the wood songster, and now to the thunder peal. More and more we feel that these oracles are not to be reduced to the ordinary

laws of thought and language. "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." This is the law, and this the reason of those marvellous and unearthly, as well as seemingly unscientific and paradoxical, epithets and phrases which so abound in the poetry and predictions of the Old Testament. We could fill pages with examples if it were necessary, but it surely is not. The natural endowments of the prophets and poets of the Bible appear in their writings and utterances; and the scenery amid which they lived, the circumstances in which they were placed, and whatever else might influence them from without as men, all leave their impress upon the sacred record. The Holy Ghost did not annihilate their faculties, nor destroy their knowledge, nor remove them from the region of humanity. The heavenly calling took them as they were, appointed to them their task, and gave them the grace they needed for its fulfilment. They did not always dream dreams and see visions; they were not always in an ecstasy, nor were they always rapt up into the air. Many divine ideas were communicated to them, but they expressed them in human language (may we not say, in their own language?) to ordinary mortals. We must look to the end of their utterances, as well as to their origin, and we must not shut our eyes to the form of them. The end was human and divine; the origin was also human and divine; but the form was necessarily all but exclusively human. "The tongues of angels" would have probably "wasted their sweetness on the desert air" in most cases. Therefore the Divine in revelation arrayed itself in human form, and is to this day seen through a human medium. Whatever the measure of the inspiration, and whatever its intentions, it was, so to speak, tinged with the medium through which it passed,—the personality of the inspired one. Hence Paul alludes to his birth-place, his family, and his teacher; hence too the reminiscences of his classical readings when speaking at Athens, or when penning an epistle to Titus. And there is much more of the same kind; so much, that it is almost apparent at a glance, to those who have studied the style of the sacred writers, which of them it is that speaks. This is certainly true of large portions of the Bible.

We can imagine and we believe that the writers of Holy Scripture were influenced in regard to style and language; that they were helped to express themselves with fitness and accuracy, with power and energy, and in other ways. We believe that in a great many cases their message was dictated to them by the Holy Ghost, and that in all such cases it is truly the Word of God which we have. We believe that where the actual

words were not given (we do not say they always were), the writers were aided by the Holy Ghost supernaturally, and not as ordinary men, to produce a true and faithful record. We believe that the phenomena of the four gospels alone is sufficient to prove, that in history, at least, inspiration had pre-eminent regard to ideas and facts, and was mainly concerned in the substance of the narrative. On no other principle can we account for the variations in form and order, as well as in selection, which we find in the Evangelists. St. Luke distinctly affirms that he had personal reasons for undertaking his gospel, and that he availed himself of ordinary precautions and research in its composition.

Why should the facts which we have thus cursorily scanned be practically ignored, made light of, or misexplained at the opposite poles of critical and uncontroversial interpretation? Yet it appears to be so alike with those who uphold the most ultra views of verbal inspiration, and with those who reduce all inspiration to the level of mere enthusiasm and excitement. It is a primary rule of interpretation, and the sacred duty of every expositor, to ask of every separate passage in the Bible, With whom did it originate? A timorous and indiscriminating orthodoxy may occasionally shudder at asking a question like this, and may denounce those who ask it as profane or heretical. Be it so; an enlightened man who fears God will not be deterred from his duty by such examples or by such denunciations. He will take the very words ascribed to our blessed Lord, and will satisfy himself whether or not they belong to the original record. He will compare their form as he finds them in St. Matthew with their form as they occur in other gospels, and he will try to ascertain whether he has the *ipsissima verba* of Christ, or the substance and summary of what He spake. Such a man will take the last and glorious speech of Stephen, and the first thing he will observe respecting it is, that the inspired penman of the Acts of the Apostles only professes to be its reporter. He may without heresy ask whether Stephen was inspired to utter this speech, and how far it may be allowed to correct or modify certain portions of Old Testament history. All this, and much more of the same sort, is not only lawful to the interpreter, but his duty, throughout the sacred volume. Yet we venture to affirm that very few do this so honestly and courageously as they ought. Happily there are some, and we are delighted to see among them men who write what will be read. It is our deliberate conviction that this is the true conservative criticism, the true Christian scheme of interpretation. When believing men can take the words of the Bible out of the domain of fancy, and

read it in the region of reality, there will be hope for the world as well as for the Church.

Of course we shall be asked if there is not peril abundant in such a method. Possibly there is, but we fancy there is more in a method which treats human utterances as God's Word, or does not discriminate the one from the other. There are many human utterances recorded in Scripture which are very beautiful and very true, and which acquire additional dignity from the fact that they have been perpetuated in the Bible. For moral and spiritual purposes such expressions are often very valuable, and may be turned to the best account, but they are not in any proper sense inspired utterances. They float in the current of inspired thought, but they are not of it. There is very much "wood, hay, and stubble," as well as "gold, silver, and precious stones," in the river whose streams make glad the city of God.

We are about to make an observation akin to the last, but not to be confounded with it. Recent controversies have led us to believe more confidently that our observation is well founded. It is this: that in the Pentateuch and in other books, especially historical ones, a large number of passages are now to be found which were not written by the authors of those books, but have been added since by some unknown hand. It may be that Ezra, or whoever collected, arranged, or edited the books in question, introduced the passages to which we refer. It may be that some of them were the work of copyists. In any case they are of high antiquity, far older than any manuscript or version now extant. Some of them form precious additions to what the original writers left, and appear to be drawn from sources which have long since disappeared. Those which are most conspicuous, and which probably form the greater part of them, are in the shape of parentheses—explanatory and illustrative notes. A very considerable number of these has been collected by the industry of German critics, and many of them are introduced into the works of Dr. Davidson, Bishop Colenso, and other writers. The view which we take of them is not that which is always taken. More commonly they have been viewed as integral parts of the books in which we find them; and explained accordingly. Some have endeavoured to reconcile them with ordinary views respecting the antiquity of the Pentateuch, etc. Others have treated them as evidences of the later origin of the books in which they occur. As we have intimated, our own opinion is that they have been added to the original documents. Considering the prominence which has been given to these passages in recent discussions, and seeing that the mere statements



they contain throw light upon their real character, we shall append a few examples. This course will prevent the necessity for any lengthened discussion of our own. All the examples we give may be found in Bishop Colenso's volumes, or in those of other late writers upon the Old Testament. We need follow no special order, and our own remarks will be merely suggestive. Some portions which may have been added we inclose in brackets, and once or twice we modify the translation and pointing.

In Deut. xi. 30, a question is asked respecting Mounts Ebal and Gerizim thus :—"Are they not on the other side the Jordan by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanite who dwelleth in the Arabah (opposite Gilgal, beside the oaks of Moreh)?" Gilgal appears not to have received its name till afterwards, Joshua v. 9.

In Gen. xiv. 14, *Dan* is perhaps substituted for the older name of Laish or Leshem. The whole chapter (Deut. xxxiv. 1), where "Dan" is mentioned, is probably additional.

Gen. xxxvi. 31, "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom (before there reigned any king over the children of Israel). The whole verse may be an addition, or only the words in brackets.

Deut. iii. 9, "(Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir)."

Deut. iii. 11, "(For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? Nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man)."

"Unto this day" is a phrase of frequent occurrence, and may often be an addition by a later hand.

Gen. xii. 6, "The Canaanite was then in the land," and Gen. xiii. 7, "The Canaanite and Perizzite dwelt then in the land," may or may not be additions.

In Deut. ii. there are quite a number of historical and explanatory notes, some of which are probably additions; verses 10, 11, 12, 20—23.

Gen. xiii. 18, the words, "which is in Hebron," are very likely supplemental. So also similar words in Gen. xxiii. 2; xxxv. 19, 27; and like expressions in Gen. xiv. 2, 3, 7, 17.

Exod. xvi. 36, "Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah."

Deut. i. 2, "There are eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh Barnea."

1 Sam. ix. 9, "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer; for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called

a seer." This passage is plainly parenthetical, and may or may not be original. Assuming it to be original, it either implies that the word "prophet" was of more recent introduction than seer, or had received a different application. Of these views we should prefer the latter: that the word "prophet" had come to be used in a new sense, and to be employed of those who were denominated "seers." If the words are not original, they may signify that whereas now "prophet" and "seer" are interchangeable terms, it was not always so. If the passage required us to understand it of the absolute introduction of the word prophet, we should hesitate about receiving it, because "prophet" often occurs in the earlier books, and "seer" never.

Many other passages could have been adduced, particularly from the older historical books, but these will shew what we mean. It may be thought by some that we concede too much in conceding the principle, and that in its application we are still more in error. We cannot help it. Our object is truth, and we hope that whether our cases stand or fall, our principle will be deemed worthy of consideration, and if not a true one, be set aside by a better. Far, very far, are we from drawing such inferences from passages like those instanced above as are drawn by some writers. We accept them as precious additions to what we should otherwise have known, and we are ready to accept them as for the most part inserted at the final redaction of the books in which we find them. But hitherto we have not been able, nor felt required, to view them as integral and essential parts of the original compositions. They were inserted, if inserted at all, with the best intentions, and we regard them as providentially included in the canon. They may even be accepted as of equal canonical authority, and as equally inspired with the rest. We are rather strengthened than shaken in our belief that our principle is true by several observations.

1. That it is rejected on the extreme right by those who come before us as the champions of a traditional faith.

2. That it is rejected on the extreme left by those who claim to belong to the more advanced disciples of modern criticism in its negative aspects.

3. That it is conceded in effect by some of the most enlightened and believing critics of the conservative school.

We shall copy here a passage by Professor Rawlinson, in *Aids to Faith* (p. 251), as it is quoted by Bishop Colenso:—

"I. It is not intended to assert that Moses was the original composer of all the documents contained in his volume. The book of Genesis bears

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<sup>a</sup> *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, part ii., p. 227.

marks of being to some extent a compilation. Moses probably possessed a number of records, some of greater, some of less antiquity; whereof, under divine guidance, he made use in writing the history of mankind up to his own time. It is possible that the Book of Genesis may have been, even mainly, composed in this way from ancient narratives, registers, and biographies, in part the property of the Hebrew race, in part a possession common to that race with others. Moses, guided by God's Spirit, would choose among such documents those which were *historically true*, and which bore on the religious history of the human race. He would not be bound slavishly to follow, much less to transcribe them, but would curtail, expand, adorn, complete them, and so make them thoroughly his own, infusing into them the religious tone of his own mind, and at the same time re-writing them in his own language. Thus it would seem that Genesis was produced. With regard to the remainder of his history he would have no occasion to use the labours of others, but would write them from his own knowledge.

"II. It is not intended to deny that the Pentateuch may have undergone an authoritative revision by Ezra, when the language may have been to some extent modernized, and a certain number of parenthetical insertions may have been made into the text. And this authoritative revision would account at once for the language not being more archaic than it is, and for the occasional insertion of parentheses of the nature of a comment. It would also explain the occurrence of 'Chaldaisms' in the text.

"III. It is, of course, not intended to include in the Pentateuch the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which was evidently added after Moses' death, probably by the writer of the Book of Joshua."

Bishop Colenso is fain to regard the passage now quoted as more than a concession: "To this extent, at least, the very champions of the ordinary view have been driven by a conscientious regard to what they already know, more than others, of the real facts of the case." We do not agree with every expression used by Professor Rawlinson, in the above passage, but we heartily rejoice to find in him a man so accessible to truth, and so candid in its utterance, that he declares it, whatever construction may be put upon his words, either by friends or antagonists.

If we had been writing an essay on the art of criticism, or on Biblical interpretation, we should perhaps not have said a few things contained in this paper; but very assuredly we should have said many things which are not contained in it. We have tried to bear in mind the controversies of the day,—controversies unhappily not unattended by evil. On both sides men are found discussing subjects which they have not mastered, often influenced by motives of a questionable hue, sometimes exhibiting a temper anything but becoming, and employing epithets by no means courteous. So far as such things obtain, controversy is

likely to be unprofitable. If ever it was needful that the grace of God should rule in the hearts of disputants, it is now. If ever it was needful that disputants should imbibe what an apostle calls "the meekness of wisdom," it is now. If ever it was a stern and unmitigated duty to be not only fearless but frank, and not only learned but discriminating in controversy,—it is now.

We must not allow ourselves to be silenced or imposed upon by mere words. Certain stock phrases may be upon our lips or in our thoughts, as almost, if not quite, of divine authority, and yet they may be inaccurate as definitions and hollow as axioms. Our trust must not be upon the formulas of mediæval or of modern theologians. And even of that venerable and blessed Book, the Bible, let us devoutly resolve that we will not merely use its words, but try by divine aid to find out its meaning. As a matter of fact we often draw this distinction, and it might perhaps be well if we did it oftener. The Papist, the Mormon, the mere sceptic, are too fond of urging the *words* of the Bible; and it was, therefore, not wholly without reason that the man who disputed with the Mormon said of many passages which the Mormon quoted to prove that God had "a body, parts, and passions; eyes, ears, hands and feet," etc.,—"The Bible many times means what it says, but always says what it means." The Bible many times uses language which is to be literally explained, but very frequently words are figurative, and rather indicate than declare the idea intended. Let those who will, follow the words; we prefer those who follow the sense. Not that the Bible is one long allegory or parable, or a succession of allegories or parables. It is nothing of the sort. We plead for its grammatical, historical, logical exposition. We ask that every sentence should be examined, and the force of its words ascertained, but we ask, too, that clauses and sentences should not be viewed apart from the context, where alone often we discover the scope and object of the writer, and the meaning which he affixed to his words. We once heard a professed atheist avow that there is no God, and that the Bible itself says so. We call the man dishonest and justly so; but is he worse than those who reverence the Bible, and yet will not be at the pains to learn the sense or theological value and importance of words by inspecting the context? Is he worse than those who treat a passage irrespective of the circumstances which may throw light upon it?

It may be that the Scriptures have their present form, because God meant to try men's spirits, and to let them prove by their conduct whether they are the children of light or not.

The Bible is a vast storehouse of human experience and thought, as well as of Divine truth. In regard to it we may say of Biblical expositors and critics, as our Lord said on a certain occasion, "Wisdom is justified of her children!" Those who are not her children will not justify her, because she is more or less a stranger to them, and not their mother. Neither will she justify those who are not her children, because, whatever they may profess, she knows her own, and they do not honour her as a mother. But they justify her who know, honour and love her as a mother; and them it is that she justifies. Those who rail at her, who misrepresent her, who dishonour and disown her, are not her children. In the end we shall all take our proper places, for "Wisdom is justified of her children," and we shall appear in our true character. May God write His truth in our minds and hearts!

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*The Bible and other Books.*—In human books, professing even to speak of God and our duty to Him, too often may be found sentiments calculated not to heighten our sense of devotion, but rather to repress the ardour of piety and zeal; frequently we find a subject avoided, because it is considered disagreeable and too personal—we do not find sufficient proofs of our dependence upon God for everything we possess, but are led to look too much to the operations of human agency, and in studying the works of nature do not trace them up to their divine original, the God of Nature. But in the Bible it is far different; in these very books, God is everything, and we are forcibly impressed with the wonders of his power, goodness, and wisdom; he is made the Alpha and Omega of all things; all things are made subservient to his divine purposes, and though no means are too insignificant for the display of his almighty power, yet the applications of these means produce the most striking results. All the talents of men, all the beauties of creation, are made to conduce to his glory alone, and to exalt our conceptions of One so incomparably great; the elements are obedient at his command, and are instrumental in working out the inscrutable plans of Omnipotence; and all this is so written as to habituate the mind of the reader of these sacred books to sentiments of reverence, submission, and implicit reliance; they bear on their face the divine image and superscription, they breathe throughout such a spirit of piety and consummate purity, as irresistibly compel us to acknowledge them to be the offspring of the divine mind.  
—*Norrisian Prize Essay*, by Rev. R. Whittington, B.A.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO MODERN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

## No. II.—THE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SOCIETY.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, whose name is known in religious history as that of the king who introduced Protestantism into Sweden, was born at Stockholm on the 9th of December, 1594. His father left him a minor seventeen years old, and provided by his will that his minority should continue till twenty-four. But the country recognized the genius of the youth, and did not allow the regency to continue more than a single year. The thirty-years' war broke out, and the Protestants in Germany appeared utterly crushed and broken. Gustavus Adolphus listened to their cries for help, assembled the estates of Sweden, procured their oath of fealty to his daughter Christina, then only four years old, set sail with a small but brave and religious army of fifteen thousand men, and landed on the island of Usedom on the coast of Pomerania on the 25th of July, 1630. We cannot now follow him through his splendid victories at Breitenfeld and on the banks of the Lech, and to his death on the field of Lützen on November the 6th, 1632. Suffice it to say, that to him, under Providence, is due the continued existence of the evangelical religion on the Continent. His page Ericson, after recovering from his wounds, obtained the assistance of some villagers, and rolled a large stone to the spot where the hero had fallen. This stone bears the inscription, "G. A., 1632." The long and terrible war was terminated by the peace of Westphalia in 1648, on the basis of which rests the legal equality of Catholics and Protestants in Germany. From the benefits of this peace, however, Bohemia—the first victim of the war—was specially excluded.

In 1832,—the two-hundredth anniversary of the battle of Lützen,—the memory of the "Lion of the North" was worthily celebrated throughout Sweden, neither was Germany forgetful of the hero to whom she owed so much. The lord of the manor of Breitenfeld had previously in 1830 erected a stone monument on the field of battle at Breitenfeld with the following inscription: "Gustavus Adolphus, a Christian and a hero, rescued religious freedom for the world on the 7th of September, 1631." But on November 6th, 1832, large multitudes assembled at Lützen, went out with ringing of bells and with singing to the "Swede stone," and simply, but impressively, celebrated the memory of the departed hero. In the evening a discussion arose as to the propriety of erecting an iron monument over the "Swede stone." A circular was issued, but objections were

raised in many quarters against the idea of an iron monument. Many wished to leave the "Swede stone" as it was, and one clergyman proposed the foundation of a school. A penny (*sechser*) subscription was tried, but fell through. At length Dr. Grossmann, of Leipsic, bethought himself of a society for the assistance of Protestant congregations in Catholic countries. The manner in which this idea, destined to bear such noble fruit, occurred to him, is remarkable.

The Protestant congregation of *Fleissen* in Bohemia had always, since it started into existence after the issuing of the Patent of Toleration in Austria in 1781, been connected with the Saxon village of *Brambach*, and had enjoyed the services of the same pastor and the benefit of the same schools. Suddenly church and school intercourse with Brambach was forbidden by the Austrian government, and the people of Fleissen were compelled to build themselves a wooden church or house of prayer (*Bethaus*), a parsonage and a school, and to provide a clergyman of their own. A shoemaker, who had never gone through an academical course, became their clergyman, in default of a better educated candidate. The representations made by the Saxon to the Austrian government were fruitless. Dr. Grossmann had been engaged in the Leipsic Consistory during the summer of 1832, and had learnt from its proceedings the need and danger of the evangelical congregations in Bohemia. Hence he was led to form the plan of an institution such as that of which we are now sketching the history. A committee was formed, which, on Dec. 8, 1832, issued an appeal, calling for a penny subscription for the establishment of "an institution for the brotherly support of oppressed brethren in the faith, and for alleviating the need into which, through the convulsions of the times and other circumstances, Protestant congregations in and out of Germany have fallen with regard to their ecclesiastical condition, as is often the case with newly-formed congregations."

Nor was the Swede stone left exposed to the fury of the weather. On the 6th of November, 1837, a handsome iron monument was solemnly dedicated by the highest ecclesiastical authorities. But the living monument had come into existence earlier still. Another committee was formed in Dresden in 1833, and on the 4th of October, 1834, the Saxon ministry ratified and legalized the statutes of the GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SOCIETY according to a programme agreed upon by the two committees of Dresden and Leipsic. But as yet the society excited little general interest, and only a single branch society was formed at Altenburg.

In 1836 Frederic William III. of Prussia declared his approbation of the society, and sent it a donation of one hundred thalers, or a little more than fourteen guineas. In the same year Charles John, the king of Sweden, ordered collections to be made in all the churches in that country for six years for the benefit of the society. This brought in a first instalment of nearly ten thousand thalers, or fifteen hundred guineas. At the celebration of the jubilee of the Reformation at Leipsic the society gained about seventeen hundred thalers, or above two hundred and forty-two guineas. Still matters went on but slowly, and as its statutes only allowed it to spend the interest on its capital and not the capital itself, it could do but little in the way of annual grants. In 1835 it distributed one hundred and sixty thalers; in 1836, one hundred and sixty-two; in 1837, one hundred and sixty; in 1838 and 1839, seven hundred and eighty thalers. "What is this" (one might say) "among so many?" But the fault lay a good deal in the constitution of the society, the management of which was confined to Saxon hands and to committees residing at Leipsic and Dresden respectively.

We come now to relate the extension of the Gustavus Adolphus institution from its small beginnings in Saxony. At Leipsic its supporters had already begun to see the necessity of altering its constitution, but, before they had determined upon any definite course, the Lord brought help from another and that an unexpected quarter. At Basel in Switzerland an excellent clergyman, named Legrand, and at Darmstadt Dr. Carl Zimmermann, one of the grand-ducal court preachers, simultaneously broached the same idea, without having the slightest knowledge of what had been taking place in Saxony. The latter published an appeal to the Protestant world on Oct. 31, 1841, on occasion of a festival held in honour of the Reformation, in which he endeavoured to exhibit and enforce the duty of the richer Christians to aid the spiritual welfare of their poorer and more struggling brethren, and urged them to sanctify such a day by forming the resolution of founding a "society for the support of needy Protestant congregations."

The publication of this appeal caused considerable correspondence between Leipsic, Dresden, and Darmstadt, and as the brethren in Saxony and Hesse had nothing whatever in view save the single object of promoting the welfare of the Evangelical Church, they were not long in coming to an understanding. It was marvellous what an echo came in answer to the promulgation of the joint project. From all sides came favourable declarations. Several princes, especially the Grand Duke of



Hesse, Louis II., joined the society, and promised it their protection, and in very many districts people commenced the formation of branch societies. But why should the matter have made so much greater progress than it had done in 1832? In the first place, church questions had attained a much greater prominence at the later time, and a more active life had begun to develop itself in the Evangelical Church. And, secondly, greater activity had displayed itself in the Roman Church in Germany, which had provoked the Protestants to greater zeal for their own churches.

On September 16th, 1842, the first general meeting of the society was held at Leipsic, instead of Wittenburg, which had previously been selected. After service in the church of St. Thomas proceedings were begun in the aula of the university under the presidency of Dr. Grossmann. Proposals were made to constitute Darmstadt a third central society in addition to Leipsic and Dresden. But it was replied, that the question was not the equalization of the privileges of the three cities, Leipsic, Dresden, and Darmstadt, but the union of the whole Evangelical Church in Germany in a work of faith and love, and therefore the proposal was declined on behalf of Darmstadt. It was finally determined that the statutes of the institution should be settled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine by deputies from the several societies, and it was also unanimously agreed that the seat of management of the institution should remain permanently at Leipsic, and that, in thankful remembrance of the services of Gustavus Adolphus to the Evangelical Church, the society should bear the name of the "Evangelical Society of the Gustavus Adolphus Institution."

The time that elapsed between the meetings at Leipsic and Frankfort was a plenteous harvest for the society. Many persons, who had hitherto been as it were dead to the Church, began to enquire after its fate in various quarters, and after the condition of their scattered brethren, and to embrace the Church and her holy creed with renovated love. The flame spread also over Switzerland. In every Protestant canton assistant societies were formed, which selected Basel as their central society and headquarters. The celebrated De Wette, who is generally looked upon in England as one of the most dangerous and lifeless of rationalists, especially distinguished himself by his exertions in favour of the society till his death in 1849. Even in France, and particularly in Alsace, a holy zeal awoke, witness to which is borne by the activity of the Evangelization Society of the eastern departments of France.

On the 21st and 22nd of September, 1843, the second meet-

ing took place at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. After a solemn service, there met in the German Reformed Church, with Dr. Grossmann as president, twenty-two deputies from twenty-nine societies already formed, with the addition of deputies from Prussia, where many societies were in course of formation, from Switzerland, the societies in which desired to enter into closer connexion with those in Germany, from Alsace, and from Hungary. A committee was appointed, and the statutes drawn up by it were on the next day adopted by the deputies present. These statutes have, however, twice received considerable alterations and additions at subsequent meetings.

The ratification of the statutes soon followed, and the elder Gustavus Adolphus Institution, which had become amalgamated with the new society, ended its labours on November 6, 1843, the day on which every yearly account of the central board is closed, and given in for audit. But how different were the sums of money now at its disposal! In 1839 it could only expend five hundred thalers or less than seventy-two guineas; in 1843, twenty-two congregations were assisted by the expenditure of three thousand five hundred and ninety-six thalers, or nearly five hundred and fourteen guineas.

On November 16, 1843, the Prussian ministry granted formal permission for the foundation of societies in connexion with the Gustavus Adolphus Society; and towards the end of the year the king of Wurtemberg sent an annual subscription of one thousand florins (above £83), with the following letter:—

“When sending you my contribution to support your equally useful and laudable object, I cannot but publicly express my feelings and views on the occasion. I consider it my duty, in the genuine spirit of religion, to offer the hand of unity and peace to Christians of different views to my own; but no less so, to confess firmly and openly the principles of our reformation, which have now for more than three centuries formed the basis of our evangelical Protestant doctrine. According to these principles, it is our duty to assist our suffering brethren in the faith to the utmost of our power, and the protection of the Almighty will bless our work.”

Gladly was the letter of the king of Wurtemberg received by the Society, but unfortunately no less pain was caused by a royal order in council from Bavaria, dated February 11, 1844, prohibiting the existence of the society in Bavaria, as a disturber of ecclesiastical peace and concord in Germany. The words of the order were:—

“We have already some time ago made known to you, that we cannot find ourselves induced to allow room in our kingdom

for the extension of the society founded at Leipsic, and since further extended in Germany, under the name of the Gustavus Adolphus Institution, as this society is already making itself known as a party-union by the name it has assumed, and is thus fully adapted to call counter-unions into existence, and thus disturb ecclesiastical peace, and that concord which is so important in Germany. Still more clearly has the management and aim of this union displayed itself in an assembly of several branch societies, held at Halle on November 29th of last year, with respect to the establishment of a provincial society, it having been publicly stated there, according to the accounts that have appeared in print, 'That the Gustavus Adolphus Society is a free association of all Protestants, extending beyond the boundaries and special interests of particular countries, for the formation of an universal Protestant Church, and for the common representation of the interests and blood-bought rights of Protestantism, in contradistinction to the Catholic Church; and only differs from the former *Corpus Evangelicorum* in that it no longer consists of an union of princes and their ambassadors, but of peoples.'

"Now it has lately come to our knowledge that the aforesaid society has just begun to extend its activity over our dominions, and to devote contributions to the support of Protestant congregations in them. We have, therefore, received a new and pressing call to oppose such an undertaking with all our power.

"The less the extension of this society and its activity can exist consistently with the political and legal organization and position of the Protestant Church in Bavaria, and the more deeply we lay to heart the preservation of religious peace in Germany and of German concord, the more firmly are we resolved not to allow this society in anywise, and in any shape, to carry out its objects; and to repulse every interference on its part with the ecclesiastical relations of our congregations in the most decisive manner. We have for this end already decreed that the contributions applied by the society to certain particular congregations, shall, if they have reached their destination, be returned to it with the warning to cease such gifts of money in our dominions, otherwise the contributions which come thither will be confiscated and applied to some other charitable object, according to the determination to be come to by us in each particular case.

"Moreover we commission you seriously to prohibit, under pain of heavy punishment, all our subjects, and especially the Protestant congregations of your district, from all intercourse

with the aforesaid society, and from all acceptance of a gift from the same, under whatever form it may be offered, by reference to the existing ordinances against all participation in any societies not approved by us.

"Should this prohibition be, contrary to expectation, violated, it is your duty to proceed against the transgressors, on account of the crime of participation in a disallowed society, with all the power of the legal office and authority intrusted to you, to take immediately into official keeping the contributions of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, which from time to time come into our kingdom, and to set on foot suitable projects for their different application.

"We also reserve to ourselves, for the case, which is scarcely to be expected to occur, of officials and clergymen being guilty of such a transgression, the particular proceedings and arrangements to be entered upon with regard to the position of the parties, according to the existing laws.

"It is your duty to make further arrangements in accordance with these presents, and to give us information immediately in every case of transgression."

Dr. Karl Zimmermann, of Hesse Darmstadt, addressed a serious letter of expostulation to the king of Bavaria, and the central committee also took steps in the same direction; but it was not till several years had elapsed that access to Bavaria was allowed to the society.

On the 8th of March the king of Sweden, Charles John XIV., who had been a great benefactor to the society, and had authorized the making of collections for it throughout Sweden, departed this life. The central committee wrote a letter of condolence to king Oscar I., whose answer contained the following passage:—

"I have deeply felt the homage which you offer to the memory of my dear, glorified father. The son thanks you for it; the prince feels the necessity of expressing this feeling to you, and assuring you that the object of your exertions shall always possess his sympathies and enjoy his protection. The enlightened Gustavus I. was also the first monarch in the north that introduced the Protestant faith into his realm, and many a hard struggle did he endure for its propagation during many years. His noble grandson, the great Gustavus Adolphus, sacrificed his heroic life for the glorious cause of freedom of conscience. My departed father fixed these recollections still more deeply in my soul by his instructions and example. I therefore fulfil a twofold duty, as successor of such predecessors, as well as king of two Protestant realms, in not only devoting

constant attention to your evangelical society, but also proving my honest sympathy on every occasion that may arise."

Societies have been founded at Gothenburg and Stockholm, and it is hoped that under the influence of these words of the king they will be the forerunners of many more.

On Feb. 14, 1844, king Frederic William of Prussia issued an order in council in favour of the society as follows:—

"I have with warm interest and real joy observed the sympathy with which the idea of the society, which is being founded under the name of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, has been embraced in the Prussian dominions. I could not accept the proposal of the foreign leaders of that society to undertake the office of its protector, out of natural respect for the other German sovereigns; but I declare myself the protector of this institution within the Prussian monarchy, in the confident hope that the evangelicals of this realm will not remain behind those of the rest of Germany, and will by rich contributions give a more active life, and a more extended sphere of action, to the lofty idea of the society. Commissioning you, as I do, to make known my acceptance of the protectorate to the inland societies, I at the same time require you to assist the development and increase thereof in every way, and to take advantage of this opportunity to awaken to life among all evangelicals the consciousness of the importance of their unanimous co-operation in this respect. For the preservation of unity the connexion with the board of management at Leipsic must be kept up, yet in such a manner that a complete independence may be preserved to the Prussian societies as a whole. It is therefore your duty to work without delay for the formation of a general central society for the whole country, as well as for that of particular provincial societies. I entertain the delightful hope that all will unite gladly in common action for this good work (to wish to unite which with unity in the conception of and mode of teaching doctrinal verities would be a vain endeavour), and that none of the many parties at this moment contending within the German Evangelical Church for the honour of being the 'most Christian,' will wish to draw upon itself the disgrace of bringing discord into an undertaking, which will do honour to the evangelical confession, and which aims at making the liberality of the fraternal hand of the co-religionists of our fatherland felt among needy congregations even in foreign and distant countries."

The Prussian minister of religious worship summoned the deputies of the Prussian provincial unions to meet at Berlin on September 1, 1844, for the purpose of forming a Prussian central society. Several members of the grand central committee were

also invited to attend, and the meeting decided unanimously in favour of union with the general society. Armed with full powers, and with the approval of the minister, the Prussian deputies appeared at Göttingen on the 9th of September.

The meeting was opened with prayer and a sermon by the superintendent Hildebrand in the church of St. John, and the deliberations took place in the university church on the 10th and 11th of September. Grossmann was president, and his son presented the account of the progress of the society during the year. More than a hundred and fifty grand and branch societies had sprung into existence, and every year the annual meetings of the grand societies were more and more assuming the aspect of ecclesiastical and congregational festivals, and in some districts regular collections were on those days instituted for the furtherance of the objects of the society. A sketch was given of the ever-widening sphere of operations of the society, and in particular the congregation of Linz on the Danube, in Upper Austria, was recommended for assistance in building its church. The next year this church (the first built mainly from means furnished by the society) was consecrated. A tower was afterwards added.

The deliberations principally turned on the entrance of the Prussian societies into the general society. People met each other halfway, and the union was soon accomplished.

A closer connexion with the Swiss societies was talked of, a congratulatory address from a Dutch society was read, and letters of thanks were decided upon to the king of Prussia, and also to prince Otto Victor of Schönburg-Waldenburg, who had given two donations to the Evangelical teachers in Austria, amounting altogether to 250,000 florins, more than £20,844.\* And it was especially encouraging when provost Nielson from Schleswig spoke as follows on occasion of communications being made relative to the progress of the society in Denmark :—

“When I cannot but look, as I do, from north and south; when I see countries drawing near to each other, as they are doing, I cannot stand on my feet on such a day as this without my heart overflowing with joy. Then the lofty import of our society becomes more and more present to my mind. I have often considered within myself,—often asked myself the question, What will be the result of our work? We see it now close before our eyes: a society will develop itself from it which will expand itself over the whole evangelical church, and which is bound to no limits, no language. It was a pleasure to hear this society called a German society, but it is still a greater pleasure to me to be able to call it by

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\* This sum is so large, that we cannot help thinking it must be a misprint in our authorities for 25,000 florins or £2,084.

name in another tongue. For now I know that in many tongues He will be praised and lauded, who has given us this work, which even unites men who had turned away from each other, and were always going further from each other. They meet together in a common alliance, look into each other's faces, and lay their hands to a common work, which in their hands becomes an union."

It was equally elevating to hear on the second day from the mouths of the most different speakers the loud admission that the society, standing as it did on the ground of the Church, would and must repulse all attempts that might be made against the Church.

In the general account of Nov. 6, 1844, the central committee exhibited thirty-one grand and three hundred and thirty-three branch societies. The receipts had amounted to 45,432 thalers, or above 6,490 guineas. Forty-eight congregations had been assisted with more than 24,000 thalers, or 3,430 guineas. The invested capital of the society had risen to 20,381 thalers, or above 2,911 guineas.

But the year 1845, and the general meeting at Stuttgart on the 2nd and 3rd of September, were very different from the preceding ones. Hitherto one of the most important subjects of deliberation had been the constitution of the society, which was now in full play. Never had so many sympathizing brethren from foreign lands been present. There were deputies and friends of the society from Switzerland, France, Belgium, Courland, Hungary, Transylvania, Portugal, North America, and East India.

In many quarters a wish had been expressed for the alteration of the name of the society, especially in order to open a door for its entrance into Bavaria. This question was discussed at the meeting; explanations were given as to how it had received its name—how that name was already current throughout all evangelical nations.—how an alteration simply threatened mischief, and promised no blessing; for Bavaria would not open her doors any the more; and how it would be a serious act of ingratitude towards Gustavus Adolphus, under whose name the society had, by the grace of God, grown great, to repudiate his name, especially at a time when the last of the six church collocations had just arrived from Sweden. The society, it was unanimously agreed, *must* now retain this honoured name, but had not therewith raised, nor did it intend to raise, any banner of discord.

Here and there wishes were expressed for the grant of aid in support of the so-called "German Catholics," or followers of Rongé. The central committee had already replied in the nega-

tive to requests to this effect, as the German Catholics could not credibly prove their substantial agreement with the evangelical church, and had even declared that they did not wish to be members of the Protestant Church, and charged the evangelical church with defects and want of freedom. This refusal was approved by the meeting.

The service, at which the sermon was preached by the cathedral preacher Klemm, was held in the cathedral at Stuttgart, and the meeting was presided over by Grossmann in the hospital church. The narrative of the events of the year, which was given by Dr. Grossmann the younger, shewed that the society was continually extending itself. In most of the societies of which it was composed more frequent ecclesiastical meetings had been instituted, and thus the society itself had found its way more deeply into the hearts of the people. Zeal in its cause was increasing every day, even among the poorer classes. A special society had been formed among the students of Heidelberg. Even in houses of correction the prisoners under punishment had contributed. Foreign Protestants, especially in Belgium, Holland, Denmark and France, were exhibiting greater inclination to enter into alliance with the society. The Swiss societies had been extended throughout all the cantons. But at the same time proof was given of the increase of the wants and necessities for the relief of which the society had been formed. The eyes of the society must henceforth be directed to the school as well as to the Church. In particular the society had given considerable assistance to the school teachers' seminary at Oberschützen in Hungary, which had been revived by the pastor Wimmer. The widows of clergymen and schoolmasters had also experienced its helping hand. Several central societies had discovered necessitous circumstances in their own countries. Several letters of thanks, which were communicated from congregations that had received support, exhibited the need in a still clearer light, as well as the blessed usefulness of the society, which also displayed itself in the fact that their Catholic brethren were learning to respect their co-religionists more than they had hitherto done, and that the latter were more and more gaining courage to form themselves into regular congregations.

The Baden central society had proposed to admit foreign evangelical churches into the society, and Dr. Ullmann of Heidelberg had in consequence proposed that an appeal should be addressed to those churches. The general central committee had already done its best to bring about such an union; however, an appeal of the kind proposed required so much consideration, and involved so many interests, that the proposal was



negatived, and the general committee was requested to continue with greater zeal the course it had hitherto pursued.

A proposal, that the deputations attending the annual meeting should then pay over the third of the income of the several branch societies to the parent society was also negatived. But an earnest desire was expressed, that every society should select a poor congregation as its own foster-child, and it was determined that the central committee should every year, by the first of June, lay a plan for such assistance before the principal societies.

The synod of the Belgian Protestants was recognized as a principal branch society with universal joy.

In its balance sheet of Nov. 6, 1845, the central committee stated the receipts at 56,896 thalers, or 8,128 guineas. Sixty-two congregations had been assisted by the expenditure of 42,685 thalers, or nearly 6,098 guineas.

In the year 1846 the general meeting was held at Berlin on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September.

The anniversary of Luther's death was celebrated on the 18th of February, and several Gustavus Adolphus societies took advantage of the occasion to hold solemn meetings at different places, in order to give a practical proof that the society was in the service of the Evangelical Church, rested on the basis of the creed of the Reformers, and wished to have no fellowship with those who had left this basis, and severed themselves from the Evangelical Church.

In the course of the spring and summer several churches which the society had aided were begun, and one built by the grand society of Breslau at Neinerz, in Silesia, was consecrated. But with the autumn a storm came over the society, through which the Lord eventually steered it in safety.

The grand society at Königsberg had chosen the Rev. Dr. Rupp as one of its deputies to the general meeting of the central society at Berlin. This gentleman had, in consequence of disputes with his ecclesiastical superiors, been dismissed from his position, had left the communion of the Evangelical Church of his own country, and had founded a "free congregation."

Several societies sent in declarations against the admission of Dr. Rupp as a deputy, and the central committee, at its session on the morning of September 7, debated the question whether Dr. Rupp, circumstanced as he was, could or could not be recognized as a deputy. Of twelve members present, ten were of opinion that he could not be admitted under the statutes, which recognized none but members of the Evangelical Church. A deputation was sent to Dr. Rupp to request him to retire voluntarily, but in vain, nor was anything gained by earnest

entreaties addressed to him in the evening, urging him to withdraw and save the society from an unfortunate struggle. The question was therefore considered at the evening preliminary session of the deputies on September 7. The result was that thirty-nine votes against thirty-two decided in favour of his admission.

The Rev. Dr. Sydow opened the assembly by a sermon in the new church. Grossmann presided over the deliberations, which were held in the church of the Holy Trinity, in which Schleiermacher had formerly been preacher. Grossmann junior read the yearly narrative of the proceedings of the society. The society had again extended itself, but its sphere of labour had also increased. Cheering intelligence was given of the completion or progress of different works; bad times had here and there lessened the contributions, but in general the sympathy felt for it had increased. In accordance with the expressed wish of the meeting, each annual meeting was in future to determine upon a portion of the income of the central board to be set apart for the execution of some work of especial magnitude.

But as soon as the decision came to with regard to Rupp became known, a violent contest arose. A mass of declarations were made both for and against the decision, and large numbers of new members entered the society for the mere purpose of declaring their dissatisfaction with it. Some declared the decision null and void, and others said that it could only be repealed by another general meeting; one party threatened to leave the society, and the other to form separate societies. Indeed, in some places separate societies were actually formed, which put themselves directly in communication with the central board.

Yet the year 1846 had a fair as well as a dark side to exhibit. The year's receipts had exceeded 73,000 thalers, or more than 10,428 guineas; and on November 6th the central board could name no less than one hundred and thirty-four congregations that had received aid from the society. More than 66,000 thalers, or 9,428 guineas, had been thus expended. More and more did the prayer, "Lord, send forth labourers into the harvest," commend itself to all hearts.

The violence of the contest above related soon began to subside, and in the spring and summer of 1847 endeavours were made on all sides to restore peace and concord. On the 20th of September eighty deputies met at Darmstadt for a grand general meeting. Dr. Karl Zimmermann was elected president. It was determined that all deliberations should henceforth be public and open, and finally it was settled that the affair of

Rupp should be treated as a *fait accompli*, and excluded from discussion, but that the principles and consequences connected with it should be carefully considered.

The next day the sermon was preached by the president for the year, and the assembly itself began at eleven o'clock. The younger Dr. Grossmann, through a change of residence, could no longer continue in the secretaryship of the central board, and his place was supplied by the pastor Howard of Leipsic. A deputation carried the thanks of the society to the late secretary, and Howard read the account of the past year.

Forty-one grand and six hundred and twenty-eight branch societies were reckoned up. The increase of the business of the central board had rendered it necessary to employ a regular man of business as agent. The choice had fallen upon the advocate Dr. Stephani, and this choice had been amply justified by the result. The increase in the funds of the society had been remarkable. In 1842 it had received about 3,000 thalers, in 1843 about 9,000, in 1844 about 26,000, in 1845 about 57,000, and in 1846 more than 73,000 thalers.

The grand society of Breslau moved that section 25 in the statutes should be interpreted in such a manner, that no further examination into the qualifications of the deputies should take place than was necessary to ascertain that their examination and election had been in proper form. That of Berlin moved that no prospective influence should be allowed to the resolution come to at Berlin on September 7, 1846. After considerable discussion, three men of each party were chosen as a committee to consider and report upon the subject, and they retired for that purpose into the vestry. Meanwhile it was settled that the central board should apply 6,000 thalers (above 857 guineas) to the assistance of the congregation of Liebau in Silesia.

The committee reported—

(1.) That the examination into the qualifications of the deputies should henceforth be merely of a formal nature.

(2.) That it was undoubtedly the business of the general meeting to judge of the admissibility of a deputy on the ground of his not fulfilling the conditions of membership required by the statutes.

(3.) That any grand society sending such a deputy should be heard on his behalf, and that the final decision should take place at the next general meeting.

These arrangements were finally accepted by an overwhelming majority.

On the next day the church of Seligenstadt, which had received considerable assistance from the society, was solemnly

consecrated and delivered over into the hands of the congregation.

On the 6th of November the central board reported the receipt of 73,568 thalers, or above 10,509 guineas. One hundred and sixty-nine congregations had received assistance to the amount of 68,784 thalers, or above 9,826 guineas.

The years 1848<sup>b</sup> and 1849 threatened the society anew. The political fermentation; the general direction of men's minds towards the condition of their external relations; the, in some cases, hostile feeling exhibited towards the Church; the general declaration of religious freedom, which even in Austria allowed the Protestant chapels (*Bethäuser*) to possess towers and bells, and gave currency to the notion that such aid as that afforded by the society was no longer necessary; the imagination that all differences of creed and confession were soon to be at an end; and lastly, the necessitous financial condition of the times, threatened the society seriously, caused zeal in its cause to cool, and diminished the contributions which supported it. But thus the true friends of the society were proved, while the false ones fell away. The general meeting, which was to have been held at Breslau, was necessarily adjourned, and the income of the society fell to 37,071 thalers, or less than 5,296 guineas.

But these struggles passed by, and men began in the spring of 1849 to "look again to the mountains, whence alone cometh help." As the adjournment of the general meeting had caused the society to be, comparatively speaking, forgotten by many, the central committee determined, in spite of political disquiet, to fix the next meeting for the 28th and 29th of August at Breslau, and in giving the requisite notices, addressed a serious and pathetic appeal to the public on behalf of the society.

Partly owing to the times, partly to the cholera at Breslau and in Silesia, and partly to the distant situation of Breslau itself, the meeting was but thinly attended in comparison with former meetings. The central board had rejected the application of a so-called "free congregation" to enter the society,<sup>c</sup> and its action in this respect was almost unanimously approved by the deputies present.

The solemn service took place in the Elizabeth Church, and the sermon was preached by Deacon Schmeidler. The meeting was held in the Court Church. The Rev. Pastor Howard read the account of the past year to the effect that, "The claims on

<sup>b</sup> Commonly called the year of revolutions.

<sup>c</sup> It must be remembered that the society recognizes three German Churches, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the United Evangelical Church of Prussia, which was formed in 1817 by a forcible fusion of the other two in that country.

the activity and aid of the society have increased, the number of requests for assistance amounting to seven hundred and thirty-two, but its powers and means have diminished to half what they were before."

However, an encouraging festival took place at Liebau on August 30, after the conclusion of the meeting. A procession marched from the small and lowly prayer-room of the congregation to the handsome church that had just been built by the funds of the society, which was solemnly delivered by the president in the name of the society into the hands of the congregation. The church was consecrated by General-Superintendent Dr. Kahn. Similar consecration-festivals were held at Gumpendorf, the suburb of Vienna, on the following 6th of January; at Hockheim, in Nassau, on September 18; at Unteraltenebenheim, in Bavaria, on October 28; and in Fleissen, in Bohemia, on December 16.

The meeting at Breslau was soon followed by the encouraging royal ordinance of September 15, which opened a new field of labour and harvest to the society in Bavaria.

The account issued on the 6th of November shewed that the capital fund of the society had risen to 30,476 thalers, or above 4,355 guineas; but could only report an income of 21,500 thalers (less than 3,072 guineas), the whole of which was distributed among sixty-three congregations.

In 1850 the general meeting was held at Eisenach, which lies immediately under the Wartburg, the place of Luther's imprisonment by the friendly elector of Saxony, whose sole aim was to secure him by compulsion from the machinations of his enemies. Thirty-four grand societies were represented by forty deputies. The secretary was ill, and the annual report was read by Dr. Schwarz, of Jena, after divine service in the principal church. Most of the grand societies were shewing signs of renewed life, but the necessity for their activity was shewing itself still more plainly, the applications for assistance having reached the number of nine hundred and seventy-six. These applications had especially increased in Bavaria, where travelling preachers were also greatly wanted. The church at Patwarz in Hungary and the school at Eferding in Austria were finished. A question had arisen as to the union of the society with that for home missions. Most of the grand societies on being consulted had replied that it would be better for the two societies to work side by side.

The first speaker was the Rev. Mr. Polko of Rosenberg in Silesia. The history of the Protestant Church in that place is worth relating. A few years previously Mr. Polko was domestic

tutor in the house of Mr. Knoblauch, the district judge residing at Rosenberg (Rose Hill). The latter hungered and thirsted after hearing the Word of the Lord. He hired a little burial-chapel for himself and his evangelical brethren at Rosenberg, who were living without a church. The Protestants there soon wanted to form a congregation regularly recognized by the government, but the condition of their being allowed to do this was, that they must exhibit a capital fund for the payment of the clergyman and for other parish expenses. Mr. Knoblauch soon made up his mind and mortgaged his little property, and then the formation of the congregation was permitted, and Mr. Polko became the clergyman. Mr. Polko now came forward at Eisenach and asked for aid, that the property of the generous judge might be freed from its burthen. "But," added he, "we want a church also, for our present chapel is too small and too damp." In Breslau he had brought the subject forward, but had obtained no money, nor indeed anything but a piece of good counsel given him by Dr. Fischer of Leipsic. By his advice he had on the 31st of October, 1849, begun a *pfennig* subscription, a *pfennig* being rather less than half a farthing. He had now obtained a million pfennigs, but wanted three millions. He therefore came with an earnest entreaty for aid, and finished with the lines—

"My Rosehill is a lucky place,  
If pfennigs can maintain its grace."

At the subsequent meeting at Hamburg Mr. Polko appeared again, and communicated the cheering intelligence that his pfennig collection, which he supported from time to time by simple rhymes, was going on very satisfactorily; that the foundation-stone was already laid, but the goal was not yet reached. He also related that, along with the great charity with which he had met, he had also encountered insult, but the Lord had made good what man had done with an evil meaning. One day he had received by post a letter without signature containing these words, "You receive herewith the requested contribution in support of your church building fund, amounting to one pfennig. An acknowledgment is requested." This he inserted in the newspapers with the words, "Received from an anonymous donor in Breslau, with a request for a receipt, postage unpaid, one pfennig, for which two silver groschen (2½d.) had to be paid as postage." The collection went on so well, that at the next meeting at Wiesbaden Mr. Polko made his appearance with hearty thanks instead of begging entreaties, and had the pleasure of stating that a Gustavus Adolphus Society had been

formed at Rosenberg itself. The next year he did not appear himself at Coburg, but sent 5,000 pfennigs from his congregation for the benefit of a poor church in Westphalia, and announced that the church at Rosenberg had been consecrated on May 11, 1853. The king of Prussia had presented it with two bells.

On the second day of the meeting a general wish was expressed that henceforth not only the central board, but every grand society, should place at the disposal of the general meeting a sum of money for the benefit of a congregation to be selected by it out of those proposed to it by the central board. This wish was framed into a regular resolution, and carried out accordingly, the congregation of *Wels* receiving above 3,000 thalers (nearly 429 guineas) as the charitable work of the meeting at Eisenach.

A second resolution was passed to the effect that the central board was to take care, that in districts where isolated members of the Evangelical Church were dwelling the spiritual need of the oppressed brethren should, as far as possible, be alleviated by travelling preachers, to each of whom a definite district was to be assigned by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, whence they were to be termed "district preachers."

At three o'clock in the afternoon a festive procession walked from the market-place to the Wartburg, which had been decorated for the occasion. A platform for speaking was prepared in the court of the castle. The whole body there assembled sang Luther's heroic hymn,<sup>d</sup> after which Dr. Zimmermann delivered a brief address. They then went into Luther's chapel, where a sermon was preached, and other addresses were afterwards delivered from the platform. The elevating festival was then closed by singing Rückart's thanksgiving hymn, "Nun danket alle Gott;"<sup>e</sup> and the procession returned by torchlight, singing, "Unser Eingang segne Gott."<sup>f</sup>

On the 6th of November in this year the central board stated that it had applied 44,129 thalers (above 6,304 guineas) to the objects of the society. In this year two churches built by the society were consecrated.

In 1851 the general meeting was held at Hamburg on the 23rd and 24th of September. New life had awakened in almost all the grand societies, but still the receipts of the society did not nearly equal those of former years, although the number of entreaties for aid had risen to 1,294. Thirty-nine grand socie-

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<sup>d</sup> We presume, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott."

<sup>e</sup> "Now all thank God."

<sup>f</sup> "God bless our entering in."

ties were represented by fifty-five deputies. After service in the new church of St. Peter the annual report was read. Political troubles had rendered the societies in Electoral Hesse nearly inactive, but, on the other hand, several had been formed in Bavaria. On the second day, Superintendent Nagy, from Wannovitz in Moravia, drew so feeling a picture of the distress of his congregation, which was dispersed in no less than fifty-nine villages, that instant assistance was rendered by the meeting. 3,247 thalers (nearly 464 guineas) were appropriated to the aid of the congregation of *Laibach* in Austria. The friends of the society in Hamburg added a chalice and paten. The clergyman stationed at Laibach has the care of the souls of the Protestants living in a district containing two hundred and fifty German square miles !<sup>s</sup>

On the 6th of November the central board reported that it had applied 24,389 thalers (above 3,484 guineas), while the local societies had themselves applied 22,830 thalers, in aid of two hundred and eighteen congregations.

In 1852 forty grand societies were represented at Wiesbaden by fifty-two deputies on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September. One alteration appeared in the mode of conducting the business, which was a decided improvement, and is worthy of mention, viz., that instead of attending divine service on one day only, the deputies thus consecrated each of the three days during which the meeting lasted. Wels in Upper Austria was the congregation selected to be assisted by the gift of 4,244 thalers (above 707 guineas).

On the 10th of September a steamboat steamed down the Rhine with a large number of the deputies and friends of the society. It was a voyage of joy united with seriousness. All the Protestant places on the banks of the Rhine had prepared a most hearty welcome for the boat which carried past them those who had participated in the festival. Every house, every church, every ancient castle was adorned with banners; volleys greeted the company, and were replied to by the boat; the congregations, young and old, stood on the bank beckoning and giving tokens of welcome; the bells were ringing; the congregations gave a practical proof that they recognized the society as a concern belonging to the whole Protestant Church, and the language of the tenth grand general meeting as the expression of their own feelings and convictions. They landed at St. Goar. The clergy and magistrates were on the bank awaiting the representatives of the society. The assembly passed through the

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<sup>s</sup> An ordinary German mile in length is more than four times an English one.



town, which was festally adorned, to the church which Gustavus Adolphus had formerly re-consecrated as a Protestant house of God by a blow of his sword upon the altar. The congregation sang, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," and Dr. Grossmann the younger ascended the pulpit. After the conclusion of the sermon they returned to the steam boat, and continued their voyage down the Rhine, welcomed and greeted everywhere as before. They landed again at Bingen at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and proceeded to the prayer-room of the Gustavus Adolphus congregation. After the hymn Dr. Voigt ascended the pulpit, after whose sermon Dr. Schultz urged the deputies of the principal societies to bear in mind that a congregation, with and among which the tenth general meeting had held a service, ought not to remain without a house of God. In the evening they returned to Wiesbaden with feelings elevated by this festival so cheerful, and yet so serious and so worthy of the society.

58,202 thalers (nearly 8,886 guineas) were expended this year in assisting two hundred and thirty-eight congregations.

In 1853 the general meeting was held at Coburg on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of September. As a specimen of the result produced by the operations of the society, we may mention, that in the course of this year no less than seven churches and chapels were consecrated, viz., a church at Buenos Ayres in South America, another at Bucharest in Wallachia, a third—the Pfennig church—at Rosenberg in Silesia, a fourth at Gröbming in Styria, a fifth church at Feldkirchen in Carinthia, a sixth at Schlebusch in Rhenish Prussia, and a seventh for the use of the Waldenses at Turin, besides a prayer-room at Wangen in Württemberg, and a chapel at Hermeskeil in Rhenish Prussia.

There met at Coburg for the eleventh general meeting sixty-two deputies from thirty-nine societies under the presidency of Dr. Grossmann. Eight deputies from non-German countries were also present. In reading the account of the events of the past year, the secretary, Howard, was able to announce that the grand branch society in Hesse had resumed activity; a meeting had taken place at Leyden in Holland, and societies had been formed both there and in other places; a good many ladies' societies had also been formed.

In 1854 the general meeting was held at Brunswick on the 5th, 6th and 7th of September. This year appeared for the first time a Gustavus Adolphus Calendar, which obtained considerable circulation and materially assisted the society in country districts.

Evangelical services were established by the aid of the society in several bathing-places, as Franzensbad, Ostend, and Teplitz.

Forty-two societies were represented at Brunswick by fifty-five deputies, before whom Howard's account was read by Dr. Geffeken of Hamburg. Above forty churches and chapels were in course of building, as well as fifteen schools and six parsonage houses, and ten new parishes had been formed. Several thousand evangelical Christians had been discovered living in the midst of Catholics by travelling preachers and teachers. But it was still matter of complaint, that the society was not sufficiently identified with and taken up by the people.

On Nov. 6 the audit gave the receipts of the central board at 77,218 thalers (above 11,081 guineas). Two hundred and ninety congregations, one hundred and eighty-nine in, and one hundred and one out of, Germany, had been assisted.

In 1855 the general assembly took place at Heidelberg on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of September. Forty-two grand societies sent sixty deputies. The prince regent of Baden expressed the greatest interest in the society, and the citizens of Heidelberg adorned their streets and houses as for a festival. The secretary was absent, and Dr. Karl Zimmermann, to whose work on the Gustavus Adolphus society we are mainly indebted for our sketch of its history, read the annual narrative. Eighteen churches, one parsonage, and three schools, had been completed within the year. Notice was given of the formation of the first Swedish Gustavus Adolphus society at Gothenburg.

The congregation of Bingen received assistance from the meeting to the amount of 4,375 thalers, 20 silver groschen (above 625 guineas). On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Jonas of Berlin, it was resolved to obtain through the several grand societies the most correct intelligence possible about the evangelical Christians living dispersed in Roman Catholic districts.

In 1856 the general meeting was held at Bremen on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of September. Fifty-eight deputies represented forty-one grand societies. Dr. Howard read the annual narrative. A new society, the second in Sweden, had been formed at Stockholm. No less than 83,000 thalers (above 11,857 guineas) had been available on Nov. 6, 1855, for the assistance of three hundred and twenty-three congregations.

An anonymous donor in Bremen placed at the disposal of the meeting for the assistance of one or two particularly distressed congregations, the sum of 2,000 thalers (nearly 286 guineas). This was divided between the congregations of Algiers and of St. Ingbert in Rhenish Bavaria.

A lecture delivered by pastor Meyer from Paris had such an effect, that a charitable person placed a sum of 1000 thalers at his disposal.

The congregation of Laas in Hungary to the amount of 4,515 thalers, 12 silver groschen (645 guineas).

In 1857 the general meeting took place at Cassel on August 31st and Sept. 1st and 2nd. This year was in one respect a year of mourning for the society, as its first projector, Dr. Christian Gottlob Leberecht Grossmann, who had been eleven times president at annual meetings, departed this life on June 29th after a long and severe illness. His resting-place is marked by a simple cross in the cemetery of Leipsic.

Sixty-three deputies, as well as numerous guests from Sweden, France, England, Hungary and Belgium met at Cassel. The whole meeting was impressed by two feelings; one of sorrow at the loss of the founder of the society, and the other of thankfulness at its continued existence for twenty-five years. Dr. Karl Zimmermann, of Darmstadt, was elected president. Canon Dr. Merkel, of Bremen, presented every deputy with a copy of the portrait of Dr. Grossmann in the name of the ladies' society of Bremen.

The meeting on September 1st was preceded by a solemn public service, attended by the elector and his family, in the church of St. Martin, where repose the remains of Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous. The meetings were held in the Lutheran church. Three hundred and eighty congregations had received assistance to the amount of 101,793 thalers (almost 14,542 guineas). The congregation of Deutz received the gift of above 4,913 thalers (nearly 702 guineas). Finally, Sir Culling Eardley, of London, offered to the society a prospect of taking root in England, as well as upon the continent.

In 1858 (on August 24th, 25th, and 26th) the general meeting took place at Leipsic, whence the first idea of the society had gone forth in 1832. There were sixty-seven deputies present, besides fifteen brethren from Hungary, five from England and Scotland, and one from Norway. The president of the central board, Dr. Hoffmann, occupied the chair, and Dr. Karl Zimmermann assisted him as vice-president. A great number of new branch and ladies' societies had been formed, and 7,816 thalers (above 1,116 guineas) had come in from legacies. Altogether legacies had been left to the society up to that date amounting to 50,000 thalers (above 7,142 guineas). 107,666 thalers (nearly 15,381 guineas) had been distributed among three hundred and seventy-nine congregations. But a great deal more still remained to be done. Four hundred and fifty-eight congregations were standing entreating for assistance at the doors of the society; there were one hundred and sixteen churches, chapels, prayer-houses or prayer-rooms, and sixty-

seven schools to be built; fifty-eight schools to be kept up, and sixty-eight congregations to be supported in their ecclesiastical existence.

The congregation of Schwarzwald in Posen received assistance from the meeting to the amount of 8,705 florins (above £725).

In 1859 the war rendered it impossible to hold the general meeting, as intended, at Ulm, and when peace unexpectedly came, it was too late to transfer it to another place. But the grand and branch societies exerted themselves to the utmost to render the failure of the annual meeting as little felt as possible. Twelve ladies' societies were formed, and a student society at Leipsic sent its contribution for the first time. Twenty-four new branch societies were announced.

Five hundred and thirty-nine congregations made application for assistance to the society, and in the preceding year four hundred and ninety-four congregations had received assistance to the amount of 134,782 thalers (above 19,254 guineas). 667 thalers (above 95 guineas) came in as contributions from congregations which had hitherto been assisted by the society. It was already in Austria permitted to the Protestants to make collections for the purposes of the society, and Manchester in England had sent a contribution of 1,000 thalers (nearly 143 guineas.)

We have thus carried the history of this great society down to 1859, the point at which our statistical information stops, and we think that it is desirable that the proceedings of our continental brethren should be better known in England. With this view we have admitted papers of the nature of contributions to modern ecclesiastical history into our columns, and we trust that the result will be a better knowledge of, and greater sympathy with, those who in their sphere are striving to do the work of him who is their Master and Lord as well as ours. We think, too, that the above sketch will go far to prove that our Teutonic brethren are not quite so lifeless in a religious point of view as many people in our own country are in the habit of representing them to be.

A. H. W.

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## THE CHRONOLOGY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.\*

By REV. J. P. THOMPSON, D.D., New York.

"The life of Jesus on earth was in the highest sense a human one, and it is this fact that gives us the key to the Gospels as real historic records."

"O, let us not forget, in all our investigations, that the history of the life of Christ is a history of *redemption*,—that all the records which the Eternal Spirit of truth has vouchsafed to us bear this indelible impress, and are only properly to be seen and understood from this point of contemplation. It is the history of the *Redeemer* of our race that the Gospels present to us; the history, not of Jesus of Nazareth, but of the Saviour of the world; the record, not of merely idealized perfections, but of redemptive workings,—'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work;' and he who would presume to trace out that blessed history, without being influenced by this remembrance in all his thoughts and words, must be prepared to find himself adding one more unhonoured name to the melancholy list of those who have presumed to treat of these mysteries, with the eclectic and critical spirit of the so-called biographer,—the biographer (O strangely inappropriate and unbecoming word!) of Him in whom dwelt the whole fulness of the Godhead."

THESE brief citations—the first from Andrews, the second from Ellicott—indicate the widely different stand-points of their respective works, so nearly identical in title. The one, passing by all questions respecting the authorship and the inspiration of the Gospels, assumes that they are genuine historical documents and statements of facts; and deals with them as such, with a view to portray in their just geographical and chronological relations the external aspects of the earthly life of Christ. The other, assuming not only the credibility of the Gospels as a history, but their plenary inspiration as well, and regarding "the usual tone of mere historical writing" upon the closing scenes of our Lord's ministry as "little short of profanity," attempts to set forth "the outward connection of those incidents that inspired pens have been moved to record of the life of God's Eternal Son."

But while the stand-point of the one is the external history of the life of the Son of Man, and that of the other is the inspired record of the incarnate Son of God, both authors agree in this,—the attempted reproduction of the life of Christ in its

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\* The following article has appeared in the *North American Review*, and is reprinted here from advance sheets which were kindly forwarded by its author, who wished its re-publication in our pages. We very cheerfully give it a place, and believe our readers will be interested in its perusal.—Ed. J. S. L.

1. *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ; being the Hulsean Lectures for the Year 1859.* By C. J. Ellicott, B.D. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1862. pp. 382.

2. *The Life of our Lord upon the Earth; considered in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations.* By Samuel J. Andrews. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. pp. 624.

historical unity of time, place, manner, and relations. Mr. Andrews, while "recognizing the supernatural elements in the evangelic narratives wherever they exist," and believing as devoutly as does Bishop Ellicott that Jesus was "very God," has written his book with this simple purpose in view:—"to arrange the events of the Lord's life, as given us by the Evangelists, so far as possible, in a chronological order, and to state the grounds of this order; and to consider the difficulties as to matters of fact which the several narratives, when compared together, present; or are supposed by modern criticism to present." Bishop Ellicott, while rejecting with pious indignation all naturalistic criticisms as "discreditable and unreasonable attempts to throw doubt on the credibility of the sacred narrative," nevertheless in his tones—which alone give value to his book for the scholar—is at much pains to refute such "idle and mischievous doubts," upon critical and historical grounds; and to exhibit the connection of events in the life of Christ, in "a regular continuity of narrative," as if he himself were writing a biography of the man Christ Jesus, from the materials furnished by the four Evangelists.

Using these authors mainly for illustration and confirmation upon minor details, we propose to invert their method with regard to the life of Christ, and to inquire what evidences of the reality of that life are to be found in the historical and geographical allusions of the Evangelists, and in the archæology of Palestine as illustrated by traditions and remains, and by hereditary and immutable customs.

A list of geographical names, or a genealogical register such as opens the Gospel of Matthew and the First Book of the Chronicles, has no attractions for the plain reader of the Bible. But these very minutiae of names, places, and dates, in a book of such antiquity, form a local and historical foundation for its facts, help us to verify its statements, and serve to certify its authenticity; and thus the religion of the Bible is definitely and permanently attached to the soil and the history of our world.

It has been common of late to criticise the Bible upon the score of accuracy in its details; to admit in the main the truth of its principles and the beauty of its moral sentiments, but to impeach its statements of fact, whether scientific or historical, and thus to impair confidence in the Book as an authority. Bishop Colenso, while professing to believe that the Pentateuch "imparts to us revelations of the Divine will and character," yet maintains upon arithmetical grounds that "the so-called Mosaic narrative cannot be regarded as *historically true*." Similar criticism has been applied to the life of Christ. But

the minute references of the Bible to places, names, and the events of contemporaneous history, serve to fasten its narratives in space and in time; and thus are a means of establishing its truth as a history, and the reality of the persons and the events of which it speaks. Hence the study of Biblical geography and history bears a just relation to the supernatural events and the moral truths of the Bible; for while this Book in its miracles and doctrines is the most supernatural work in human language, it is at the same time the most matter-of-fact Book of all antiquity, and the most capable of being tested, illustrated, and confirmed by geography, history, and monuments.

To shew this, we have only to suppose that, instead of the Bible as it is, we had the general statement that, at a time far back in the history of the world, there had appeared to men a remarkable Being, with a halo about his head, who said and did many wondrous things; that he had once made a sea stand still in the midst of a storm; that he had created bread for a hungry multitude in the desert; that he had gone up to the top of a mountain, and had there been transfigured into a divinity; and that he had finally ascended from a mountain into the clouds;—and yet in all this story there was no hint of the place or the time of these occurrences,—what sea, what mountain, what desert, what country, among what people, in what age;—we should have a feeling of the unreality of the whole story, however we might prize its moral lessons. It would be shifted from the region of history to that of poetry. How differently would the truths of the Bible impress us, did they come in the garb of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*! Those two poems work up into the form of an epic the great event and sequences of the fall and the redemption of man; they aim to reproduce the supernatural features of the Bible; they embody its precepts, prophecies, and doctrines;—in a word, they are Biblical throughout. But though composed in a narrative form, and teaching the very facts of the Bible, they are so imaginative in their cast, that, if they constituted our Bible, we should be puzzled to know how much of reality, and especially of divine authority, to attach to them. Though Milton's poems abound in geographical and historical allusions, which localize the scenes of their principle events, yet their fictitious incidents and imaginary conversations, and the drapery of fancy in which they are clothed, give an air of unreality even to scenes borrowed from Biblical narratives. But if we go further, and suppose all local and historical groundwork to be removed from the Bible, its personages, its events, its teachings, would float before us in the dream-light

of poetic fiction. We might accept it as teaching truth, or as founded upon truth, but we should not feel it to be the real, personal, living Book it is. As to the effect of reality upon the mind, it would be more like Homer's *Odyssey* than like Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The *Odyssey* abounds in beautiful and noble sentiments, and ends in the triumph of fidelity and virtue. It gives play to supernatural and divine agency in human affairs. It pictures the human race as it stood midway "between Paradise and the vices of later heathenism." Many of its scenes are so far reproductions of real life, that it serves as a text-book of the manners and customs of its age. Even its legends may have had some original basis of fact. Yet, when we come to questions of time and place, we find that "the geographical particulars of the wanderings are dislocated and distorted. Distances are misstated, or cease to be stated at all. The names of countries are massed together in such a way as to shew that the poet had no idea of a particular mode of juxtaposition for them. Topographical or local features, of a character such as to identify a description with some particular place or region as its prototype in nature, are erroneously transposed to some situation which, from general indications, we can see must be upon a different and perhaps distant part of the surface of the globe. At certain distances, the mode of geographical handling becomes faint, mistrustful and indistinct;"<sup>b</sup>—and thus the poem itself is thrown back from the world of reality into the shadowy ideal world. We can never assure ourselves whether there really was a Ulysses;—or, if there were such a person, where he travelled, and where he found his home. His story does not impress us with the sense of reality which we have in reading the story of Abraham, of Joseph, or of Moses, though these date from a more remote antiquity. In respect to their demonstrable reality as historic representations, "the Homeric poems are like a broad lake outstretched in the distance, which provides us with a mirror of one particular age and people, alike full and marvellous, but which is entirely dissociated by an interval of many generations from any other records, except such as are of the most partial and fragmentary kind. The Holy Scriptures are like a thin stream, beginning from the very fountain-head of our race, and gradually but continuously finding their way through an extended solitude, into times otherwise known, and into the general current of the fortunes of mankind."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Gladstone, *Homer and the Homeric Age*. Vol. iii. p. 253.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. ii. p. 521.



This identification of Biblical narratives with geographical localities and with historical events—with known places in the world and known actualities in history—makes the Bible for every age a real and living Book, belonging to mankind, capable of being verified by unimpeachable testimony,—its matters of fact written upon the physical features of Egypt, of the desert, of Palestine, and corroborated by the records and monuments of the Jews, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Romans. Its story of Shishak is illustrated by the hieroglyphics on the south-west wall of the main temple of Karnak; the stories of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, by the cuneiform inscriptions of Bir and Behistun. The historical allusions of the New Testament tally with the contemporaneous fragments of classic history, with the names and titles of Roman officials and the very coins of Roman colonies. Thus, minutely is the Bible linked with matters of fact in the world to which it brings, professedly, a revelation from heaven. In this view, the study of Biblical history and geography has been introduced into some of our colleges, as a necessary part of a liberal education.

In pursuing this line of enquiry, chiefly with respect to the geographical attestations of the life of Christ, we shall adhere for the most part to the narrative of Luke, whose references to the contemporaneous political history and geography of Syria are more full and more specific than those of the other Evangelists. Indeed, the preface to Luke's gospel seems to invite this scrutiny,—“Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, . . . it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee, in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.” But at the very outset we are met with the vexed question of Cyrenius (*Quirinus*), whom Luke mentions as governor of Syria at the date of the taxing that summoned Joseph from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Neander almost concedes that Luke has fallen into an anachronism, perhaps by mistaking the assessment under Herod for the census which occurred twelve years later. “Nevertheless,” he adds, “Quirinus may have been actually present at this assessment, not, indeed, as governor of the province, but as imperial commissioner; for Josephus expressly says that he held many other offices before he was governor of Syria, at the time of the second census.”<sup>d</sup> According to Hase,

<sup>d</sup> *Leben Jesu*, cap. iii., § 16, note.

"Luke carries the mother to Bethlehem by means of a Roman census, which is not in accordance with the Roman method of taking the census, and which only by means of forced explanations can be freed from the suspicion of being a mistake for the census of Quirinus, ten years later." But the researches of Zumpt have created a strong presumption in favour of the literal accuracy of Luke's statement; and the artless combination of the Jewish mode of registration with the Roman decree of taxation, is one of those nice correspondences which compel us to accept the fact as stated.

Mr. Andrews meets the difficulties connected with this taxing fairly and thoroughly. He makes no attempt to explain away the obvious meaning of Luke, nor to provide conjectural emendations of authentic history, but shews, from a candid comparison of all known data, that "in various ways the difficulties connected with the taxing may be met, (though it cannot be said that they are all yet removed,) if we assume that Cyrenius was but once governor of Syria. But we have strong historical evidence that he twice filled this office." We give this evidence in Mr. Andrews's own words, from his preliminary "Chronological Essays":—

"It is at this day that the researches of Zumpt have for us special importance. In his list of Syrian governors (ii. 149), extending from B.C. 30 to A.D. 66, we find the interval from 748—758 thus filled: P. Q. Varus, 748—750, or 6—4 B.C. P. S. Quirinus (Cyrenius), 750—753, or 4—1 B.C. M. Lollius, 753—757, or 1 B.C. to 3 A.D. C. M. Censorinus, 757—758, or 3—4 A.D. After Censorinus follows L. V. Saturninus, already mentioned, from 758—760, or 4—6 A.D., who is succeeded by P. S. Quirinus for the second time. This second administration extends from 760—765, or 6—11 A.D. If Zumpt be right in this order, Cyrenius was twice governor of Syria; but we are now concerned only with his first administration, or that from 750—753. Upon what ground does this statement rest?

"Our chief knowledge of Cyrenius is derived from Tacitus. He was of low origin, a bold soldier, and attained a consulship under Augustus in 742, and was afterwards proconsul in the province of Africa. After this he conquered the Homonadenses, a rude people living in Cilicia, and obtained a triumph. He was subsequently made rector to Caius Cæsar, when the latter was appointed governor of Armenia. At what time and in what capacity did he carry on the war against the Homonadenses? The time is thus determined. He was consul in 742. As it was a rule with Augustus to send no one sooner than five years after his consulship as legate to a province, he could not have been in Africa earlier than 747. But he was made rector to C. Cæsar in 753, after the war against the Homonadenses, so that this war was between 747

and 753. In what capacity did he carry it on? Probably as governor of Syria. It is important to bear in mind that at this time there were two classes of provinces, the one under the immediate control of the Emperor, the other under the control of the senate. The governors of the imperial provinces were called legates or *proprætors*, and continued in office during the pleasure of the emperor; those of the senatorial provinces, *proconsuls*, whose authority lasted only for one year. Syria and Cilicia were both provinces of the former kind, and administered by *proprætors*. The *Homonadenses* were a people living in Cilicia, but Cilicia belonged, from 25 B.C. down to the time of Vespasian, to the province of Syria. As Cyrenius had been *proconsul* in Africa, and as it was a rule that the same person should not be ruler over more than one of the consular or *prætorian* provinces under the care of the Senate, he could not have been governor of any of the provinces immediately adjacent,—Asia, Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia; he must, then, have been acting as governor of the province of Syria, and as legate of the Emperor.

"We cannot here enter into an investigation of the many intricate questions which belong to this point, and which are fully discussed by Zumpt. The result of all is, that Cyrenius became governor of Syria, as the successor of Varus, toward the end of 750, and continued in office till 753.

"It cannot be said that Zumpt demonstrates that Cyrenius was twice governor of Syria, but he certainly makes it highly probable. It is indeed possible that he was acting in the East at the time of the Lord's birth as legate extraordinary, or as head of the census commission for Syria and the East. As, however, Luke's language seems to mean that he did act as governor of Syria at this time, and as he is confirmed in this by many of the earliest Christian writers, the burden of proof lies upon those who dispute his accuracy. As the case now stands, we may assume that Cyrenius was so governor from the end of 750 till 753."—pp. 5, 6.

Bishop Ellicott, who also gives a summary of proofs and authorities in his notes, is still more confident in the result.

"I feel certain no fair and honest investigator can study the various political considerations connected with this difficult question, without ultimately coming to the conclusion, not only that the account of St. Luke is reconcilable with contemporary history, but that it is confirmed by it, in a manner most striking and most persuasive. When we remember that the kingdom of Herod was not yet formally converted into a Roman province, and yet was so dependent upon the imperial city as to be practically amenable to all its provincial edicts, how very striking it is to find, in the first place, that a taxing took place at a time when such a general edict can be proved to have been in force; and, in the next place, to find that that taxing in Judæa is incidentally described as having taken place according to the yet recognized customs of the country,—that it was, in fact, essentially imperial and Roman in origin, and yet Herodian and Jewish in form. How strictly, how minutely, consistent is it with actual historical relations, to find that Joseph, who, under

purely Roman law might, *perhaps*, have been enrolled at Nazareth, is here described by the evangelist as journeying to be enrolled at the town of his forefathers, 'because he was of the house and lineage of David!' This accordance of the sacred narrative with the perplexed political relations of the intensely national, yet all but subject, Judæa, is so exact and so convincing, that we may even profess ourselves indebted to scepticism for having raised a question to which an answer may be given at once so fair, so explicit, and so conclusive."—pp. 67, 68.

We are the more disposed to rely upon the accuracy of Luke in this instance, when we recall the remarkable corroboration by Dio Cassius of the much-disputed title, *ἀνθύπατος*, given by Luke (Acts xiii. 7), to Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus. It was alleged that, as Augustus had reserved Cyprus as an imperial province, it must have been governed by a legate, and that consequently Luke was in error in calling Sergius a proconsul,—an officer of the senate and the people. But after hypercriticism had satisfied itself of the inaccuracy of the chronicler of the Acts of the Apostles, "a passage was discovered at length in Dio Cassius (53. 12) which states that Augustus subsequently relinquished Cyprus to the senate in exchange for another province, and (54. 4) that it was governed henceforth by proconsuls, —*ἀνθύπατοι*. Coins, too, have been found, struck in the reign of Claudius, which confirm Luke's accuracy. Bishop Marsh mentions one on which this very title, *ἀνθύπατος*, is applied to Cominius Proclus, a governor of Cyprus."<sup>9</sup> At a time when the government of Cyprus, like that of New Orleans, alternated between a military and a civil administration, Luke is careful to give the exact title of the officer to whom he makes a mere passing allusion. We submit that the positive statements of an historian of such proved accuracy of detail cannot be impeached by the *omissions* of Josephus upon certain obscure passages of contemporary Roman history.

A test passage in Luke's gospel, for both chronological and geographical accuracy, is the opening of his third chapter; "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high-priests, the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness." Of the political geography of Syria, as indicated in this passage, we shall speak presently; we are now concerned with its chronological accuracy. The minor question, whether the reign of Tiberius should date from his accession to the

<sup>9</sup> Prof. Hackett, *Comm. in loc.*

throne, or from his colleagueship with Augustus two years previous, is of no consequence to the correctness of the official grouping in Luke's text, though it is important for determining the dates of Christ's birth, of his ministry, and of his death. Bishop Ellicott inclines to the view of Wieseler and Tischendorf, that the fifteenth year of Tiberius dates from his accession, and coincides, "not with the first appearance, but the captivity, of John the Baptist."<sup>a</sup> Mr. Andrews prefers to date it from the colleagueship, since "we cannot, without doing St. Luke great injustice as a historian, suppose him to have been ignorant of a fact so public and notorious as that of the association of Tiberius with Augustus in the empire; and there is no good reason why, if knowing it, he should not have taken it as an epoch from which to reckon,"—especially as he then became the acting emperor of the provinces of Asia Minor and Syria.

"To sum up our investigations upon this point, we find three solutions of the chronological difficulties which the statements of Luke present: 1st. That the fifteenth year of Tiberius is to be reckoned from the death of Augustus, and extends from August, 781, to August, 782. In this year, the Baptist, whose labours began some time previous, was imprisoned, but the Lord's ministry began in 780, before this imprisonment, and when he was about thirty years of age. 2nd. That the fifteenth year is to be reckoned from the death of Augustus, but that the statement the Lord was about thirty years of age is to be taken in a large sense, and that he may have been of any age from thirty to thirty-five, when he began his labours. 3rd. That the fifteenth year is to be reckoned from the year when Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the empire, and is therefore the year 779. In this case, the language 'he was about thirty' may be strictly taken, and the statement, 'the word of God came unto John,' may be referred to the beginning of his ministry.

"Of these solutions, the last seems to have most in its favour; and we shall assume that during the year 779, or the fifteenth year of Tiberius, reckoned from his colleagueship with Augustus, John began to preach and baptize."—pp. 28, 29.

This question aside, we find in Josephus the fullest corroboration of the political subdivisions mentioned by Luke. Herod the Great, by a will which Augustus confirmed, divided his kingdom among three sons (excluding Philip I., the son of Mariamne), making Archelaus ethnarch of Judæa, Idumea, and Samaria; Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; Herod Philip II., tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and the region about Paneas. Herod died in the first year of Christ; but when Joseph, returning from Egypt, heard that Archelaus,

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<sup>a</sup> Page 106, note 1.

who inherited his father's cruelty, "did reign in Judæa in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither, but turned aside into the parts of Galilee," now under Herod Antipas, who would be less likely to concern himself about the rumoured birth of a child-king of the Jews, at Bethlehem. The reign of Archelaus lasted but ten years; and after his deposition, Judæa and Samaria were united to the province of Syria, under Quirinus, but were governed by procurators, of whom Pontius Pilate was the sixth in order. Pilate sent Jesus to Herod Antipas, as soon as he heard that he was a Galilean, and "belonged to Herod's jurisdiction." Both Antipas and Philip had long reigns, covering the whole period of the life of Christ.

But who was the Lysanias whom Luke mentions as contemporary with Pilate, Antipater, and Philip? Josephus mentions a Lysanias, governor of Chalcis, who died about B.C. 34, but does not specify Abilene as a part of his possessions. But he also states that the Emperor Caligula (about A.D. 38, ten years after the time mentioned by Luke) gave to Herod Agrippa the "tetrarchy of Lysanias," reserving to himself "the Abila of Lysanias, and whatever was on Mount Lebanon." Hence Robinson infers that there was another Lysanias, the son or grandson of the former, and "it thus appears that the specifications of Josephus, referring to a period several years later than the notice of Luke, are in perfect harmony with the latter." There was no reason why Josephus should mention this second Lysanias, since during his lifetime his tetrarchy did not come into direct connexion with Jewish history; but when, after his death, his possessions were added to the dominions of Herod Agrippa, Josephus names them as the tetrarchy of Lysanias. On the other hand, as at the time of Luke's writing, Abilene had been absorbed into a Jewish kingdom, it was important for him, in fixing the date of John's ministry, to refer to the old title of the tetrarchy.

"We can now see clearly," says Mr. Andrews, "the reason why Luke, writing after Abilene had been made a part of the Jewish kingdom, should have mentioned the fact, having apparently so little connexion with Gospel history, that at the time when the Baptist appeared this tetrarchy was under the rule of Lysanias. It was an allusion to a former well-known political division that had now ceased to exist, and was to his readers as distinct a mark of time as his mention of the tetrarchy of Antipas, or of Philip. This statement respecting Lysanias shews thus, when carefully examined, the accuracy of the Evangelist's information of the political history of his times, and should teach us to rely upon it even when unconfirmed by contemporaneous writers."—p. 136.

The accuracy of Luke's information, as shewn in this instance, is as striking as if one now writing of the emancipation movement in Missouri, by way of contrast should say, that, in the fourth year of President Pierce's administration, Wilson Shannon being governor of Kansas as a federal territory, Charles Robinson being governor elect in the state administration as organized under the Topeka constitution, and Colonel E. V. Sumner being commander of the United States forces in the territory, General David R. Atchison of Missouri, formerly president of the United States senate, and Colonel Buford of Alabama, invaded Kansas with an armed force, in order to establish therein, by fraud and intimidation, the slave system of Missouri. One who was upon the ground during those memorable days could pen such a sentence from personal recollection; but at a distance, the writer must consult authorities, to avoid confounding the administrations of Reeder, Shannon, Geary, and Denver. The minute accuracy of Luke is the more striking, because his allusions to the shifting political divisions and administrations of Syria are simply incidental to his main purpose. But these serve to fix the chronology of the life of Christ, and to identify it as belonging to the local history of Palestine at a known period of the Roman empire.

Passing from the chronology to the chorography of the Gospels, we find in this the same natural, incidental, and always correct references to known matters of fact.

"The first consideration," says Lamartine, "that presents itself to the astonished mind, when opening a map of the globe for the purpose of studying the geography of religions, is that the little strip of earth between the head of the Mediterranean and the shores of the Red Sea,—a space almost entirely occupied by Mount Lebanon, the hills of Judæa, the mountains of Arabia, and the desert,—should have been the site, the cradle, and the scene of the three greatest religions adopted by mankind (India and China excepted),—the Jewish religion, the Christian religion, and the Mahometan religion. One would think, on contemplating a map of the world, that this little zone of rocks and sand between two translucent seas, and beneath stars of bright serenity, alone reflected more of divinity than all the residue of the globe."<sup>j</sup>

But more to our purpose than this rhapsody of the poet is the deliberate judgment of the greatest geographer of our age, —Carl Ritter.

"In the Book of Joshua, which relates the conquest and distribution of the land of Canaan, the geographical character is predominant. Its contents, therefore, in this respect, admit of being brought to the test of comparison with the ascertained condition of the country; and the result

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<sup>j</sup> *History of Turkey*, i., 37.

is, that its accuracy has been fully established in the minutest details, even when the examination has been pursued into the most unimportant and trivial local relations. Its notices, not only of distinct regions, but of valleys, fountains, mountains, villages, have been confirmed, often with surprising certainty and particularity. The entire political and religious life of the Hebrews was interwoven in the closest manner, like a piece of network, with the geography of the land, far more so than is true of the modern European nations; and hence the opportunity to verify the alleged or implied connexion between places and events is the more perfect, and affords results the more satisfactory. Most decisive is the rebuke which infidelity has received from this new species of testimony; it has been compelled to confess with shame that it has imposed on itself and on others by the unfounded doubts which it has raised against the truth of the Scriptures. The authenticity of the historical books of the Old Testament has been shewn to be capable of vindication on a side hitherto too much overlooked; their fidelity in all matters within the sphere of geography places a new argument in the hands of the defenders of revelation.”\*

What is true of the book of Joshua is equally true of the evangelistic narratives of the New Testament. The progress of modern researches in Palestine has subjected the chorography of the Gospels to the severest scrutiny, which it has sustained in the minutest particulars. The land of Palestine is peculiarly fitted to test the accuracy of the Scriptures in their geographical and local allusions. The smallness and isolation of the territory enable us to take in its whole area at one view, to understand the relations of its various parts, and to study the exact details of locality. The empires of Darius, of Alexander, of Augustus, of Napoleon, bewilder us by the vastness of their extent, and the variety of countries and races embraced in them. These, too, were continually shifting their limits. But the life of Christ was confined to a territory not larger than Vermont. We can place Palestine, as it were, under the stereoscope, and inspect it at our leisure. For beside being circumscribed within such narrow boundaries, this country is isolated by strong physical features. “South and east inhospitable deserts, to the west the sea, shut it off from other lands, while Lebanon on the north bounds it by an almost insurmountable wall, stretching from the sea to the eastern desert.” Nowhere else on the surface of the globe are the two conditions for the development of a world-religion—centrality and isolation—so wonderfully combined as in this hill-country between the Mediterranean and the Jordan, the wilderness of Arabia Petræa and the mountains of Northern Syria. The physical geography of Palestine is remarkably permanent. The clearing of forests, the neglect of

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\* Ritter, quoted by Prof. Hackett, *Illustrations of Scripture*, p. 224.



agriculture, the gradual modifications of time, may have produced changes in the climate, in the aspect of the hills, and in the size and volume of the streams. But the general face of the country is to-day just what it was in the time of Christ, the time of David, the time of Joshua; its great landmarks remain unchanged. The deep fissure of the Jordan is there, with the blue Lake of Genesareth above and the molten Sea of Death below; the rocky wilderness is there, upon either side of the river; the plain of Jericho, the mountainous ascent to Jerusalem, Zion, and the Mount of Olives, all marked by unaltered features; the valley of Hinnom, the valley of Jehoshaphat, with the channel of the Kedron; Joppa still looks upon the great western sea; the plain of Sharon stretches northward to Carmel. The hill-country of Judæa, the hills and plains of Samaria, the vale of Shechem, with Ebal and Gerizim upon either hand, the great plain of Galilee, the vale of Nazareth, Tabor and Gilboa, Hermon and Lebanon,—every spot in nature that Jesus visited or looked upon is there unchanged. Hence we have the materials for the minutest comparison of the narrative of the Evangelists with the region of Christ's earthly life. If that narrative is found to contain serious inaccuracies, or is contradicted by the physical features of the country, then must our confidence in its authenticity be hopelessly shaken, and the gospels pass at once from the category of historical productions into that of the legendary or the fictitious. The tone of extravagance in the reports of Du Chaillu with regard to the gorilla country, and the contradictions in his own journal,—though he attributes these to the jumbling of two or three journals together by his amanuensis,—have led eminent men of science in England to doubt whether he has ever been in the region he professes to describe. "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him." Now the Evangelists have been searched and sifted as to localities and matters of fact in Palestine, from the days of Jerome's *Onomasticon* to those of Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, and they have stood this test far more conclusively than Herodotus or Strabo, or any other writer of antiquity whose veracity and substantial accuracy are admitted by scholars. Upon this groundwork of fact their character as witnesses is established.

This comparison of the Evangelists with the local and physical record of Palestine is favoured also by the frequent identification of ancient names through those in common use. The language of Palestine being the Arabic, the cognate of the Hebrew, and the language of a religion—the Mohammedan—which accepts the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments

as a preliminary revelation, it is easy to trace the origin of many present names of places in Palestine to the geography of the time of Christ and his apostles, and even as far back as the age of Joshua and the conquest of Canaan. The Book of Joshua has been aptly compared to the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror. This book, still preserved in the British Exchequer, exhibits the state of landed property in England, its tenure and value, the quantity of meadow, pasture, forest, and arable land in each district, as reported by the king's commissioners shortly after the Norman conquest. This chorographic survey has been the authority of title-deeds and boundary lines for later generations. It fixed the basis of military tenure and fealty to the crown, when the old Saxon estates were broken up, and Norman barons were transformed into English nobles. Coke, Blackstone, and all the best authorities in English law, recognize this great survey as a decisive *record* upon questions of ancient demesne. Just so the distribution of Canaan among the Israelites by Joshua was matter of permanent and decisive record concerning the inheritance of the tribes; and "the more we become acquainted with the geography of Palestine through the discoveries of modern travellers, the more clearly do we perceive the correctness of all the boundary lines of the tribes, not only as regards their directions and windings, but also as to the heights and valleys over which they passed."<sup>1</sup> Joshua himself gives us the old Canaanitish names of many of the cities of Palestine, though these fell into disuse after the Israelites had taken possession of the land. And in like manner we can trace in the present geographical nomenclature of Palestine the old land-roll and census prepared under the direction of Joshua the conqueror.

A striking instance of this is found in the recent probable identification of a series of towns in the inheritance of Naphtali; to wit, En-hazor, Iron, Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath (Joshua xix. 37, 38). Upon Carl Zimmermann's new *Karte von Galiläa*, constructed to illustrate the routes and researches of Dr. Ernst August Schulz, we find these several towns in their proper juxtaposition, in the valley that stretches in a north-easterly direction from Acre towards Lake Huleh; En-hazor in the Ain Hazur, near El Mughar; Iron in Yaron, north-west of Giscala; Beth-anath in Ainata, farther to the north. Migdal-el, Keil would identify with Mejdal, the Magdala of Matthew's gospel, on the western shore of the Lake of Genesareth; but this is inadmissible. Horem is marked in most itineraries as

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<sup>1</sup> Keil, *Commentary on Joshua*, p. 51.

unknown. Dr. William H. Thomson, formerly of Syria, now of New York, while exploring this valley, was led to suspect that Migdal-el and Horem were but parts of one compound name; and in Medj el-Kerûm, which lies north-west of Ain Hazur, the long-sought identification is found. The Septuagint reads these two as one name, *Μεγαλαριμ*. Thus Joshua's Domesday Book, confirmed by native tradition, corrects a false reading of King James's translators.

The value of this native tradition in determining Biblical localities appears in the fact that the Greek and Roman names imposed upon Palestine have almost entirely disappeared, while the common people have kept alive, in a kindred dialect, the ancient Hebrew designations. Hence Robinson, who attached but little value to ecclesiastical traditions,—which may have originated either in credulity or in cupidity,—gives to this native nomenclature a weight beyond any other form of testimony collateral to the Bible and Josephus:—

“There is in Palestine another kind of tradition, with which the monasteries have had nothing to do; and of which they have apparently in every age known little or nothing. I mean, *the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people*. This is a truly national and native tradition; not derived in any degree from the influence of foreign convents or masters; but drawn in by the peasant with his mother's milk, and deeply seated in the genius of the Semitic languages. The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramæan form long after the times of the New Testament; and maintained themselves in the mouths of the common people, in spite of the efforts made by Greeks and Romans to supplant them by others derived from their own tongues. After the Mohammedan conquest, when the Aramæan language gradually gave place to the kindred Arabic, the proper names of places, which the Greeks could never bend to their orthography, found here a ready entrance; and have thus lived on upon the lips of the Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim, townsmen or Bedawin, even unto our own day, almost in the same form in which they have also been transmitted to us in the Hebrew Scriptures.”<sup>m</sup>

While the general topography of Palestine exhibits so many and so minute correspondences with the names and localities of the Old and New Testaments, the more prominent scenes in the life of Christ can be identified beyond a question. We may not be able to designate the Mount of the Beatitudes or that of the Transfiguration; the site of Capernaum may be uncertain; geographers may not agree which of two ruined villages represents the Cana of Galilee; but Bethlehem and Bethany, Jericho and Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives and the Valley of the Kedron,

<sup>m</sup> *Researches*, i., 255.

Sychar and Nazareth, and the Lake of Tiberias, are as definitely known as the stopping-places on the Hudson River railroad. One feels as sure that the plain of Genesareth lay upon the lake of its name, as that Sing-Sing is on the Tappan Zee. One is as sure that the vale of Shechem lies between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim, as that the Northampton meadows stretch out between Mount Holyoke and Mount Tom.

Geographically, the life of Christ may be arranged in three sections,—though these will not represent its chronological order. The first section embraces the northern portion of Judæa and Samaria; the second, the region of Galilee; the third, the country beyond Jordan, known under the general name of Perea. This very division identifies the period and the region in which Christ appeared. The original distribution of Canaan by Joshua after the conquest was into twelve divisions, which took the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. But the Evangelists, though Jews, barely allude to these tribal divisions. The reference to Bethlehem as a city of Judah, and the description of Capernaum as “upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim,” are the only mention in the gospels of the original Jewish divisions of Palestine. Those divisions, though substantially retained under the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, were nearly obliterated after the captivity, from which only remnants of Judah and Benjamin returned. But when Palestine was reduced to a Roman province, a new political division of the country was made, to provide offices for favourites, and to facilitate the government of a turbulent people. The Jewish historian, Josephus, and the classical geographer, Pliny, give substantially the following divisions: Judæa, which embraced the old tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan; Samaria, which took in Ephraim and parts of Issachar and Manasseh; Galilee, made up of Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher, and the northern possessions of Dan; Perea, on the east of Jordan, embracing Reuben and Gad; and the Decapolis, with its surrounding tetrarchies, embracing the half of Manasseh east of Jordan, and stretching northward to Anti-Lebanon and eastward to Damascus. Such were the political divisions imposed upon the Jews by the Romans, obliterating the ancient tribal divisions, which were the basis of their nationality. It was as if our state boundaries should be swallowed up in the military departments created by the general government.

Now the geographical references in the gospels correspond throughout with this state of facts. “There followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem and Judæa, and from beyond Jordan.” Such

is the general division. But just as the limits of our military departments and the names and functions of their commandants are continually changing, so these provinces and the titles of their rulers were frequently changed at the period to which we refer. Thus Judæa was subdivided into districts, the southernmost of which was called Idumæa; and this was sometimes reckoned as a distinct province. Furthermore, around cities of the Decapolis there grew up petty kingdoms, or tetrarchies, such as Abilene and Trachonitis, which had governors of their own. This state of facts, which we have upon independent Jewish and Roman authorities, and which greatly complicated the political geography of Palestine by frequent and embarrassing changes, is also recognized in the incidental allusions of the Evangelists. "A great multitude from Galilee followed him, and from Judæa, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumæa, and from beyond Jordan; and they about Tyre and Sidon," on the old Phœnician coast, adjoining Galilee (Mark iii. 7, 8). "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene" (Luke iii. 1). Luke has a certain methodical minuteness of time and place in his narrative, which we might expect from an educated physician. These references to a group of political provinces and their rulers, at a time when the boundaries of those provinces and the names and titles of their rulers were frequently changing, shew at least the confidence of the historian in his own knowledge, and should predispose us to receive him as an authority in matters of fact. And since these passing allusions of Luke are confirmed by the more formal narrative of Josephus, and by fragmentary Roman history, their testimony to his accuracy is of the very highest order.

There are similar allusions by Matthew and Mark, which corroborate each other through circumstantial diversities. Thus Matthew tells us that, after feeding the four thousand in the Decapolis, Jesus "sent away the multitude, and took ship, and came into the coasts of Magdala" (Matt. xv. 39). Mark says, that "straightway he entered into a ship with his disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha." Now, with one exception, all the cities of the Decapolis lay on the east of the lake and the Jordan; the site of Magdala is well identified through the Arab village Mejdal, on the south-western shore of the lake; and Dalmanutha was in the same region." Jesus must, there-

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\* Robinson, ii., 397.

fore, have crossed the lake from Decapolis to the point where these two neighbouring villages marked the shore. After this he goes again by ship to "the other side" of the lake, that is, to the eastern shore, where next we find him at Bethsaida, at the north-east corner of the lake, near the entrance of the Jordan, and thence he journeys northward into the coasts, or, as Mark says, "the towns of Cæsarea Philippi." This name is another proof of both historical and geographical accuracy. Familiar as is the history, we must cite its principal facts in evidence upon this point. There was a Cæsarea upon the coast of the Mediterranean, forty miles north of Joppa, founded by Herod the Great, and so named in honour of Cæsar Augustus. This is often mentioned in the Book of Acts. There Philip laboured; there Peter visited Cornelius; there Herod died; there Paul had his hearing before Felix, and again before Festus and Agrippa. This was *the* Cæsarea of Palestine. But when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis, he enlarged and embellished one of its cities, Panium, as his capital, changed its name to Cæsarea, in honor of the emperor, and then added his own name, Cæsarea Philippi, to distinguish it from the older and more conspicuous city on the sea-coast. This Cæsarea Philippi, nestling under the very shadow of Hermon, near the head-waters of Jordan, was the most northern point of our Lord's journeyings. The minute accuracy of the historian in the use of this name is seen in the fact that, about thirty years previously, the city was known exclusively by the name of Panias, and that twenty years later its name was again changed to Neronias, in flattery of Nero; after which it was long known as Cæsarea Paneas.\* Thus the great library of Paris has changed its name from Royal to Imperial, and again to Royal, and then to National, and once more to Imperial, according to the political administration of the capital; and the mention of either name suggests a corresponding epoch of the government. Accuracy in such details, when purely incidental to the main purpose of the writer, affords the strongest presumption possible of his trustworthiness as an historian.

In the simple narratives of the journeys of Christ, when time is given, it accords well with the relative distances of places; and towns and districts are always named in their proper relations to each other. From Nazareth to Cana is about twelve miles over the hills; from Cana the route to Capernaum is an almost continuous descent,—a distance of some fifteen miles. The nobleman coming from Capernaum finds Jesus at Cana in

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii., 2, § 1, and xx., 9, § 4.

the after part of the day, and beseeches him to "come down" and heal his son. Next morning, as he is hastening home, he meets his servants, who inform him that his son began to mend the previous afternoon. Taking into account the mode of Eastern travel, these dates correspond exactly with the distances. From Capernaum to Nain is barely twenty miles; accordingly we find Jesus one day at Capernaum, and "the day after" at Nain (Luke vii. 11). In going northward from Jerusalem to Galilee, Jesus "must needs go through Samaria;" and in Galilee, within another jurisdiction, he would be comparatively safe from the rage of the Sanhedrim. The populous district about Lake Tiberias,\* the chief scene of his labours, had near it, upon the north-west, mountainous solitudes to which he could withdraw for seclusion and prayer. On the eastern shore of the lake, over against Galilee, lay Gergesa and the country of the Gadarenes. Here, too, as above noted, was the broad region known as Perea, traversing which southward "beyond Jordan," to the ford at Jericho, our Lord would thence come to Bethany and Jerusalem. Bethany, nestling under the eastward slope of Olivet, just out of sight of the capital, was an easy and pleasant resort by night, after a day spent in the discussions of the temple.

Thus may we trace step by step the earthly life of Jesus upon the soil of Palestine. It is written upon the hills and the valleys, upon the lake and the river, upon the desert places of Jordan and Galilee, on the smiling fields of Shechem and the fair slopes of Olivet, as legibly and imperishably as if for each succeeding generation Jesus had there repeated his lowly, patient wanderings, his works of sublime beneficence. To doubt this is to doubt everything in human history. No amount of testimony could make more certain the reality of that earthly life; no geographical exploration, no surveyor's measurements, though these might multiply points of correspondence and identity, could make more sure a life certified by so many points unchanged in name and locality, and whose distances and bearings so completely underlie the narrative. The very stones are witnesses for the story. Say what men will of the character and mission of Christ, of his work, his doctrine, his death, they must accept the fact of his life on earth, or burn up every record of the past, and sink the land of Palestine in the depths of the sea.

The political vassalage of Palestine, the inertia of oriental society, and the bigotry of race and of religion, have combined

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\* The gospels make no mention of *Tiberias*, built several years after Christ. This omission is a confirmation.

to keep the features of the country and the location of its principal places more nearly like what they were two thousand years ago, than are the physical features and historical sites of any other land, Egypt alone excepted. For centuries its Turkish masters have barred it against the encroachments of modern civilization, and now the mutual jealousies of Christian powers keep it in a state of chronic supineness. Hence the verisimilitude of the gospel narratives when read amid the every-day incidents of life in the Holy Land. Even the archæology of Palestine is a thing of the present; its antiquities are living realities. And, so far as scenery, climate, places, manners, and customs are concerned, much of the Bible might be reproduced there to-day, as all of it must at some time have been written there. To a reader not versed in Italian, the poem of Dante may at first seem obscure and dry, from the multitude of its local and historical allusions. But when one has resolutely mastered these, they in turn place him *en rapport* with the mind of the poet, and the once tedious page becomes a living annal of its times. Michael Angelo had brought the pencil of the greatest artist of Italy to illuminate her greatest poet; and the loss of his illustrations was a calamity to the world of letters no less than to the world of art. But a modern artist has revived this difficult task; and as you turn over the pages of Dante's *Inferno*, illustrated by Gustave Doré, you gain a realization of the poet's meaning, so vivid and intense, that you seem to walk with him pensive and shuddering through the dismal caverns of hell, fascinated by the very horror that repels you. The pictured pages are themselves a poem; they give a visible shape to the conceptions of the poet, and by their shadowy light you look into the mysterious depths of that great soul. Yet this is only imagination illustrated by imagination. But in the land of Palestine,—rocks, hills, rivers, valleys, lakes, fountains, trees, and flowers,—we have a photographed copy of the life of Christ, fact illustrating fact, and making that life of august mysteries a reality of earth and time. Every allusion of Christ to objects in nature belongs to Palestine, and must have been suggested and uttered there.

We look to the geographer, the botanist, the naturalist, for minute and classified descriptions of the soil, climate, and products of a country, of its agriculture, its fauna and its flora. But from the native orator or poet we expect passing allusions to such physical scenery, and such animal and vegetable life as he is familiar with in his own surroundings; and these allusions may serve to localize the speech or poem, as belonging to the Occident or the Orient, to the North or the South, to England



or to Italy. Bryant's *Prairies* could not have been written by an Englishman, nor Wordsworth's descriptions of Rydal and Windermere by an American. The verifying a literary production by its tropical allusions becomes obvious and natural when the country of its birth has prominent peculiarities of scenery, climate, or productions. Now Palestine combines in a remarkable manner the climates and productions of the temperate and the tropical zones, concentrated within a small area. Of the valley of the Jordan and the country of Genesareth, Josephus says:—"One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together; it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country;—the hardier trees that require the coldest air, flourish there plentifully; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; while fig-trees and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate." Much as the soil and productions of Palestines have deteriorated since the land has been trodden under foot of strangers, and much as the climate itself has changed, from the clearing away of forests, there yet remains in the vegetable and animal kingdoms of the Holy Land, and in the agricultural habits of its people, a striking confirmation of the allusions to soil and climate in the life of Christ.

Did John the Baptist appear in the wilderness, living upon locusts and wild honey? The uncultivated, uninhabited region of Judæa toward the Dead Sea, whose trees and rocks drip honey from the nests of wild bees, is there to certify to the story. The contemporary Pliny informs us that the Parthians esteem the locusts a choice food,<sup>†</sup> and that some tribes of the Ethiopians subsist on nothing but locusts, which are smoke-dried and salted as their provision for the year;<sup>‡</sup> and a modern Jewish Rabbi, long resident in Palestine, mentions that in 1837, when myriads of locusts covered the land, "the Arabs roasted these insects and ate them with much relish."<sup>§</sup> The camel, as of old, is the beast of burden, and his hair is woven into a coarse cloth for garments such as the Baptist wore. The banks of the Jordan are lined with reeds "shaken by the wind." The fox still has his hiding-places in the hill country of Palestine, where the Son of Man was a homeless wanderer; serpents and vipers abound, to illustrate the comparison of the Pharisees to their venomous brood; the scorpion haunts ruins, and hides in the crevices of the walls, its terrible sting representing the fierceness of "the enemy," over whom Jesus gave his disciples power. If an ass or

<sup>†</sup> Book II., c. 32, 35.

<sup>‡</sup> Book VI., c. 35.

<sup>§</sup> Schwartz's *Palestine*, p. 300.

a camel die by the roadside, wheresoever the carcass is, the eagles or vultures' are quickly gathered together. The ravens, true to their instinct, drive out their young from the nest to seek their food, having neither storehouse nor barn. The dove is still the favorite bird of the house and the grove, and is held sacred by Mohammedans as the symbol of harmlessness and purity. The sparrow is still so annoying by its numbers upon the house-tops, and so little relished as food, that two might be bought for a farthing. The ox and the ass are still the favourite beasts of burden, and the ass's colt is the common saddle-beast of the poorer people,—even as when Jesus came meekly "riding on the foal of an ass." Sheep and goats, however, are the most numerous of the domestic animals of Palestine; and every allusion to these in the parables and discourses of Christ may be verified among the flocks and sheepfolds of the country, as one sees them to-day. At certain seasons of the year the shepherd lives with his sheep in the open air, abiding in the field keeping watch over the flock by night. At other times, when cold or danger threatens, all the flocks of the village are gathered within a walled enclosure, whose door is in the keeping of the porter. In the morning each shepherd calls out his own sheep, and they, knowing his voice, follow him to their feeding-places, where, armed with sling, staff, or other weapon, he watches them against the wolf or the robber. When the time of dividing the flocks come, the sheep are separated from the goats.

In the open country—the fields unbroken by fences and traversed by the highway—the sower may drop seed upon stony places or on the wayside, to be trodden under foot of men. When the wheat is in the ear, the traveller, following the path through the field, may pluck his hands full, rub out the grain, and eat. In marshy spots, the *zowan*, or tare, will often spring up and choke the wheat, where only good seed had been sown. The barley-loaf remains a common article of diet. At harvest-time one sees the oxen treading out the grain upon the great stone floor in the open air, where the wind carries away the chaff, the fan in the hand of the husbandman thoroughly purges his floor of dust and refuse. At evening, in the doorways, the women, usually two, sit together at the millstones, grinding the meal for the next morning. For the baking, as wood is scarce, dry weeds and grass are gathered to be cast into the little oven of earth and burned.

If the traveller in Palestine would rest by the wayside, as he approaches a village, he will find the well or the fountain to

which the women resort to draw water; and he may sit under the wide-spread branches of the sycamore,—wholly unlike the American tree of that name,—reminding himself how easily Zaccheus, from such a tree, could scrutinize the crowd as it passed along; and also how great must be the faith that would pluck up this deep-set tree by the roots. Perhaps near by he may see the mustard-seed grown to a shrub, in which birds make their nests; or by some brook or moistened valley near Tabor or Nazareth, his eyes may feast upon the lilies of the field, with which all the glories of Solomon could not compare. The plain of Jericho might still furnish palm-branches for the royal welcome of the Son of David; the fig-tree would still illustrate his parables; the olive would yield its oil to the good Samaritan; the vineyard, with its wine-press and tower, with its well-pruned vines and abundant fruits, is at hand as a commentary upon the last discourses of Jesus; while the buckthorn and a species of cactus, simulating the grape and the fig, remain to point the proverb that “men do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles.” Perhaps in the early season one might be attracted to a fig-tree by its promising foliage, to find “nothing thereon but leaves only,”—a symbol of a cultivated intellect with an unbelieving heart.

The life of Christ must take its place in history among the realities of earth and time. We may not be able to trace its every link, to identify its every footstep; “here, perchance, we may wander; there miss the right clew; yet, if with a true and living faith we seek to bring home to our hearts the great features of the Evangelical history,—to journey with our master over the lonely mountains of Galilee; to sit with him beside the busy waters of the Lake of Genesareth; to follow his footsteps into remote and half-pagan lands, or to hang on his lips in the courts of his Father’s house,—we shall not seek in vain. The history of the gospels will be more and more to us a living history.”\* The patient study of that history, in the candid and liberal spirit of true criticism, can lead only to the conclusion of the reality of the life of Christ as there recorded. And whatever harmonistic and chronological difficulties may yet remain in certain passages of that life, we may gladly observe, with Bishop Ellicott, “that order and connection have been found where there was once deemed to be only confusion and incoherence,—that the inspired narratives are regarded no longer as discrepant, but as self-explanatory,—and that honest investigation is shewing more and more clearly, that what one inspired writer has

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\* Ellicott, pp. 141, 142.

left unrecorded another has often supplied, with an incidental preciseness of adjustment which is all the more convincing from being seen and felt to be undesigned.”\*

For such a study we know of no more agreeable and instructive helpers than the two authors whose works we have now brought to the notice of the reader. Each should be read in its own order; Mr. Andrews's, for the thorough historical and geographical groundwork of the life of Christ; Bishop Ellicott's for the devout realization of that life upon this basis of actuality. Mr. Andrews preserves the calm, exact, critical style of the historian, never indulging in homiletic reflections or in devotional meditations; yet he is not wanting in fervour of conviction or in vivacity of narration. His work is by far the most complete, trustworthy, and satisfactory digest of the later results of criticism upon the life of Christ that has appeared in the English language. Nothing of importance seems to have escaped his notice, and no point has been evaded or slurred over because of unresolved difficulties. Bishop Ellicott's volume retains the popular or hortatory style of discourses which assume the inspired character of the Gospels. They are therefore less forcible as an argument for the credibility of the gospels, but are rich and elegant in the portraiture of the life of Christ. Nor are they wanting in a critical analysis of doubtful points, which is carefully elaborated in learned notes. Thus the two works supplement each other; and if we study them connectedly, the things narrated of the earthly life of Christ “will seem so close, so near, so true, that our faith in Jesus will be such as no sophistry can weaken, no doubtfulness becloud.”

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\* Page 220. We do not moot the question of inspiration, the fact of which Bishop Ellicott assumes.

**THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS : FROM THE CODEX SINAITICUS.****INTRODUCTION.**

THE discovery of the entire Greek text of this ancient document, after a recension so widely varying from the common one, renders it very desirable that the English reader should know something more about it. For this reason the following translation has been written, a translation which professes not to have the minute precision and grateful finish of which it is capable; but which, rough and disjointed as it may seem, is about as graceful in its style as the original Greek. No attempt has been made to illustrate the peculiarities of the writer's vocabulary and syntax, although they have sometimes caused considerable difficulty to the translator. Another source of difficulty is the absence of accents and punctuation. The former leaves the meaning of some words doubtful, and the latter causes considerable uncertainty as to the proper limits of some of the sentences. Sometimes, too, the peculiarities of spelling, in which the copyist so largely indulges, create a certain measure of obscurity. These obstacles to a good translation are not removed by the only edition to which the writer has had access (that of Dressel, Leipsic, 1857), although both it and the notes have been of some service. The deviations from the text as hitherto known are very numerous and important, but to indicate them would extend our notes far beyond what we propose. Subsequent editors of the epistle will perform this task, and to them it seems properly to belong.

We have used for our translation the edition of the Sinaitic New Testament in small type. Sometimes we have pointed out the corrections of the reviser, and indeed, have usually done so where they affect the sense.

It seems unnecessary here to go into the literary history of this document. For that, and for a discussion of the whole question of authorship, we may refer to the article in Kitto's *Cyclopædia* (vol. i., pp. 302—305 new edition), where they are summarily and clearly stated, with references to authorities. We will only say that the epistle was first published in 1645, but was well known to the ancients. It is quoted or referred to by Clement of Alexandria, by Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. The author largely quotes the Old Testament, sometimes quotes the Apocryphal books, and occasionally gives as quotations what are either unknown, or are not quotations at all. The Old Testament is quoted in the Septuagint, but often with a looseness which cannot be justified. The New Testament is seldom

quoted, but there are so many expressions which may be compared with various texts, that it seems as if he must have had the New Testament before him. Of the author's mode of allegorical interpretation we shall say nothing here; it was a mistake into which the church early fell. Of his doctrine, we may remark that it is generally primitive and Catholic, and scriptural. With all its faults the epistle is of much value, and we may believe that, though not written by Barnabas, it was written not later than the middle of the second century. The modern sections are retained, but the paragraphs of the original are also given.

TRANSLATION:—EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.\*

1. Rejoice, O sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace.

Seeing that the judgments of God to you are great and rich, I rejoice exceedingly and abundantly in your happy and honoured spirits. Ye have not received the engrafting of the spiritual gift in vain.<sup>b</sup> Wherefore also, the more do I rejoice with myself, hoping to be saved, because truly I see in you from the rich Lord of love, the spirit poured out upon you. Thus in regard to you, your desirable appearance hath astonished me. Therefore I am persuaded of this, and conscious in myself, that having spoken among you, I understand many things, because the Lord has accompanied me in the way of righteousness. I am also altogether necessitated for this cause, to love you more than my own soul, because great faith and love dwelleth in you, in hope of his life. Therefore considering this, that if it should be my concern for you to communicate some portion of what I have received, [that] it will be to me for a reward, serving such spirits, I have made haste briefly to send to you, in order that with your faith you might have perfect knowledge.<sup>c</sup> The

\* The title runs thus, without the article, and with none of the adjuncts of "Catholic," "apostle," etc.

<sup>b</sup> This translation is at best conjectural. Upon the face of it the sentence should be rendered either "Ye have not received grace, the engrafting of the spiritual gift;" or, "Of whom ye have received grace, the engrafting of the spiritual gift." The first of these renderings gives a sense opposed to that which is required, as the sentence has no symptom of being interrogative. The second rendering, which makes *ou*=of whom, is objectionable as referring it to *theos*, so far back. If the *ou* could itself be read *theos*, there would be no further difficulty. "Ye have received the grace of God, the engrafting of the spiritual gift." Under all circumstances the translator has taken *ou* as a negative particle and *χαρις* as an adverb, like the Hebrew *כִּי*, and the Greek *ὡς* in sense. The only alternative seems to be, that *ou*=when, quum, "When ye have received grace," etc.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek word here is "gnosis," and frequently occurs in the epistle, always, it would seem, referring to a deeper insight into things than most men have.

doctrines of the Lord, therefore, are three,<sup>d</sup> Life, Faith, Hope, our beginning and end; and Righteousness, the beginning of judgment; and finally, Love, Joy, and the Testimony of gladness for works in righteousness. For the Lord has made known to us by the prophets the things which had come to pass, and present things,—of future things [also]<sup>e</sup> giving us the first-fruits and foretaste; which things we see accomplished one by one, as he said, and therefore we ought to approach the more freely and loftily to his fear.<sup>f</sup> But I, not as your teacher, but as one of yourselves,—will set forth a few things whereby in present circumstances ye may be gladdened.<sup>g</sup>

2. Seeing therefore that the days are evil,<sup>h</sup> and that he who worketh hath power,<sup>i</sup> we ought, giving heed to ourselves, [to give heed to ourselves and] to search out the judgments<sup>j</sup> of the Lord. Helpers of our faith, then, are, Fear and Patience; and the things which fight on our side are Longsuffering and Continence. While these things continue, those things which regard the Lord, purely rejoice therein: Wisdom, Understanding,

<sup>d</sup> This bears upon one of the author's leading principles. He wants to range truths and duties under three heads; and lower down it will be seen how this threefold arrangement is supposed to have been known to men like David, Moses, and even Abraham. In the sentence which follows it is by no means clear what ought to be its divisions in order to educe from it the triad required. Certainly the first group comprises, 1, life; 2, faith; 3, hope; and of these it is said they are our beginning and end. The second element is simply righteousness or justification, and this is declared to be the beginning of judgment. It may be questioned whether the words, "the beginning of judgment; and finally," should not rather be "the beginning and end of judgment." In any case the third item consists of 1, love; 2, joy; and 3, the joyous testimony of a man's own conscience over works done in righteousness.

<sup>e</sup> Those portions which are in brackets are the marginal corrections and various readings of the Sinaitic manuscript.

<sup>f</sup> This phrase is awkward, and perhaps still more so the original, "More richly and loftily." Perhaps the writer only means to say, "More heartily, confidently, and thoroughly;" with no feeling of restraint, and no apprehension of satiety, or end to our advantages.

<sup>g</sup> The reader will have observed in this chapter wide and frequent differences from the Latin version, and he will find, as he goes on, similar departures from the only hitherto known texts.

<sup>h</sup> Compare Eph. v. 16.

<sup>i</sup> Apparently a vague reminiscence of Eph. ii. 2.

<sup>j</sup> The word *δικαιώματα*, which here and elsewhere we render "judgments," might perhaps in all cases be better represented by our word "statutes." It describes in general what God has decreed or decided and commanded. It will be observed that the matter which directly follows forms another triad: the helpers of our faith are Fear and Patience: Longsuffering and Self-control (Self-restraint, or Continence) fight on our side; and thirdly, we have Wisdom and Understanding (Consciousness or Conscience), Prudence and Knowledge. All these are enumerated as Christian virtues in the New Testament, as may be seen by reference to any Greek or English Concordance. The word rendered "prudence" is no exception, as it is really involved in the words of James iii. 13, where we read "who is a wise man, and *endued with knowledge* among you."

Prudence, Knowledge. For he hath manifested unto us by all the prophets that he needs neither sacrifices, nor holocausts, nor oblations, saying thus, "What is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord; I am full of holocausts, and I wish not the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls and goats; Nor should ye come to appear before me, for who has required these things at your hands? To tread my court add no more; not if ye should bring fine flour. Incense is abomination to me; your new moons and sabbaths I endure not."<sup>k</sup> He has therefore abolished these things, that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of necessity, might not have a man-made oblation.<sup>l</sup>

And again he says to them, "Did I command your fathers when they went out from the land of Egypt, to offer unto me holocausts and sacrifices? But this I commanded them, Let each of you cherish not evil in his heart against his neighbour, and a false oath love not."<sup>m</sup> Therefore we ought, for we are not without understanding, to perceive the thought of our Father's goodness; because he speaks to us, willing that we, not going astray<sup>n</sup> like them, should seek how we may approach him. To us, therefore, he saith thus, "A sacrifice to God, a contrite heart, is a smell of sweet savour to the Lord, a heart glorifying Him that made it."<sup>o</sup> Therefore we ought carefully to enquire, brethren, concerning our salvation, lest the wicked one, having gained entrance by deceit should cast us out from our life.<sup>p</sup>

3. Therefore he says to them again concerning these things, "Why do ye fast unto me as this day? saith the Lord: that your voice should be heard with a cry? I have not chosen this fast, saith the Lord,—not a man humbling his soul. Nor should ye bend as a curve your neck, and spread under you sackcloth

<sup>k</sup> The preceding quotation of Isaiah i. 11—14 is from the Septuagint, and there is strong reason to believe that the author was in happy ignorance of Hebrew, as he will among other things be found making Abraham use Greek numerals, if not the Greek language. All Old Testament extracts in the epistle are clearly meant to be from the Septuagint. We shall indicate most of them as we proceed with such parallels and allusions as refer, or seem to refer, to the New Testament.

<sup>l</sup> This sentence is in the spirit of many New Testament expressions. The abolition of Old Testament sacrifices; the Gospel in fact a law, but a law of liberty, and the utter absence of man-made sacrifices, are two great and weighty truths. As it regards the last of them, it proves demonstratively enough that the author knew nothing of a doctrine like that of the mass. These are golden words, as characteristic as any of the general purity and primitive simplicity of the author's theology; as his interpretations are apt to be characteristic of his false principles of criticism. With this author's doctrine, that of the Epistle to the Hebrews may be compared. See in particular Heb. vii. 18—28; Gal. v. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Jer. vii. 22; Zech. viii. 17. <sup>n</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 25. <sup>o</sup> Ps. li. 17—19.

<sup>p</sup> 2 Cor. ii. 10—11. 1 Tim. iii. 17. 2 Tim. ii. 26. The author firmly believed in Satanic influences. "Cast us out:" lit., "sling us out."



and ashes; not so will he call it an acceptable fast.”<sup>q</sup> To us he saith, “Behold, this is the fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord; not a man humbling his soul, but, Loose every bond of iniquity; unloose the knots of strong contracts; send away the crushed in release; and tear every unjust bond; feed the hungry with thy bread; and if thou seest a naked man, clothe him; take the homeless into thy house; and if thou seest the humble, thou shalt not despise him, nor (turn away) from the servants of thy own family. Then shall thy dawn break forth, and thy health shall quickly arise, and righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of God shall encompass thee; then shalt thou call, and God shall answer thee, while thou art yet speaking, He shall say, ‘Behold, it is I:’ if thou take away from thee the bond, and ordination, and word of murmuring, and givest to him that hungers thy bread from thy soul, and hast pity on the soul that has been humbled.”<sup>r</sup> For this therefore, brethren, He is long-suffering, foreseeing how in simplicity the people whom he has prepared shall believe in his Beloved.<sup>s</sup> For he foreshadowed concerning all things that we might not break out against their law like those who are uncontrolled.<sup>t</sup>

4. Therefore it behoves us who enquire much concerning present things, to search out the things which are able to save us. Let us then wholly flee from all the works of iniquity; lest the works of iniquity should take hold of us; and let us hate the error of the present time that we may love for the future; let us not give rest to our soul so that it may have power to run with sinners and the wicked, lest we become like them. The final scandal (it is written)<sup>u</sup> approaches, concerning which it is written as Enoch says.<sup>v</sup> For, for this the Lord has cut short the times and the days that his Beloved may hasten, and he will bring us to the inheritance.<sup>w</sup> Now the prophet also says thus, “Ten kingdoms shall rule upon the earth, and there shall rise up after them a little king who shall humble under one [*query*, at once] three of the kings.”<sup>x</sup> Similarly Daniel says concerning the same, “And I saw the fourth beast, evil and powerful, and more cruel than all the beasts of the earth, and

<sup>q</sup> Isaiah lviii. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Isaiah lviii. 6—10.

<sup>s</sup> Luke i. 17. Rom. ix. 23. 2 Tim. ii. 21.

<sup>t</sup> *i. e.*, persons unbridled, let loose, and giving themselves up to their impulses. The Greek word is *επιλυτοι*. It is translated “proselytes” in the previously-known Latin text, but the word we now find seems more consistent with reason and with the context. The *επιλυτοι* are no doubt the unbridled Jews who broke away from the restraints of their own law.

<sup>u</sup> This is clearly an error and should be left out. The scribe re-wrote it in its proper place just after.

<sup>v</sup> A reference to the Apocryphal book.

<sup>w</sup> This passage may be compared with Dan. ix. 24—27. Matt. xxiv. 22.

<sup>x</sup> Dan. vii. 24.

how from it sprang up ten horns, and out of them a little horn budding, and how he humbled under one [*query*, at once] three of the great horns.”<sup>7</sup> Therefore ye ought to understand. And moreover this also I will ask you, as one of you whom, individually and all, I love more than my own soul, to take heed now to yourselves, and not to be like some, adding to your sins, saying, “The covenant is ours indeed,”<sup>8</sup> but they ~~thus~~ finally lost it, when Moses had already received it. For the Scripture says, “also Moses was in the mount ~~fasting~~ forty days and forty nights, and received the ~~covenant~~ from the Lord, tables of stone written with the ~~finger~~ of the hand of the Lord;”<sup>9</sup> but having turned ~~away~~ to idols they lost it; for the Lord says thus to Moses, “Moses go down quickly, because thy people whom thou hast brought out of Egypt have broken the law.”<sup>10</sup> And Moses understood, and cast the two tables out of their [his] hands,<sup>11</sup> and their covenant was broken, that the (covenant) of the Beloved Jesus might be sealed upon our heart in hope of his faith. But wishing to write many things, not as your teacher, but as becometh one who loves you; from what we possess, I was anxious not to fail to write, in order to your cleansing; we give heed to the last days,<sup>12</sup> for the whole time of your faith will profit you nothing except now in the wicked time we resist coming scandals as becometh sons of God.<sup>13</sup> That the Black one<sup>14</sup> may not have admission, let us flee from all vanity, let us hate altogether the works of the way of evil; do not, by retiring apart, dwell alone, as already justified, but coming together into the same place, make enquiry together concerning what is profitable to you in common.<sup>15</sup> For the Scripture says, “Woe for them who are wise by themselves, and prudent before themselves.”<sup>16</sup> Let us be spiritual.<sup>17</sup> Let us be a perfect temple to God.<sup>18</sup> As much as in us is, let us meditate upon the fear of God.<sup>19</sup> Let us strive to keep [that we may

<sup>7</sup> Dan. vii. 7—14. Though by no means verbally quoted.

<sup>8</sup> Dressel reads by conjecture “testamentum illorum non et nostrum est,” but the writer’s object is simply to make certain persons say, “The Jewish covenant belongs to us as well.”

<sup>9</sup> Exod. xxxi. 18; xxxiv. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Exod. xxxii. 7. Deut. ix. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Exod. xxxii. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Or, in the last days. 1 Peter i. 5. Jude 18.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Peter. iv. 3. Eph. v. 16. Phil. ii. 15.

<sup>14</sup> i.e., Satan, a curious application of the word *Meias*, not in the Latin. It may remind us, however, of the well-known “Hic Niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.”

<sup>15</sup> This passage seems to imply that the germ of the monastic tendency was already developing itself, but it shews that, in the author’s opinion, Christianity was a social religion, requiring God’s *flock* to keep together. Heb. x. 25.

<sup>16</sup> Is. v. 21.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 15; iii. 1. Gal. vi. 1.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Prov. xxiii. 17.

strive to keep] his commandments, that in his judgments [we may rejoice]. The Lord without respect of persons will judge the world.<sup>1</sup> Each as he has done will receive;<sup>m</sup> if he be good, his righteousness will go before him; if he be evil the wages of evil are before him." (See) that not resting at ease, as called, we should fall asleep amid our sins,<sup>o</sup> and the wicked prince,<sup>p</sup> receiving authority over us, should thrust us away from the kingdom of the Lord. And further, this also my brethren, understand, when ye see—after so great signs and wonders which have befallen in Israel, and so that they have been abandoned. Let us take heed, lest as it is written, we be found "many called, but few chosen."<sup>q</sup>

5. For, for this the Lord endured to deliver up his flesh to corruption,<sup>r</sup> that we might be purified by remission of sins, which is in the blood of his sprinkling.

Because it is written concerning him, partly for Israel, and partly for us, and he says thus, "He was wounded for our iniquities and bruised for our sins, with his stripe we are healed;" "as a sheep to slaughter he was led, and as a lamb without voice before its shearer."<sup>s</sup> Therefore we ought to be very thankful to the Lord, because also things which have passed away he hath made known to us, and in things which are present has instructed us; and in regard to things to come we are not without understanding.<sup>t</sup>

Now the Scripture says, "Not unjustly are nets spread for birds."<sup>u</sup> It means that the man perishes justly, who having a knowledge of the way of righteousness holds himself off to the way of darkness.<sup>v</sup>

And further, this also my brethren: if the Lord endured to suffer for our soul,<sup>w</sup> he being Lord of all the world,<sup>x</sup> to whom

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. 1, 17.

<sup>m</sup> 2 Cor. v. 10.

<sup>n</sup> Rom. vi. 23. John v. 29. Acts xxiv. 15. What follows to the end of the section strongly savours of the influence of Matt. xxv. 1—13.

<sup>o</sup> Rom. xiii. 11. 1 Cor. xi. 30. 1 Thess. v. 6, 7. Eph. v. 14.

<sup>p</sup> Eph. ii. 2.

<sup>q</sup> This passage has been generally, and it appears, correctly understood of the ruin and dispersion of the Jewish nation. Indeed, very much of the argument treats of Judaism as having to a great extent practically fallen into abeyance. At the same time the text seems to imply the lapse of no lengthened period since the calamities it refers to. The ensuing quotation is interesting; it is a direct citation from St. Matthew xx. 16, or xxii. 14, preceded by the formula "as it is written," which shews that the writer possessed the first gospel, and that it was already invested with canonical authority.

<sup>r</sup> This seems partly to contradict Acts ii. 23—31. But compare Acts xlii. 34. The rest of the sentence is illustrated by 1 Pet. i. 2. Heb. xii. 24.

<sup>s</sup> Isa. liii. 5, 7.

<sup>t</sup> Rev. i. 1, 19. See above, p. 68.

<sup>u</sup> Prov. i. 17.

<sup>v</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 21.

<sup>w</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 21; iii. 18; iv. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Acts x. 36. Rom. ix. 5; x. 12; xiv. 19.

God said from the foundation of the world, "Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness,"<sup>a</sup>—how He endured to suffer at the hand of men<sup>c</sup> learn. The prophets, having grace from him, prophesied about him;<sup>c</sup> but he that he might abolish death and shew forth the resurrection from the dead,<sup>b</sup> because it behoved him to be manifested in the flesh,<sup>c</sup> endured that also to the fathers he might render the promise,<sup>d</sup> and himself for himself naming [preparing] a new people, exhibit while upon earth, that he himself having effected the resurrection, will be judge.<sup>e</sup> And moreover, teaching Israel, and doing so great miracles and signs, he preached, and greatly loved him. But when he chose his own apostles, who were going to preach his gospel, [he chose] those who were more sinful than all sin, that he might shew that he came not to call the righteous but sinners.<sup>f</sup> Then [he manifest]ed himself to be the Son of God.<sup>g</sup> For if he had not come in the flesh, neither would men at all have been saved by seeing him, when looking at the sun about to set, and which is the work of His hands, they are not able to gaze upon its rays.<sup>h</sup> The son of God therefore came in the flesh, in order that he might bring to a conclusion the sum of their sins,<sup>i</sup> for those who had persecuted their [his] prophets with death. Therefore to this end he endured, [for] God saith, "The stroke of his flesh is from them."<sup>j</sup> When they smite their own shepherd, then the sheep of the pasture [shall be scattered and] fail.<sup>k</sup> But he himself was willing thus to suffer, for it be-

<sup>a</sup> Gen. i. 26.    <sup>b</sup> Heb. ii. 18.    <sup>c</sup> 1 Pet. i. 11; iv. 13; v. 1.    <sup>d</sup> 1 Pet. i. 10.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Tim. i. 10.    <sup>f</sup> Heb. ii. 14.    <sup>g</sup> Rom. i. 4.    <sup>h</sup> Acts xxiv. 15.    <sup>i</sup> 1 Pet. i. 3.

<sup>j</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16.

<sup>k</sup> Luke i. 72, with the words "naming [preparing] a new people," the Greek text of Barnabas commenced prior to the discovery of the Sinaitic Manuscript.

<sup>l</sup> Acts xvii. 31.

<sup>m</sup> The exaggerated description of apostolic unworthiness appears to be simply an indistinct recollection of 1 Tim. i. 12—16. The other allusion is to Matt. ix. 13, or Mark ii. 17.    <sup>n</sup> Luke v. 32.

<sup>o</sup> Compare Rom. i. 3, 4. The portion in brackets is omitted in the text.

<sup>p</sup> This idea occurs in other writers: If a man cannot gaze upon the sun, how can he gaze upon its unveiled Maker? Hence the need and mercy of the incarnation. The bearing of such language as we have here upon the pre-existence and divinity of Jesus Christ, is too apparent almost to escape the most casual reader.

<sup>q</sup> A commercial phrase, meaning to cast up an account so as to find its total, and to conclude it: hence it would seem to mean that Christ brought to a termination by his appearance and experience the course of rebellion which the Jews had followed under the old covenant. The prophets in the next clause are called by the scribe the prophets of the people, but by the corrector the prophets of Christ. Compare Matt. v. 12; xxiii. 31—37.    <sup>r</sup> Luke vi. 23.    <sup>s</sup> Rom. xi. 3.    <sup>t</sup> Eph. iii. 5.    <sup>u</sup> 1 Thess. ii. 15.    <sup>v</sup> Rev. ii. 10; xviii. 24, and many other texts in which the persecutions of the prophets are described or referred to.

<sup>w</sup> A vague reference apparently to Zech. xiii. 5—7, and Is. liii. 8.

<sup>x</sup> A direct citation from Zech. xiii. 7.

hoved that he should suffer on the wood.<sup>1</sup> For says he who prophesies concerning him, "Spare my soul from the wood, and fasten down with nails my flesh, because the assembly of evil-doers has risen up against me."<sup>m</sup> And again he says, "Behold, I have exposed my back to scourges, and my cheeks to strokes, but I have set my face as a solid rock."<sup>n</sup>

6. When, therefore, he has performed the commandment, what says he? "Who is he that contends with me? Let him oppose me; or who is he that enters into judgment with me? Let him draw near to the servant of the Lord." "Woe unto you, for ye shall all wax old as a garment, and the moth shall eat you up."<sup>o</sup>

And again the prophet says [Because as a mighty stone he is put for crushing], "Behold, I will cast into the foundations of Sion a stone, precious, elect, a chief corner-stone, honourable." Then what says he? "And he who believes in him shall live for ever."<sup>p</sup> Is our hope then [built] upon a stone? Let it not be. But he said [but when] the Lord put his flesh in power; for he says, "And he placed me as a solid rock."<sup>q</sup> Now the prophet says again, "The stone which the builders rejected, the same has come to be head of the corner." And again, "This is the great and wonderful day which the Lord has made."<sup>r</sup> I write to you the more simply that ye may understand, I am the offscouring of your love.<sup>s</sup> What then says the prophet again? "The assembly of evil-doers surrounded me, they encircled me as bees a honey-comb, and upon my garment they cast a lot."<sup>t</sup> Since therefore he was about to be manifested and to suffer in the flesh, the suffering was foreshewed.<sup>u</sup> For the prophet says concerning Israel, "Woe to their soul because they have counselled an evil counsel against themselves," saying, "Let us bind the just one because he is displeasing to us."<sup>v</sup> What says the other prophet Moses unto them? "Be-

<sup>1</sup> "On the wood," or "On the tree;" rather a favourite phrase with early Christian writers, owing probably to the reading of some copies of Psalm xvi. 10, "Dominus regnavit a ligno."

<sup>m</sup> This is a confused quotation, partly from Psalm xxii. 20, and ver. 16, and Psalm cxviii. 120 [LXX. translation].

<sup>n</sup> Isa. i. 6, 7. The preceding extracts are plainly meant to shew that the Old Testament prophets predicted the sufferings of Christ, even when they seemed to be recording their own experience. The Messianic and prophetic character of some of these passages is still accepted, but there are others where no such allusion is now supposed to exist.

<sup>o</sup> Isa. i. 8, 9.  
<sup>p</sup> A loose quotation from Isa. viii. 14, or xxviii. 16. Compare Rom. ix. 33.  
<sup>q</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 7, 8. <sup>r</sup> Isa. i. 7. <sup>s</sup> Psalm cxviii. 22.

<sup>t</sup> Psalm cxviii. 24.

<sup>u</sup> Compare 1 Cor. iv. 13.

<sup>v</sup> Psalm xxii. 16, 18; cxviii. 12.

<sup>w</sup> 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

<sup>x</sup> Isa. iii. 9; vii. 5. Wisdom ii. 12. This quotation from the Apocryphal book is closely incorporated with the loose citation from the prophet.

hold, these things says the Lord God, Enter into the good land which the Lord sware [to your fathers] to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and let him inherit [inherit ye] the land flowing with milk and honey."<sup>2</sup> Now what says Knowledge? Learn: "Hope in Him [says she] who is going to be manifested to you in the flesh,—Jesus. For man is earth suffering; for the formation of Adam was from the face of the earth. What then means "into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey?" Blessed be our Lord, brethren, who hath put in us wisdom and understanding of his secret matters. For, says the prophet, "Who shall understand the parable of the Lord, if not the wise and prudent, and he who loves his Lord?"<sup>3</sup> Since, therefore, he hath renewed us in the remission of sins, he hath made us of another pattern, that we might have the soul of children, although newly creating us.<sup>4</sup> For the Scripture says concerning us as he says to the Son, "Let us make man after our image and after our likeness, and let them rule over the beasts of the earth, and the fowls of heaven, and the fishes of the sea."<sup>5</sup>

And the Lord said, seeing our fair formation, "Increase and multiply and replenish the earth."<sup>6</sup> These things [were spoken] to the Son. Again, I will shew to thee how the Lord says to us he has effected a second fashioning in the last [times]: "And the Lord says, Behold I make the last as the first."<sup>7</sup> Of this, therefore, the prophet preached, "Enter into the land flowing with milk and honey, and rule over it."<sup>8</sup> Behold, therefore, we have been re-fashioned, as he says again in another prophet, "Behold, says the Lord, I will take away from these (that is, from those whom the spirit of the Lord foresaw) their stony hearts, and I will put in them hearts of flesh,"<sup>9</sup> because he was himself going to be manifested in the flesh, and to sojourn amongst us;<sup>10</sup> for, my brethren, a holy temple unto the Lord, is

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xxxiii. 1—3. Lev. xx. 24.

<sup>3</sup> "Knowledge," or Gnosis, the knowledge of the initiated, which penetrates to the hidden meaning of the Scripture and brings it to light: the wisdom of faith. What follows seems not to be extract, but an interpretation put upon the prophets by Gnosis. Hence there follows a mystical or allegorical explanation of Exod. xxxiii. 1, and other passages.

<sup>4</sup> We find no text which agrees with this quotation. The ideas are expressed in part in Job xv. 8. Isa. xl. 13. Jer. xxiii. 18. Rom. xi. 34. 1 Cor. ii. 16. See too Hos. xiv. 9.

<sup>5</sup> This allusion to spiritual regeneration embodies references to a number of New Testament texts, and it is not easy to see which was most prominent in the writer's mind. Acts ii. 38. Rom. xii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 16. Eph. iv. 23. Col. iii. 10. Titus iii. 5. Rom. viii. 15. 2 Cor. v. 17. Gal. vi. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. i. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. i. 28.

<sup>8</sup> No direct quotation. See Isa. xliii. 18, 19. Rev. xxi. 5; and possibly Rev. ii. 19; but especially 2 Cor. v. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Ex. xxxiii. 1, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Ezek. xi. 19; xxxvi. 26, 27.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16. John i. 14.

the habitation of our heart ;<sup>k</sup> because the Lord says again, " And in what shall I appear before the Lord my God, and be glorified ? I will confess to thee in the church of my brethren, and will praise thee among the churches of the saints."<sup>i</sup> Therefore we are they whom he led into the good land. What then are the milk and honey ? Because first the child is kept alive on milk and honey, so therefore also we, being made alive by faith of the Gospel, and by the Word, shall live, ruling over the land.<sup>j</sup> But we said before above, " And let them increase and multiply, and govern the fishes."<sup>k</sup> Who then is able to govern the beasts, or fishes, or the fowls of heaven ? For we ought to perceive that to govern is a sign of authority, that one who gives injunctions should rule. If therefore this does not come to pass now, truly he has said it to us.<sup>l</sup> When ? When we ourselves are also made perfect, to become heirs of the covenant of the Lord.

7. Understand, therefore, ye children of joy, that the good Lord hath foreshowed all things to us, that we might know whom, giving thanks in all things, we ought to praise.<sup>m</sup> If, therefore, the Son of God, being Lord [foreshowed that we might know to whom in all things giving thanks], and going to judge the living and the dead,<sup>n</sup> suffered that his stroke might make us alive, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes.<sup>o</sup> But also being crucified, he received to drink the vinegar and the gall.<sup>p</sup> Hearken ; concerning this the priests of the temple, made manifest ; a command having been written, " Whoever shall not fast the fast, ye shall be destroyed."<sup>q</sup> The Lord gave the commandment, because he also himself, for our sins, was about to offer in sacrifice the vessel of the Spirit, in order that this which [the type which] occurred in Isaac when he was offered upon the altar (or, in sacrifice, Gr. *ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσίαν*) might be accomplished.<sup>r</sup> What then says he in the prophet ? " And let them eat of the goat which is offered in the fast, for all their sins."<sup>s</sup> Attend diligently ; " And let all the priests alone eat the inwards unwashed, with vinegar."<sup>t</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Eph. ii. 21.

<sup>j</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Heb. ii. 8.

<sup>n</sup> Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Psalm lxix. 21. Matt. xxvii. 34.

<sup>r</sup> Gen. xxii. 1—14. Heb. xi. 17.

<sup>l</sup> Psalm xxii. 23 ; xlii. 2. Heb. ii. 12.

<sup>k</sup> Gen. i. 28.

<sup>m</sup> Col. ii. 17. 2 Thess. i. 3.

<sup>o</sup> Isa. lii. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 21, 24.

<sup>p</sup> Lev. xxiii. 29.

<sup>q</sup> Not an exact quotation. Dressel says of what follows and of this, "Traditiones potius, quæ inter primævos Christianos invaluerunt de Judæorum ritibus in festo expiatorio celebratis, respicere videtur. Cfr. Num. xix. 7, 11; Just., *Dial. cum Trypho.*, n. 40; Tertull., *Adv. Jud.*, c. 24; *Adv. Marc.*, iii., 7." At the same time there is a scriptural basis for some of the things which are said, although the whole passage betrays equal fancifulness of interpretation, and negligence in quotation.

Wherefore? "Because to me, who am about to offer my flesh for the sins of my new people, ye are going to give gall with vinegar to drink. Eat ye alone, while the people are fasting and lamenting in sackcloth and ashes." That he might shew that it behoves him to suffer many things at their hands. What commanded he? Observe. "Take two goats good and alike, and offer them. And let the priest take the one for a holocaust, the one for sins. And the other what should they make?" "Accursed," says he, "is the one." Observe, how the type of God<sup>1</sup> [Jesus] is manifested: "And all of you spit upon it, and pierce it, and put scarlet wool upon its head, and so let it be cast into the desert." And when it is done thus, he who bears the goat drives it into the desert, and takes the scarlet wool, and places it upon a bush, that called *rachel*,<sup>2</sup> of which also we are accustomed to eat the shoots when we find it in the field. Thus of the bramble alone the fruits are sweet. What then is this? Observe the one upon the altar, but the other accursed, and that it is crowned which was accursed. Because they shall see him, then in that day, having a long scarlet robe about his flesh, and they shall say, Is not this he whom we once crucified, and set at nought, and spat upon?<sup>3</sup> Truly this was he who then said himself to be the Son of God;<sup>4</sup> for how is he like him! For this; (that) the goats were similar, good alike, that when they see him then coming, they may be confounded at the likeness to the goat. See then the goat the type of Jesus who was about to suffer. But what that they place the wool amid the thorns? It is a type of Jesus who is placed in the Church; for, as he who would take away the scarlet must suffer much because the thorn is dreadful, and in suffering get power over it, so says he, "They who will see me and lay hold of my kingdom, must receive me in affliction and suffering."<sup>5</sup>

8. Now what do you think it to be a type of, that it is commanded to Israel that men, in whom sins are perfect, should offer the heifer; and that when they have slain it, they should burn it, and then that boys (*παιδια*) should take the ashes and cast them into vessels, and put about them the scarlet wool [or, put the scarlet wool upon sticks (?)] (Behold, again the type of the cross! both the scarlet wool), and the hyssop, and thus that the boys should sprinkle one by one the people that they might be cleansed from their sins.<sup>6</sup> Understand how in simplicity the

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark that this word seemed too strong to the corrector, who substituted "Jesus."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a corrupt spelling of *rachos*, which we have afterwards rendered "bramble."

<sup>3</sup> Compare Rev. i. 7, 13, and Zech. xii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> See Matt. xxvii. 43; John xix. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Acts xiv. 22.

<sup>6</sup> This section again involves many details which cannot be verified by the



law says to you, it is Christ Jesus [the calf is Jesus]. The men who offer it are sinners, who present it for slaughter; then no longer men, no longer the glory of sinners. [Now] the boys who sprinkle, preaching unto us the remission of sins and purification [of heart], (are those) to whom he gave the power of the gospel, being twelve in witness of the tribes, because the tribes of Israel are twelve, for preaching. But wherefore three boys who sprinkle? In witness of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because these were great with God. And why was the wool upon the wood? Because the kingdom of Jesus was upon wood,<sup>a</sup> and because they who hope in him will live for ever. And why at the same time the wool and the hyssop? Because in his kingdom there will be polluted and evil days, in which we shall be saved; because he who is in pain, by the cleansing of hyssop is healed.<sup>a</sup> And for this cause, the things which are so, to us indeed are manifest, but darkness to them, because they have not heard the voice of the Lord.<sup>b</sup>

9. For he says again concerning the ears, how that he hath circumcised our heart.<sup>c</sup> The Lord saith in the prophet, "At the hearing of the ear they obeyed me."<sup>d</sup> And again he saith, "By hearing they shall hear who are afar off; what I have done they shall know."<sup>e</sup> And, "Circumcise ye your hearts [be ye circumcised in your hearts] saith the Lord."<sup>f</sup> And again he saith, "Hear, O Israel, for these things says the Lord thy God, who is he that wishes to live for ever? by hearing hear [let him hear] the voice of my child" (or "servant;" literally, "boy").<sup>g</sup>

And again he saith, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken these things for a testimony." And

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Scripture. The ceremonies enjoined in connexion with the offering of the red heifer are recorded in Numb. xix. 1, etc. The words in the text, "Behold again, the type is one of the cross, both the scarlet wool," do not well fit with the context; and probably we should read, "Behold again, the type is one of the cross," in brackets, and expunge the remainder, "both the scarlet wool," as a mere repetition from the previous clause. Assuming this correction and that of the reviser we have the passage thus;—"That boys should take the ashes and cast them into vessels, and put the scarlet wool upon sticks (behold again the type is one of the cross), and the hyssop, and thus that the boys should sprinkle," etc. See Heb. ix. 13, 19; xiii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Psalm xcvi. 10. See note <sup>1</sup>, p. 74.

<sup>b</sup> Psalm li. 7 (Psalm l. 9 in Sept.). The words *δια του ρυκτου του υσσωνου*, which we translate "by the cleansing of hyssop," seem to mean "by the defilement of hyssop;" but Dressel gives good reason for regarding the expression as referring to the supposed purifying virtues of hyssop; and he gives as a translation, "Emundante hyssopi succo."

<sup>c</sup> Eph. iv. 17, 18.

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xxx. 6. Rom. ii. 28, 29.

<sup>e</sup> Psalm. xvii. 45 in Sept., or Psalm xviii. 44 in Hebrew.

<sup>f</sup> Isa. xxxiii. 13.

<sup>g</sup> Deut. x. 16. Jer. iv. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Jer. vii. 2, 3. Psalm l. 7; lxxxi. 8. Isa. xlv. 1, 2. Psalm xxxiv. 11—13; and Isa. l. 10.

again he saith, "Hear the Lord's word, ye rulers of this people."<sup>a</sup>

And again he saith, "Hear ye children, [it is] the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness."<sup>b</sup> Therefore he hath circumcised our ears that we might hear the Word, and not only believe.<sup>c</sup> But also the circumcision wherein they were trusting, is abolished.<sup>d</sup> For he said that circumcision was not of the flesh.<sup>e</sup> But they transgressed because an evil angel slew them [instructed them].<sup>f</sup> He says to them, "These things saith the Lord your God." Thus I find a commandment, "Sow not among thorns, ye are circumcised to your God."<sup>g</sup> And what means "Circumcise your hard-heartedness, and harden not your neck?"<sup>h</sup> Behold, receive again, behold, saith the Lord, all nations (have) circumcision, but this people (are) uncircumcised of heart.<sup>i</sup> But thou wilt say, "And truly the people are circumcised for a seal." But so are every Syrian and Arab, and all the priests of idols, are they then also of their covenant?<sup>j</sup> But the Egyptians even are in circumcision. Learn, therefore, children of love, concerning all things, that Abraham giving circumcision, in spirit abundantly foreseeing Jesus, circumcised, receiving the doctrines of the three letters.<sup>k</sup> For he saith, "And Abraham circumcised of his house eighteen and three hundred men."<sup>l</sup> What then is the knowledge given to him? Learn: because he says the eighteen first, and then, making a pause, three hundred,<sup>m</sup> thou hast Jesus. Now because the cross in the three hundredth was going to have the grace, he says, "Also three hundred." He signifies Jesus, therefore, in the two letters, and in the one the cross. He knew that he was putting in us the engrafted gift of his covenant. No one has

<sup>a</sup> Isa. i. 2, 10.

<sup>b</sup> Isa. xl. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Jer. vi. 10. Acts vii. 51.

<sup>d</sup> Rom. ii. 25. 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19. Gal. v. 6. Col. iii. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Rom. ii. 29. Col. ii. 11.

<sup>f</sup> The allusion to an evil angel, bears upon a number of passages in which angels are the ministers of God's judgments; as 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. But most likely the direct reference is to the plague which slew the Israelites in the wilderness. See Numb. xiv. 29, etc.; xxvi. 65; Psalm lxxviii. 49; cvi. 26.

<sup>g</sup> Jer. iv. 3, 4.

<sup>h</sup> Deut. x. 16.

<sup>i</sup> Compare Jer. ix. 25, 26.

<sup>j</sup> The author's account of nations circumcised betrays a larger amount of ignorance than Barnabas could possibly have had; and the same seems to be the case with the account of the Mosaic ritual. That a *Levite* even from Cyprus should have written such things is incredible.

<sup>k</sup> The three letters in this case are the Greek  $\alpha\theta\tau$ . As numerals  $\alpha=10$ ,  $\theta=8$ ,  $\tau=300$ ; the first and second  $\alpha\theta$  have the advantage of being the two first letters in the Greek name of *Ignovus*; and the  $\tau$ , happily for the author's system or method, represents one form of the cross. It requires a good stretch of faith to believe that Abraham knew anything about Greek numerals or Greek anything.

<sup>l</sup> Compare Gen. xiv. 14, xvii. 25—27. How on earth did the writer make out from these texts, that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen persons?

<sup>m</sup> The present text of the LXX. in Gen. xiv. 14, is "Three hundred, ten, and eight."

learned a more peculiar word from me, but (it is) because ye are worthy."

10. Now because Moses said, "Eat not the hog, nor the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the raven, nor the fish which has not portions [scales] on itself," he received three doctrines in his understanding. And besides, he says to them in Deuteronomy, "And I will dispense to this people my judgments." Is it, therefore, not a command of God not to eat? Now Moses spake in spirit. As for the hog, To this, he said, thou shalt not be attached. He means to such men as are like hogs; that is, when they luxuriate they forget the Lord, but when they come to want they acknowledge the Lord, as also the hog [Lord] when it eats knows not its Lord, but when it is [hungry] it cries out, and having received [food] is quiet again. "Neither shalt thou eat the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the raven;" thou shalt not, he means, be attached to nor like unto such men as know not [how] by labour and sweat to supply themselves with food, but plunder what belongs to others in their iniquity, and keep on the look out, walking in simplicity (or keep up a shew of simplicity), and gaze about for some way of escape (or plunder) because of their avarice: just as also these birds alone do not supply themselves with food [by labour], but also sitting [idle] seek how they may eat the flesh of others, being destructive in their wickedness. "And thou shalt not eat the lamprey," says he, "nor the polypus, nor the cuttle fish:"—neither let them eat, nor let them be like such men as are ungodly to the end, and are already condemned to death. Just as also these fishes alone accursed, float in the deep, not swimming like the rest, but dwell upon the ground below the deep. But

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\* After such miserable bungling, alike in quoting and explaining what is given as Scripture, it is no wonder that the author speaks so complacently of his work. This quoting as Scripture what is not in the Bible, is little better than dishonesty, and yet it is carelessness of a kind which has served as a basis for many teachings, for which divine authority has seemed to be necessary or desirable.

\* The laws about clean and unclean meats may be seen in Lev. xi., and Deut. xiv. What follows scarcely merits comment, yet we may notice how this author, the so-called Barnabas, strikingly differs from the apostles in his mode of quoting and explaining the Bible. If for nothing else, yet for this, we should be always able to contrast the New Testament with all other writings of the early Christian Church. The mere fact of allegorical interpretation is not all which we blame, nor do we so much wonder at it, because we find it in such constant students of Scripture as Origen himself. The absurdities of natural science are not peculiar, because we find the Phoenix even in Clement. The strange distortions and counterfeits of Biblical texts are probably worse than all the rest. Still, we cannot fancy an apostolical teacher committing any of the blunders which we have enumerated. Certainly there is in the New Testament very little indeed which savours of the afterwards so popular allegorical system (see Gal. iii. 22—31).

also "the hare thou shalt not eat." Wherefore? Thou shalt not be a corruptor of youth, nor be like unto such. Because the hare every year covets impure alliances; for as many years as it lives, so many holes it has.\* "But neither shalt thou eat the hyæna." He means, "Thou shalt not become an adulterer nor a corruptor, nor be like such." Wherefore? Because this animal yearly changes its nature, and is a male at one time, and a female at another. But also he hath rightly hated the weasel; "Thou shalt not," he says, "become such as those whom we hear doing iniquities with the body through uncleanness, nor shalt thou be joined to those women who do iniquity with the mouth [body] and in uncleanness." For this animal conceives by the mouth. Moses receiving three doctrines concerning meats, thus in spirit spake; but they according to the desire of the flesh,—as concerning eating received them. David [likewise] takes knowledge of these three doctrines, and saith, "Blessed is the man who hath not gone in the counsel of the ungodly," as also fishes go in darkness into the deeps; "and has not stood in the way of sinners;" as they who seem to fear the Lord sin like hogs; "and has not sat in the seat of the pestilent," like birds sitting for prey.† Hold perfectly: also concerning eating Moses says again, "And eat anything which is cloven-footed and ruminant." What means he? That he who receives food, knows him that feeds him, and resting upon him seems to rejoice. Well spake he, seeing the commandment. What then means he?—Be joined with those who fear the Lord; with those who meditate upon the precept of the Word which they have received in the heart; with those who speak the judgments of the Lord and keep them; with those who know that meditation is the work of joy, and one which ruminates over the word of the Lord. But what is the cloven-footed? That also the righteous man walks in this world, and looks for the holy world. See how Moses legislated well. But whence was he [was it for them] to understand and comprehend these things? Now we understanding rightly the commandments, rightly speak, as the Lord would. Therefore he circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might understand these things.‡

[To be continued.]

\* The hare does not burrow, and therefore we must either include the rabbit in this reference, or we must explain it of the "form," or nest, which the hare really makes for itself among the long grass, etc. † Psalm i. 1.

‡ We reserve to the close of the epistle the general inferences which we have been led to draw from it; at present we only call attention to the remarkable harmony of doctrine, and the verbal coincidences between this composition and the New Testament. Upon this fact we should very much rely in fixing its date not later than the middle of the second century.

**BUDDHISM: ITS ORIGIN, DOCTRINES AND PROSPECTS.\***

BUDDHISM is a subject of great and peculiar interest. It is invested with interest not only because Gotama effected a change of Brahman institutions on Brahman soil—not only on account of the tendency which his doctrines had to upset the social polity of all eastern nations, the system of castes,—but also for the most wonderful results which Buddhism has effected in the greater part of Asia. Perhaps there is not, certainly there was not, in the whole world a religion of human invention, which deserved greater examination than Buddhism. It began at the very dawn of history. Its history commenced with the very commencement of, what may be called, *Chronology*. Its era divided the history of the East into two parts, just as the Christian era served to divide the history of the world. Nor is this all the interest which attaches to the subject. Buddhism has more than any other religion spread amongst men. It is the religion which, having been banished from its native land so entirely that it is almost unknown there, has at the present day, upwards of two thousand four hundred and forty-nine years after its first promulgation, a larger number of followers than any other religion on the face of the whole earth, and amounting to nearly one-third of the human race. It is also a remarkable fact, as stated by Mr. Hardy, that “there is no country in either Europe

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\* In our number for April last we inserted a lecture by James Alwis, Esq., of Colombo, Ceylon, upon “the Buddhist Scriptures and their language the Pali.” That lecture is very learned and full of interest to oriental scholars, as well as to others, but it seems to require the light thrown upon Buddhism generally by the companion lecture, where general readers will find an account of the Buddhist system more in a summary form than it is usually accessible. Not only so; Mr. Alwis has gone thoroughly into his subject, and has consulted original authorities as well as the best European writers. We have thought it desirable now, as on the former occasion, not to give all the numerous references which the author has supplied, for, however desirable they may be to the student of Buddhism, they are not required for the purposes of general information. The only use they would have in our pages, is, we suppose, to form a guarantee that the writer of the essay has constantly had before him authentic and trustworthy sources of information. Even this, however, will, we suppose, be apparent from the paper itself. In regard to the copy, we have to offer an explanation or two. We have throughout changed the first person singular, into the plural: we have omitted such redundancies of phraseology as might be suitable in a public address, but only occupy space in a printed document. We have also left out a few things which seemed not necessary to the argument; and we have ventured sometimes to revise forms of expression which seemed hardly up to the standard of literary composition. For the rest, nothing has been added, and the alterations have simply been to adapt the composition to these pages. The paper was read in the council chamber at Colombo in October, 1861, and it was afterwards printed. It has been thought desirable that, as very few can have seen the original, we should place it within the reach of a larger number in this country, and we willingly do so.—ED. J. S. L.

or Asia, besides those that are Buddhist, in which the same religion is now professed that was there extant at the time of the Redeemer's death."

There is a still higher interest connected with the subject, when we regard Buddhism as the religion which has forged the fetters in which Brahmanism has been bound; which has humanized a great portion of mankind in the East; and which has established its civilizing influence in the greater part of Western Asia, and in Ceylon. This last was the result of the mildness of the doctrines which Buddhism inculcates; and it will be noticed that they prescribe a code of morality superior to every system with which we are acquainted except that of Christianity.

We shall briefly consider it here in three points of view:—*first*, as to its origin: *secondly*, its doctrines; and *thirdly*, its prospects.

More than five centuries before the manifestation of our Saviour in this world, in "an age remarkable for the first diffusion and potent influence of distinct religious brotherhood, mystic rites, and expiatory ceremonies" in the West; when the doctrine of "an infinity of worlds" was taught by an Anaximander and a Xenophanes;—when Brahmanism had been "reduced from the worship of nature to theism, and had declined into scepticism with the learned, and into men-worship with the vulgar, and was through the neglect of its professors fast dwindling into decay; and when the Hindus were marked with the barbarities of human sacrifice, various persons in Asia founded religious associations proclaiming different doctrines for the salvation of man. Some were *Digambaras*; and the morality of the times suffered them to go about naked. Others were *Svetambaras*, or those who put on "white garments." Some were fire-worshippers, and others adorers of the sun. Some belonged to the *Sanyasi*, and others to the *Panchatapa* sect.<sup>b</sup>

Some worshipped *Padaranga*; some *Jivaka*; and others *Nigantha*. The *Jainas*, who followed the *Lokayata*, or the system of atheistical philosophy taught by Charvaka, also appear to have flourished at this time. In addition to these Gotama himself enumerates sixty-two sects of religious philosophers.

Our limits, however, do not permit us to dwell upon the different doctrines of these sects. Suffice it to say that about the sixth century before the Christian era, all shades of opinion and practice were tolerated:—"The broachers of new theories

<sup>b</sup> A sect who practised certain austerities surrounded by four fires whilst the sun was shining, which they regarded as a fifth fire.

and the introducers of new rites did not revile the established religion, and the adherents of the old Vedic system of elemental worship looked on the new notions as speculations they could not comprehend, and the new austerities as the exercise of a self-denial they could not reach, rather than as the introduction of heresy and schism." But few of these sects believed in a "first cause;" and none acknowledged a supreme God;—therefore they differed in this respect from the Brahmans who attributed everything to the creative hand of Brahma or Ishwara. One important point of agreement, however, between these sectarians and the Vedic Brahmans was, that none dared to violate the institution of castes, which all Brahmans regarded as *sacred*. Yet amongst them there were six arch-heretics, who regarded not the distinctions which divided men into Brahmans, Kshetrias, Vaisyas and Sudras; and for the simplest of all reasons,—that they were themselves of mean extraction.

They preached to the people. They set forth their doctrines. They at first resorted to the most legitimate means of conversion,—argument and discussion. But these often were of themselves insufficient, and availed little. Something else was required; and that was supernatural powers in those who passed for religious teachers. Well versed, however, in deceit, they found no difficulty in invention, and in exhibiting supernatural powers. In proof of inspiration, to which they laid claim, they declared doctrines unintelligible to the vulgar, and above the comprehension of the common orders of society. As possessing the power of *iddhi*, they, like the teacher of Rasselas, often ascended an eminence to fly in the air. But, unlike the Abyssinian teacher, who leaped into the water upon the strength of his wings, which sustained him in the water, the Tirtakas resorted to other frauds, which they easily practised upon a deluded population. Thus they soon became established as *Arahantas*, at the head of distinct fraternities, having numerous congregations consisting of thousands of poor deluded human beings.

An account of them may not prove uninteresting; and the following compiled from several writers, is a brief outline of

#### THE HISTORY OF THE SIX TIRTAKA.

I. One was a half-caste. He was born in a nobleman's house, of a girl that was a foreigner. He pretended to be a Brahman, and assumed the name of the "twice born." He called himself *Kasyapa*, and received the additional appellation of *Purna*, because his birth served to "complete" the number of one hundred slaves in his master's household. For the same reason he became a favourite of his lord, and enjoyed many

privileges which his fellow-servants were denied. These acts of kindness, however, had a tendency to make him indolent; and the consequence was that his master soon put him to work and appointed him his porter. This situation deprived him of the unlimited liberty which he had previously enjoyed; and he therefore quitted the service of his master. In the helpless state in which he roamed about the country, he was set upon by thieves, who stripped him of everything he had, including the very clothes on his person. Having, however, escaped death, he repaired, in a state of perfect nudity, to the neighbouring villages, where poverty led him to practise many deceptions on the credulous, until at last he established himself as an Ascetic, proclaiming his name to be *Purna Kasyapa Buddha*. *Purna*, because (he said) he was full of all arts and sciences; *Kasyapa*, "because he was a Brahman by birth;" and *Buddha*, "because he had overcome all desires, and was an Arahat." He was offered clothes in abundance, but declined accepting them, thinking that as a *Digambara* he would be better respected. "Clothes," said he, "are for the concealment of shame; shame is the result of sin; and sin I have not, since I am a person of sanctity (a 'rahat) who is free from evil desires." In the then state of society, distracted by religious differences, he gained followers, and they soon exceeded eighty thousand!

"His heresy consisted," says Colonel Sykes on the authority of the Chinese Buddhistical Annals, "in annihilating all laws. He admitted neither prince nor subject; neither father nor son; neither rectitude of heart nor filial piety, and he had some mystification about *void*, *vacuum*, or *ether* being paramount."

II. *Makkhaligosala* was another sectarian teacher. He was a slave in a nobleman's house, and was called *Makkhali* after his mother; and by reason of his having been born in a *gosala* or "cow-house," he received the additional appellation *gosala*. One day he followed his master with a large pot of oil; and the latter perceiving his servant was on slippery, muddy ground, desired him to be on his guard. But not listening to his advice, he walked carelessly, and the result was that he stumbled upon a stump and fell down with his heavy load, breaking the pot of oil. Fearing that his master would punish him for his misconduct, Gosala began to run away. His master soon pursued him and seized him by his garments; but they came unfastened, and Gosala effected his escape naked. In this state he entered a city and passed for a *Digambara* Jaina, or Buddha, and founded the sect which was named after him. "He falsely believed," says Colonel Sykes in the essay quoted above, "that the good



and evil of mankind did not result from previous actions, but were accidental. His doctrine, therefore, was that of chance."

III. *Nigantha natha puttra* was the founder of a third sect. He was the "son" (*puttra*) of *Natha*, a husbandman; and because he boasted of an acquaintance with the entire circle of the arts and sciences, and moreover pretended to have destroyed the *ghanta*, the "cores" or "knots" of *keles*, he was called *Niganta* or *Nirgantha*. He too laid claim to the high sanctity of an *Arahanta*, and preached doctrines which were soon embraced by thousands. He held that it was sinful to drink cold water;—"Cold water," he said, "was imbued with a soul. Little drops of water were small souls, and large drops were large souls." He also declared that there were three *dandas*, or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*kaya*), of the speech (*wak*), and of the mind (*mana*), were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other. "His heresy consisted," says Colonel Sykes, "in maintaining that sins and virtues, and good and evil, equally resulted from destiny; and that the practice of the doctrine could not save any one from his fate."

IV. The fourth was a servant of a noble family. Having run into debt, he fled from his creditors, and having no means of livelihood at the village to which he repaired, he became a practiser of austerities, after shaving his head and putting on a "mean garment made of hair," from which circumstance he received the appellation of *Ajita kesakumbala*. Amongst other doctrines which distinguished him from the rest of the sectarians, was that which invested the three kingdoms of nature with a soul. He held that man and beast, and every creeping thing and fowl of the air, as well as all trees and shrubs, had a *jiva*, or intelligent and sentient soul, endued with body, and consequently composed of parts. "The person," said he, "who took away the life of a being was equally guilty with the man who ate the flesh of his dead body. One who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was as guilty as a murderer. And he who broke a branch was to be regarded as one who deprived another of his limbs." These doctrines procured for him many followers, and they soon exceeded five thousand! Colonel Sykes says, upon the authority already referred to, that this sectarian teacher "maintained that destiny could be forced, namely, that happiness could be obtained which did not result from a previous existence.—The practice of this doctrine consisted in wearing coarse garments and tearing out the hair, exposing the nostrils to smoke, and

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\* Also a name of contempt for a heterodox ecclesiastic.

the various parts of the body to fire; in short, subjecting the body to every kind of cruel penance on the conviction that sufferings on earth would ensure happiness hereafter."

V. *Sanjayabellante*, who had an awkward looking head, was also a slave by birth. Obtaining his freedom from his master, he applied himself to study; and when he had become a great proficient in different branches of learning, he proclaimed himself a *Buddha*. He taught, as a distinguishing feature in his doctrines, that man in an after birth would be as he is now. "In the transmigration of the soul," he said, "it assumed the identical bodily form which it had retained before death. There could be no change of person. Whoever is now great or mean; a man or a *deva*, a biped, a quadruped or a millepede, without feet or hands, or with deficient members of the body, will be exactly the same in the next birth."

According to the Chinese books, from which Colonel Sykes has quoted, the heresy of this person "consisted in believing that it was not necessary to search for the doctrine in the sacred books, but that it would come spontaneously when the ages of births and deaths had been passed through. He also believed that after eighty thousand Kalpas the doctrine was obtained without effort."

VI. *Kakudha Katyayana* was a foundling—the offspring of an illicit intercourse. His mother, who was a poor low caste person, had no house to live in, and was delivered of him under a *Kakudha* tree; where she left him. A Brahman who picked him up, adopted him as his son, and named him *Katyayana*, with the prefix of *Kakundha*, because he was found under a tree of that name. Upon the death of his adopted father, *Katyayana* found himself in difficult circumstances, and resorted to different means of procuring a livelihood—all of which failing, he became an ascetic, and established himself on a large mound of earth, where he preached his austerities as a teacher of high sanctity. Like *Nigantha-natha-puttra*, *Katyayana* also declared that cold water was imbued with a soul. His heresy, according to the Chinese legends, consisted in asserting that some of the laws were appreciable by the senses and some not.

Whilst such doctrines gained an immense number of followers; whilst the world was resounding with the noise of the philosophy of the Gymnosophists; whilst society was greatly divided by the dissensions of religionists;—when many causes predisposed the public mind to a change; when, "through the indolence of the Brahmans, the *Vedas* and their accompaniments had been neglected;" and when "many people walked about in the world, saying, 'I am Buddha, I am Buddha,' thus assuming

the name of the great;—the son of a powerful monarch that reigned at Kapilavastu, on the borders of Nepal, started as a *Buddha*, announcing himself as ‘the true Jaina,’ ‘the teacher of the three worlds,’ ‘wiser than the wisest,’ and ‘higher than the highest;’ and proclaiming the doctrine of VIRTUE, which soon won its way to the hearts of a people ‘whose inclinations had already been imbued with admiration of this quality in their own ancient system.’”

It has already been stated that he was a prince. That he received an education suited to his princely rank, appears clearly enough from the abstruse doctrines of his philosophy. From his discourses, which relate to the *Vedas* and *Vedanga*, he was doubtless well versed in Brahminical lore. The “sixty-four alphabets” which he mastered, according to the *Lalita Vistara*, (a book of no authority) may be more imaginary than real. Yet that he learnt most of the arts and sciences usually cultivated amongst the Indians may be believed. The *Buddhavansa* refers to his other accomplishments, and, in the usual phraseology of oriental exaggeration, he is said to have excelled a Samson in strength. Many of his feats in archery are detailed “in proof of his accomplishments in martial deeds.” They were exhibited to prove his right to the hands of “the daughters of the proud Sakya tribes.”

The period that he passed as a *laic* was indeed short. Yet in that short period of twenty-nine years, he had enjoyed life to his heart’s content. Revelling in the luxuries of state, surrounded by a host of damsels, and attended by bands of female musicians, he dwelt in the three “palaces adapted for the three seasons.” The *Ramma* of nine stories he occupied during one; the *Suramma* of seven at another; and the *Subha* of five at a third.

A mind, however, constituted as Siddharta’s was, soon becomes satiated. The sharp edge of enjoyment was speedily blunted. The zest of carnal pleasures gradually subsided. He had not been long a father before he became disgusted with life. The form of a decrepit old man, bent with age and emaciated by disease, informed him of his own future condition. The lifeless body of one who had previously moved like himself, reminded him of the uncertainty of life, and of his own approaching dissolution. When he was pondering on these things, and the Brahminical golden rule—that “religious austerity was the summit of excellence,” and the figure of an ascetic had arrested his gaze, his mind was at once made up to renounce the world, its vanities and its troubles. He preferred seclusion to the ceaseless pleasures of society; and the yellow garment of a mendicant to

the purple robes of state. In his estimation "heaven was superior to a universal empire, and the results of a *Sotapatti* to the dignities of the universe."

Whilst, therefore, his "female bands were playing airs on musical instruments,"—whilst "the beauties of the Sakya tribes were yet hymning forth the canticles of triumph and gratulation,"—amidst all the enjoyments of life, and the Oriental sports of the park;—when the national festivities of the city were at their height, and when his beloved wife had been just delivered of a son,—*Siddhartha* departed! He fled as from a pursuing enemy. He escaped as from a huge boa ready to devour him. He fled and embraced asceticism. He became *Buddha*; and after six years of seclusion, established his religion, which is called his *Dhamma*, or, as we name it, *Buddhism*.

Whilst other teachers declared "religious austerity to be the height of excellence," *Buddha* taught that it consisted in "*Nibban*." He set aside animal sacrifices. He held that no penance effaced sin. In his opinion the worship of the gods and Manes availed nothing. With the exception of these and a few other matters however, the philosophy which *Gotama* taught was not altogether new. It agreed in most essential matters with that of the Brahmins. The ecclesiastical discipline of the one was equally that of the other—and the sameness of doctrine, *Gotama* traces to a piracy by the Brahmins of the doctrines of his predecessor *Kassapa*, and not to a *plagiarism* by himself of Brahminical doctrines.

Be this, however, as it might—the very doctrines of *Gotama* proclaim the non-existence of *dhamma* before his advent. In the *abuddhot* period which preceded his manifestation, the *dhamma* had vanished. The agreement, therefore, between his doctrines and those of the Brahmins (if, as we must, we divest him of the inspiration to which he lays claim), leads to the irresistible conclusion, that (in the language of *Hodgson*) *Buddhism* "arose out of those prior abominations which had long held the people of India in cruel vassalage to a bloated priesthood."

It is indeed not a little remarkable that the religion which had thus sprung out of Brahminism soon had more disciples than its parent. Some of the causes which led to this result demand attention. At first, doubtless, the different motives which influenced conversions were those common to all countries and all nations. "They were," as remarked by *Gibbon*, "often capricious and accidental. A dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and, above all, the fortunate event of a prayer or vow," served to create a deep and lasting impression. The

Buddhist annals represent Brahmins as being "indolent" at this time; and we also perceive that the public mind was pre-disposed to a change. The character, too, of the individual who preached the new doctrine, was not without its influence. Gotama was a *prince*. He was descended from the renowned Sakyā tribe. He was the son of a king. He had left the luxuries of a principality for the privations of mendicity. He had deserted the throne of a king for the pulpit of a monk. Nay more, he had renounced the world to accomplish the salvation of men. He was humble in his deportment. He was pious in his conduct. His admonitions came with the authority of a prince, the affection of a parent, and the sincerity of a friend. Such a person was rare—such conduct uncommon. It soon attracted attention. It was not only perceptible to the mind; it was also seen with the eye. People heard of it with their ears. It therefore served to them as an "*outward sign*." It was, indeed, "*a visible power*." It inspired them with confidence, and had a *powerful influence*.

The example of princes and nobles may also be mentioned. It had its due weight—*Yata raja tata prajah*: "As is the King, so are the subjects."<sup>4</sup> This is the case in all countries, but peculiarly so with the people of the East. At the first dawn of Buddhism they had, as they still have, much in common with children. Like children they clung to their parental kings; like children they listened to their parental advice. Above all they imitated their example, and embraced Buddhism. Other causes conspired to accelerate conversions. In the infancy of the Buddhist Church, its founder was not scrupulous as to admissions into the priesthood. He permitted the branded thief as well as "the proclaimed criminal" to enter it. He drew no distinction between the male and the female. He gave admission to the boy as well as the adult. He did not insist upon the consent of parents. The slave found a retreat in the seclusion of a monastery. Those who had been afflicted with infectious diseases, were associated with the healthy priests. The priesthood became the refuge of those who had been pursued by the fury of creditors. The enlisted soldier deserted the service of his country and entered the *Panna Sala*. It was, however, not till large numbers had embraced the new faith, and thousands had entered the priesthood, [and there was therefore not the same necessity for liberality in ecclesiastical matters,] that Gotama laid down various restrictions. It was then, and not before, that inquiry was made as to any incurable disease of the candidate for holy orders. It was then, and not before, that

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<sup>4</sup> Old Pali proverb.

regard was had to his being "a free man and free from debt." It was then, too, that he was required to shew that "he was not enlisted as a soldier," and that "he had his parents' permission" to become a recluse.

Amongst other causes, *Religious Toleration*, by which the government of Buddhist monarchs was distinguished, was not without its salutary effect on the spread of the new religion. That when Buddhism arose, and kings and princes had enlisted their sympathy in its cause, the pre-existing Brahmans and sectarians were not persecuted, is a fact. Every one was allowed the free choice of a creed. No one lost a single state privilege ; no one was deprived of his caste ;—and no one was subjected to any degradation by reason of the faith he preferred. Indeed no form of faith was made *the established religion*. Notwithstanding the predominance of Buddhism, the Brahmans too enjoyed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion. It was left unmolested. Its forms of worship were not reproached. Its professors were not reviled. They were not hindered in the exercise of their rites. Even the noisy and turbulent ceremonials of their Church did not meet with the impediments created by the modern police regulations of far more liberal governments. This was not all. Though Buddhism became "the state religion," yet the services of the Brahmans were not less in requisition than before. They were not excluded from their wonted avocations. They lost not their civil or political power. They still continued the *prohita*<sup>\*</sup> ministers of the sovereign. They performed the greatest of all state ceremonies—the consecration of kings. They presided over all the various universities of the empire. They were the *raja gurus* of the kingdom,—the most learned physicians of the people ; and the astrological or astronomical professors of the state. They received the same respect which was shewn to the Buddhist priests. The people were enjoined to "bestow gifts on Brahmans as well as on Samanas." The rocks of Girnar, Dhali and Kapurdigiri proclaim to this day the *religious toleration* of Piyadasi, the most powerful and zealous of all Buddhist monarchs.

Another cause of the wide extension of Buddhism was *the popularity of its doctrines*.

"Universal equality" is a feeling inherent in the human mind. The first approach to a breach of this heavenly right, the slightest deviation from it, socially or politically, creates a feeling of uneasiness, and even envy. No jealousy is more deep-rooted, or more inveterate than that which is occasioned by the

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\* The domestic chaplain, who was also a minister.

deprivation of one's natural right in this respect. The feeling of the Indian classes, who were at this time bound hand and foot by a horrid system of caste, by Brahminical exclusiveness, may be easily conceived. All felt the deep degradation of their position, except the highest class of the highest caste. All, except that class, eagerly looked for emancipation. All, therefore, except that class, hailed with no ordinary feelings of pleasure the doctrine of *Universal Equality* which Gotama preached. All, with that single exception, at first regarded the preacher as a benefactor; and his doctrine with admiration. But, when those doctrines had been actually reduced to practice; when they saw the Kshestrya princes associated with Brahman converts—the Vysya traders with the *Sudra* outcasts; and that all were placed upon the same level, subject to the same laws and in the enjoyment of the same privileges, the people received their benefactor with love, and made him an object of superstitious admiration. No wonder, then, that his religion was soon embraced by millions.

The last, though not the least, cause which led to *conversions* was the mildness of Gotama's *dhamma*; and this leads to the second branch of our subject:—

#### THE DOCTRINES OF BUDDHISM.

But before proceeding to give a popular account of them, we will say a few words against a commonly received error—that Buddhism sanctions *idol worship*. It is indeed remarkable that no religion in the world, that we are aware of, originated in the worship of idols. The Greeks, it is believed, at first worshipped “an invisible God.” The ancient Persians “thought it impious to exhibit the Creator under a human form.” The Jews originally had “no other gods” but Jehovah, whom they were interdicted from representing by “any graven image, or the likeness of anything.” The primary doctrine of Brahminism was “the unity of God,” “whom they worshipped without a symbol.” Buddhism, too, gave no sanction to idol-worship. Its introduction was long after the death of Gotama. In all countries and amongst all nations idolatry has originated in a desire to transfer the object of adoration from the mental to the natural eyes.

Man wants more than *abstraction*. He understands not mere words, without an image to represent the idea conveyed by language. He desires (in the language of Mahindu) “to have an object whom he could salute, before whom he could prostrate himself, at whose presence he could rise, and to whom he could pay reverent attention.”

It is in the very nature of man to long for a leader, and to

set up a chief. The more ignorant the community, the greater is the desire manifested in this respect. As a child lives in the trust of that security which parental protection affords, so does the ignorant man look for the prop and support of a *leader*. Hence the *monarchical* is the form of government which meets with general approbation. The Author of our being saw this, when he promised "to dwell among the children of Israel," and "went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire;" and when too He promised His presence "whenever two or three meet in His name." This inherent feeling of dependence on a Higher Being, is evidenced by the fact that the Israelites, treated as they were by the Almighty, could not bear the prolonged absence of their leader, and longed for "gods which should go before them." In Ceylon, after the Singhalese had deposed their king, and the island had been placed under the sovereignty of England, whom they never saw, their uneasiness was great indeed. They wanted some one to be their leader, and a small section of misguided Kandians set up a *thief* as their king. They preferred a vagabond whom *they saw*, to the Queen of England or her representative whom *they had never seen*. This feeling is, however, not confined to the state. It equally extends to the *Church*. The human mind yearns after some "visible and tangible object of worship." It loves to retain some relic of those whom it adores. As a mother would retain a lock of hair of a deceased child, or a lover preserve as a token of remembrance some little trinket; so the votaries of deities, the enthusiastic followers of religious teachers, upon the reflection that the object of their worship was no more and could not be seen—have "substituted *visible* for *invisible* objects." Thus the Greeks created innumerable gods and goddesses. The Persians transferred their worship from the "supreme mind" to the "lamp of day." The Brahmans have formed 330,000,000 deities, around whom they could burn incense. The Jews "fell down and worshipped a molten calf." Even into the churches of Jehovah, the "jealous God," did His followers introduce idols of the Virgin Mother, and the representations of saints. Nor were the Buddhists an exception to the rule. Upon the death of the sage, his followers preserved his bones and teeth. This they did at first from no other feeling than that which is common in the human breast "to cause the mind to be composed." All Buddhist countries vied with each other in the collection of the relics. A lock of his hair and his collar-bone were enshrined at Mahiyangana. Asoka built 84,000 monuments inclosing the sacred relics. It was these that Mahindu characterized as *Buddha* himself, when he said, "Maharaja, our divine teacher, has long



been out of our sight:" for, added he, "whenever his sacred relics are seen, our vanquisher himself is seen." What was seen with the eye was the better fixed in the mind. The outward and visible signs were tokens of an inward and intellectual idea of the object of adoration.

But Buddhism does not recognize image-worship. Although the Chinese and Ceylon Buddhists have a legend to the effect that, whilst Gotama was alive, a statue of that sage was made by the orders of the king of Kosala; although the Tibetan annals say that Gotama expatiated upon the advantages arising from laying up his image; and although the *Divya Avadana* of the Nepal collection gives a story about Gotama's recommending Bimbi Sara to send a portrait of the sage to Rudrayana, king of Boruka; yet all this is regarded by the intelligent portion of the Buddhists in Ceylon as not founded on fact; and therefore an invention of later times. A careful examination of Buddhist doctrines furnishes us with no authority at all for image-worship. All that Gotama left behind as a substitute for himself after death was his own doctrine, the *dhamma*. His words were, "Anando, let the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, which have been propounded to and impressed on thee by me, stand after my demise in the place of thy teacher." Yet the prevalence of image-worship is great indeed in Buddhistical countries. When it was first introduced amongst the Buddhists of India and Ceylon does not clearly appear; but from the conduct of Asoka, who recognizes nothing of the kind in his pillar inscriptions, we may conclude that image-worship was an innovation introduced at a period later than the date of the inscriptions. The earliest mention of images in Ceylon is in the Mihintali inscription of 241 A.D., which speaks of "image-houses." Two hundred years afterwards, 410 A.D., Fa Hian saw "an image of blue jasper in the temple at Anuradhapura." There is, however, much reason to believe that the images which were introduced into the Buddhist temples were not originally intended for *worship*, any more than the statues of kings, which were anciently placed side by side with the idols of Buddha and the devas. Speaking of these statues, Colonel Forbes says, "In the Maha Raja Vihara there are upwards of fifty figures of Buddha, most of them larger than life: also a statue of each of the devas, Saman, Vishnu, Nata, and the devi Pattani, and of two kings, *Valanganbahu* and *Kirti Nisanga*."

The period, then, at which the pre-existing idols became objects of worship was probably the time when Brahminical rites became blended with those of the Buddhist Church—when she came to recognize the *Samyak Dristi* gods of the Hindu Pantheon,—when she built temples for the worship of Vishnu—

when she built an idol of him whom she considered "a supporting deity" of Gotama—and when she commenced to make offerings to his idol, which stood alongside of Buddha.

As idol-worship is conducted in honour of Buddha, and upon the supposition that it confers *spiritual* benefit, so likewise his doctrines are recited for the same end, and with a view also to avert *temporal* dangers. But there is no more authority for the last than for the first. The use of *exorcism* is frequently resorted to as a protection against apprehended danger from disease, or demoniac influences; but upon a careful examination of the discourses of Gotama, it would seem to have been only *assented* to, but not enjoined, as a means for placating the demons. That is to say, although the study and frequent repetition of his discourses were recommended in place of himself "as the teacher;" yet it does not appear that Gotama believed any *temporal* benefit could be achieved by "exorcism," beyond imparting religious consolation. And the extent to which it was authorized may be gathered from the Paritta ceremony itself. When Gotama was dwelling on Gijjakuta, and Wessavanna, the king of the Yakkhas, once called on the sage; the former in course of conversation alluded to the aversion of the Yakkha races to Buddha. The cause of it is stated to have been the inhibition of Buddha against their own "malpractices, such as life-slaughter, theft, lewdness, lying, and drunkenness." From this aversion, which in savage tribes was tantamount to *hate*, the followers of Gotama, as well as the jungle ascetic, suffered in various ways. Wessavanna, the king of the Yakkhas, who was an admirer of the sage, was therefore desirous of averting these dangers from his own subjects. He wished to protect and defend the priests in their "solitary retirements, free from noise and clamour." He was anxious to keep them from harm's way. He purposed to introduce peace into their cells. To effect all this it was necessary "to *placate* the demons;" and this, again, could only be effected by an authoritative edict of his own. That edict is contained in the *Atanatiya*. It commenced with the virtues of Gotama's predecessors. It alluded to Gotama's own beneficence. It recounted the honours and worship which he had required from devas and men; and from Wessavanna himself. It required the priest to learn the hymns in which the above praises were recited. It declared the privileges of those who used it. It enjoined the demons "not *even to approach* with an evil design" a person who had recited the *Paritta*. It imposed a penalty for a breach of this command. The law of the king was thus made perfectly binding on his subjects. It was delivered; and Gotama "consented to it by his silence."

This, it is apprehended, was the origin of the Paritta ceremony. To the *Atanatiya* have however been added, in course of time, various other discourses of Buddha, which had the tendency to restore peace and quiet to the sufferers, and to give "religious consolations" to the sick. This appears from the discourses themselves which contain no declaration of any "temporal benefit." Take the *Kassapa Bojjhanga* as an example. Kassapa was grievously ill, and Gotama visited him in his cave, and found him "without ease and repose." The sage preached on *contemplation, ascertainment of the truth, perseverance, contentment, placidity, tranquillity, and equanimity*. And these "seven sections of moral science" he recited, not as a direct antidote against the ills of the flesh, but as a palliative to the sufferings of the mind, and as a *sine qua non* "for the attainment of knowledge, wisdom, and deliverance from transmigration." The priest recovered, but it is not stated he did so by the direct influence of the admonition. Such are the discourses added to the *Atanatiya*, which form the hymns usually sung to "the praise and glory" of *Buddha*, and to secure a deliverance from temporal ailments. Connected with the subject in hand, a few words, on the origin of Chetiyas or Thupas, may not be uninteresting.

The Parinibhan Suttan states that they "originated" upon the death of Gotama, when "eight Thupas were built over the corporeal relics, a ninth over the Kumbhan, and a tenth over the charcoal of his funeral pile." And it would seem from the same Suttan that Chetiyani existed in several parts of the Majjhima Desa even during the lifetime of Gotama. The Atthakatha explains, that the Chetiyani were not "Buddhistical shrines," but Yakkhattanani, "erections for demon-worship." That they partook of the nature of both temple and Thupa, may be inferred from the fact that whilst they were monuments of worship, they served also as rest-houses for the weary traveller. Gotama himself repaired to the Chepala Chetiya for rest, and he there expatiated on its splendour as well as that of many others. It was doubtless from a contemplation of the busy throng of religious enthusiasts who crowded these monuments of worship, that Gotama gave his sanction for the erection of the thupas over his own relics, and those of his disciples. Yet from the fact of "universal monarchs" being placed in the same category with Buddha and his Savakas, it would seem that the sage had no other object save that which we have for building places for divine worship—to make men religious.

"If in respect of thupas any should set up flowers, scents or embellishments, or should worship (them), or should (by such

means) cause their minds to be *purified*, such acts will conduce to their well-being and happiness. . . . . Ananda, many thinking 'that this is the thupa of the adorable, the sanctified, the omniscient supreme Buddha,' compose their minds; and when they have caused their minds to be *cleansed*, they, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born in a glorious heavenly world." These were Gotama's words.

We now return to the doctrines of Buddhism, or the religion of Gotama. It is defined by himself to mean—"the path of immortality." It acknowledges man's sinful nature—represents him as altogether sinful, and his heart "deceitful" and "desperately wicked." It enjoins the necessity of regeneration, of subjugating the evil passions, and a thorough change of the heart. It says in plain words, that neither his extraction from the noblest of progenitors, nor the influence of education, will secure him salvation. It admonishes him to abstain from covetousness. It warns him against "the cares of life," to the neglect of religion; against pride and "self-righteousness, which make a God of himself;" and against evil-speaking, lying, slandering and unprofitable conversation. It inculcates all the virtues which ennoble the soul: patience, forbearance, forgiveness, charity, chastity, humility, gratitude, obedience, etc., etc. And these it sums up in one golden rule which it enacts—"Reverence to parents, charity to the poor, humanity to animals, and love towards all mankind."

Whilst we are thus enabled to hold up some of its doctrines to the admiration of the world, it must, however, be borne in mind that the religion which has "immortality" for its end, seeks not the *eternal* joys of heaven, but the immolation of life, —the cessation from existence as "no good equal to it"—and the extinction of being as "the best thing;" and that the observance of religion or *brahmachariya* is not "perfect freedom," but a life of asceticism, fettered by restraints of no ordinary hardship. Buddhism indeed ignores what we call the "*soul*." It denies the existence of a *Creator*. It knows of no being who may be called *Almighty*. According to its teachings, all the elements of existence are dissolved at death; and yet life transmigrates! The greatest happiness is therefore devised to be Nirwana.

Upon each of these points we purpose to say a few words; and,

1. Buddhism denies anything like the Brahman *atman*, or own-self, or *paramatman*, "eternal-self," or what we call "the soul." It forbids us to say "I am," or "this is I." Man is composed of five *khandas*—"organized body," "sensation," "perception," "discrimination" (including all the powers of

reasoning), and "consciousness." And it cannot be predicated of any of these, or of their attributes, the twelve *ayatanani*, which are "the eye and the objects of sight, the ear and sound, nose and smell, the tongue and flavour, the body and touch," "mind [or power of thought] and objects of thought"—that they constitute "ego." Of each of the above, Gotama teaches "*I am not this*"—"this is not my soul"—*name eso atta*—"this is not a soul to me." It is a nonentity. His words are, "Priests, it should be distinctly known as a fact, that the *rupa* or perceptible body is transient,—that that which is impermanent is (full of) sorrow—that that which is *sorrow* is not the (*self*) soul; that anything which is not the *self* is not mine." It is not "*ego*"—"it is not my soul;" it is simply "existence" or life.

2. Life, according to Buddhism, had no intelligent Creator. It was the result of chance—not of design. It was the consequence of *Kamma*, "good or evil merit," produced by *avidya* or "ignorance." Here the Creator is not an active agent. He represents nothing corporeal or spiritual. It is an abstract quality, without itself a cause or Creator. One abstraction produces another abstraction; the last, a third; and so on—until we have "life," this form of human existence. Gotama himself, according to a beautiful figure of speech in the institutes of Manu, compares man to a "mansion;" and designates "the first cause" by the metaphor *gaha-karaka*, or "house-builder." But he exults with joy that the *creature* has arisen above the Creator, and that the architect had no longer the power to build for him another house! The creature is thus not responsible to the "first cause," which lays down no laws for his guidance, and is unable to do anything either for good or for evil. The Creator, as we have seen, does not control life's existence. Indeed he bears no more relation to man than the leaf does to the butterfly, which leaves it after various changes. The creature, therefore, is the *lord* over his own life. It was in accordance with such doctrines that Sirisangabo, one of our ancient monarchs, exclaimed in offering his head as a propitiation—"I am the lord over my own body!"

3. Thus, there is no Supreme Being who may be called *Almighty*. True it is that Gotama is styled "the greatest of all beings;" but his own conduct and doctrines shew that he was not omnipotent.

It is stated in the *Parinibban Suttan* of the Buddhistical annals that a being like Buddha, who had attained to the sanctification of the four *iddhipada*, may live any period of time even a *kappa*, if he should desire it. But we need not tell you that this is a myth. When in "four-score years" Gotama's

age had "attained the *fullest maturity*," and death stared him in the face, he was importuned by Ananda, his favourite disciple, "Lord Bhagawa—vouchsafe to live a kappa."

This was, however, an impossibility. Gotama knew this, and it is indeed melancholy to observe the quibble to which he resorts. He answers, "Afflict me not with unavailing importunity." Ananda could not believe his own senses, for what he had now heard militated against his master's doctrines of a previous day; and the former in language of remonstrance addressed Gotama, "Lord, *from thyself* have I heard, and *by thyself* have I been taught that to whomsoever is vouchsafed the sanctification of the four *iddhipada* he may live a kappa; and *to thee* Tathagata is vouchsafed that great power."

The sage could not fail to perceive the force of Ananda's speech—not to call it accusation. He was driven to the necessity of making a reply, and he had no alternative but to resort to the paltry quibble of preferring a counter-charge against his accuser—viz., that "he had failed in his duty to make the request when the announcement of Gotama's approaching dissolution was originally made." What signified that he was late? If it were a proper request, and he had the power to grant it, the time at which it was made was of no consequence, and could by no means affect the granting of the application.

But, according to the very doctrines of Buddhism, not only is it not true that a timely application from Ananda would have enabled him to prolong his life even to the extent of a kappa; but it is also not true, that any being had the power to do so. Buddhism recognizes *predestination*; and it is made to appear in the *Parinibban Suttan* that "the approaching dissolution of Gotama, being irrevocably fixed, Mara prevented Ananda from preferring his request." Now, predestination is inconsistent with the almighty power here laid claim to. Predestination pre-supposes the absence of power; it takes away volition; it restricts action; it circumscribes power; it renders importunity unavailing." "Gotama's appointed time had come." He himself had declared it at the close of his probational meditation; he himself had stated that at the particular period of his manifestation, "the term of human existence was one hundred years," and that it appeared to be the proper age for his advent; he could not therefore add a minute to his term of existence; for, he was not almighty.

This was so plain and clear, that the bigoted advocates of Buddhism have given up the line of defence adopted by the sage himself, and have resorted to a still more miserable quibble of supporting his statement upon verbal grounds. Both Nagasena

in the Milindappanna, and Moggalliputta Tissa, the holder of the last convocation, in one of his Vadas states, that when Gotama declared the power of one who had attained the four *iddhipada* to live a *kappa* or any part of a *kappa*, he only meant in the ordinary acceptation of "kappa," "the *ordinary age* of man, which was one hundred years." It is indeed true that *kappa* means "age" or "the period of existence." But this is not its only meaning, nor is this its ordinary acceptation. It also means an immense period of time during which the world itself lasts in each of its regenerations. Now, every one except an idiot, Nagasena, and Moggalliputta Tissa, could perceive at a glance that Gotama in stating the *superior* power of one who had attained the four *iddhipada*, did not refer to the inherent quality of humanity, the *ordinary* age of man, but alluded to what *ordinarily* man did not possess—a power to *prolong* life to the extent of a *kappa*. If, therefore, this meant "any period of time within the age usually allotted to men"—which, however, Ananda himself clearly ignores by his reiterated application, and Gotama as clearly by his reply—that sage laid down an absurdity. He declared what every idiot knew; he pronounced that to be the reward of a particular kind of sanctity which was simply an inherent quality of man, however sinful. If, again, such was the meaning which Gotama intended to convey, nothing could have been easier than to silence Ananda at once. For, at the time he importuned Gotama to live a *kappa* or half of a *kappa*, Gotama had in point of fact lived a much longer period than half of man's age.

4. From this digression, we return to the subject, and to the ontology of Buddhism. Although hells without number have, without a Creator, sprung up for the punishment of the wicked; yet it is not the sinner who is punished in them. Although Buddha has often declared his own identity with certain characters in the *Jatakas*; yet all this is not supported by his doctrines. According to those doctrines, the *nama* and *rupa* which constitute this life are not identical with the *nama* and *rupa* of the life hereafter. One being therefore suffers for another; one's sins are visited upon another; the sinner and the sufferer are not therefore identical. "If there is a dissolution of all the elements of existence at death, it follows that there is no hereafter, and no future world to that existence."

5. Yet the doctrine of Buddhism is, that life transmigrates; and that everything changes constantly from man to beast, from beast to fowl, and from fowl to creeping things. There is therefore an eternal cycle of existence. The law of merits and demerits alone causes the degree of happiness or misery of all

beings. This also is full of uncertainty. Though merits are said to be more powerful than demerits; and however abundantly a being may perform meritorious deeds; yet upon his worldly dissolution he can have no hope of happiness in an after birth; for the demerits of a former existence might outweigh the good deeds of this life. He dies therefore "without hope;" and, as we have already said, "without God."

Now, as already remarked, no religion has worked so great a revolution—no creed has had so many votaries—no faith has lasted so long a period, as Buddhism. Yet no religion is calculated to create a greater despondency in the human mind than Buddhism. Like the religion of the Christian, Buddhism may, perhaps, be "the bond of charity," "the curb of evil passions," "the teacher of morality;" but, decidedly, it is *not* "the consolation of the wretched," "the support of the timid" and "the hope of the dying." There is nothing in it to cheer "the weary, and the heavy laden;" there is nothing to give a hope to the guilty; there is nothing to encourage the penitent sinner; no encouraging words, such as "Him that cometh to me I will in nowise cast out," are to be found in the *Pittakattaya*; no promise of forgiveness gives the Buddhist a hope of salvation; no "knock, and it shall be opened" welcome greets his ear; on the contrary, everything in the Buddhist Bible is calculated to alarm him. This in the language of Buddhism is indeed a state of things "full of evil, misery, and pain." Yes,—to one who has no notion of an eternal existence hereafter—to whom God hath not revealed by his Holy Spirit the unspeakable joys of heaven, *life* is a dreary waste; existence is devoid of those fascinations which the Christian alone feels; and heaven is not a place of "*rest*," but a temporary habitation of enjoyment. In vain therefore are the efforts of a missionary of the cross to win the soul of the Buddhist by presenting before him scenes of heavenly bliss. Talk to him of "that holy calm"—"that sweet repose"—"the cherubim and the seraphim that continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth"—of the throngs of lovely angels, who bow "towards either throne,"

—"With a shout

Loud as from numbers without number, sweet  
As from blest voices, uttering joy;"

speak to him of "crowns of glory" "inwove with amarant and gold"—of "the hallelujahs of the glorified"—"the troops of sister spirits arrayed in the purest white"—of "the ceaseless songs of sweet music;" set before him in the most glowing language of poetry "the palms of conquest,"—"the beatific



vision" and "beatitude past utterance;" picture to his mind's eye "the sense of new joy ineffable diffused,"—"love without end, and without measure grace," "the near communion with God," and the "bright effluence of bright essence increate;" all appears to him infected with blemish, imperfection and impermanence—all seems to him "foolishness," aye, "the baseless fabric of a vision which leaves no wrack behind!" all *heavenly* to him is all what *earthly* is to the inspired preacher, "vanity and vexation of spirit"—and why? Simply because *heaven* to the Buddhist is not, what it is to the Christian—

"The end of care, the end of pains."

Existence in the eye of Buddhism is nothing but misery. It is connected with disease, decay and death. It is subject to grief, wailing, pain, anguish, despair, and disappointment. It resembles a blazing fire which dazzles the eye, but torments us by its effects. There is nothing real or permanent in the whole universe: "everything perishes."<sup>f</sup>

6. Nothing then remained to be devised as a deliverance from this evil but the destruction of existence itself. This is what the Buddhists call Nirwana.

So far as we can understand this abstruse doctrine, it is not absorption. Viewed in every light in which the subject may be considered, and tested by all the definitions and arguments contained in the canonical works of Buddhism, *Nibban* is (to use an expression of Professor Max Müller) *Nihilism*, the annihilation of existence, the same as the extinction of fire. That such is the fact appears also from the *prajna paramita* and the metaphysics of *Kasyapa*. It is moreover proved by the very nicknames which the Brahmans apply to their Buddhist opponents, viz., *Nastikas*—"those who maintain destruction or nihilism," and *Sunyavadins*—"those who maintain that there is a universal void."

A difference of opinion exists,<sup>g</sup> and that difference has arisen from the mode of teaching adopted by Buddhists, and the figures of speech contained in Buddhist works. As "nothing," or *Nihilism*, is said to be a paradise or *immortality*, and he who denies a deity is himself deified,—*Nibban* which has no locality, is compared to a "*city*." From a belief that the subject is not easily comprehended, it is said "none could perceive it except a sanctified *Arahanta*." When people denied the truth of this

<sup>f</sup> "Is anything (evanescent or) transient, the same is not a characteristic peculiar to one village—it is not a property limited to one town—nor is it a quality confined to one family. It is the very nature of [all things in] the entire world, including that of Gods."

<sup>g</sup> There is much doubt in the world relative to Nirwana—*Mūlindappaṇṇa*.

doctrine, it was necessary to make a strong affirmation to the effect that "*Nirwana* is." These are indeed expressions which without being retracted or explained, compelled even *Nagasena* to declare "the doctrine of Nibban was beyond all computation, a *mystery*."

Such briefly are the most important of the doctrines of Buddhism. And we shall now turn to the remaining point of enquiry :—

### III. *What are its prospects?*

There are indeed good grounds for believing that Buddhism will at no very distant period disappear from this island; there is moreover a hope for Ceylon, which alas! we have not for India. The two countries are, in this respect at least, differently circumstanced; and the difference is too wide to expect for both the same results from missionary labours, or to predict the same period of time for their conversion to Christianity. The hope for Ceylon arises from various considerations; and we shall here notice the influence of caste on religion. It is a fact that the Singhalese are not so much attached to the system of *castes*, as their neighbours on the continent of India. Caste exists in Ceylon, but with greater force in India. Here it is a mere custom, there a part of the Hindu national institutes. Here it is more political than religious—there more religious than political. Here no man loses his caste by the adoption of a new faith—there the Brahma becomes an utter out-caste by changing his creed. Though demurred to at first in this very hall by the higher classes of the Singhalese, we nevertheless find all castes and classes meeting together in the jury box with the greatest harmony. All alike sit on the same form in our Christian churches; and all alike partake of the same cup, the wine that is distributed at the Lord's Supper. Wellalas now follow different trades, which were anciently restricted to the lower orders; and occasionally marriages take place between persons of different castes. Caste is thus losing its iron grasp on the affections of the Singhalese. Although in many parts of the island these changes take place unperceived and unreflected on by the people; yet in others, where they are fully alive to the innovations which affect their social condition, have we frequently heard the exclamation—"This is not surprising—it must take place—Buddha himself has declared it." Yes, that great sage, like Mahomet, with a foresight and penetration of mind which deserve commendation, predicted the change, the abolition of caste. His words were "at a distant period" (and now more than twenty-four centuries have elapsed from the date of the prediction) "princes will confer offices on mean people. The

nobles will have no means of support. They will therefore give their children in marriage to the mean; and thus confusion of castes and classes will be the result. The low will become high and the high low, and the nobles will be dependent upon the mean!"

Combined with this state of things, which affords a help to Christianity, is the absence in the Buddhist mind of that warmth and fervour in behalf of his faith which exist in the votaries of other religions. The Buddhist looks upon Christianity without jealousy—nay more, there is a disposition on his part to conform to the religion of the Bible along with the faith of his forefathers. Neither is this feeling a creature of modern and enlightened times; so far back as the age of the great Asoka, the liberal monarch of Asia, we find that far from any hostility being shewn to other religions, Buddhists actually honoured them. Thus, in one of the inscriptions of that Buddhist sovereign, we find it declared that "there are circumstances where the religion of others ought to be honoured, and in acting thus a man fortifies his own faith, and assists the faith of others. He who acts otherwise diminishes his own faith and hurts the faith of others."<sup>a</sup>

Among the many helps to conversions to Christianity in this island is the great desire manifested among the Singhalese to be instructed in European science and literature.

Now, Buddhism mingles religion with science; the law of earthquakes is taught in the same books which contain admonitions for the salvation of man; the means for the attainment of Nibban are pointed out by the same teacher who propounds that eclipses are caused by the monsters Rahu and Khetu; the doctrine of the earth being a firm flat, around Mount Meru, and twice seven circles of mountains and seas, rests upon the authority which inculcates Silan as the highest religious duty. The same *dhamma* which teaches that man's soul is a nonentity, teaches also that the earth rests on water, water on wind, and the wind on air. These religious propositions are again so interwoven with the *physical*, that we cannot well sever the one from the other. The overthrow of one must therefore affect the stability of the other. If one can be disproved the other will share in that result. Many have already detected the errors in the Buddhist works; already there are many who are converts to the European doctrine of "the rotundity of the earth;" and the native mind is even now prepared to reject the absurdities upon this point in the legends of Gotama; already many Buddhists have rejected some books which their forefathers regarded as

<sup>a</sup> Girth the word in Pali is *S. J. w. a. n. a. — Milindappanna.*

works of authority ; already there are men who, though not Christians, yet disbelieve that the hollow on Adam's Peak was an impression left by Gotama ; and already they are impressed with the impropriety of idol-worship ; and even orthodox Buddhists doubt that it was sanctioned by Buddha.

The English schoolmaster is abroad. The village pansals in which were hitherto congregated the youth of the surrounding hamlets are deserted. The priesthood are thus deprived of their ebbittayas, those " bit-boys " who once formed their proud retinue. But the children, on the other hand, are better educated in mission schools, where, in addition to elementary instruction, they learn the Word of God.

Thus it cannot be doubted that with the growth of intelligence, and the increase of scientific knowledge, the Singhalese will ere long perceive the errors of Buddhism ; and that the detection of one error will lead to the discovery of another and another, until at last the people will not only be constrained, but prepared in all soberness to adopt the religion of the Bible.

A powerful means by which Buddhism is failing in the stand it had originally made in this island is the discouragement which is offered to the native Pundits ; they do not under the British government derive any of the benefits, or enjoy the privileges which were conferred on them in a bye-gone day. The priesthood, from want of adherents to their faith, are more occupied with secular concerns than with the study of their Scriptures ; the books too are getting very scarce, and copyists still more so. " This process of decay," says Mr. Hardy, " is already apparent in Ceylon ; there being no outward stimulus to exertion, the priests exhibit no enthusiasm of study, and many of them are unable to read at all." I believe he meant the Pali works of Buddhism.

Another and yet more important cause affecting the state and prospects of Buddhism is the dissemination of Christianity through the agency of the missionary ; many who were Buddhists when they first entered the mission schools have become convinced in the course of their education of the errors of their religion and of the truth of the Gospel, and have consequently abandoned their early faith, and are now employed in the work of the missions, teaching their convictions to others, and preaching the Word of God. That same zealous missionary, from whom we have just quoted, says, and says it conscientiously and correctly—" I see before me looming in the distance a glorious vision, in which the lands of the east are presented in majesty

—happy, holy, and free.”<sup>j</sup> Indeed there is a ray of light which will ere long burst into full day. Christianity is planted in the households of the Singhalese, and in the hearts of the people ; its influence though silently progressive, is yet felt in our everyday intercourse with our countrymen. The success of the missionary may be traced in the progressive change in the Singhalese mind.

Already there are thousands of Christians, *true Christians* of all denominations, whether Roman Catholic or Protestants, who are not ashamed, as are the Hindus of Asia, to take up the cross of Jesus, and amidst their bigoted clans-men, to avow their belief on Him who for our sakes came down as the son of a carpenter, and had for His associates the poor fishermen of Galilee. But, “however scanty may be the outward evidence of actual conversions,” as remarked by Sir Emerson Tennent, “there are symptoms perceptible which afford good grounds of hope for the future.”<sup>k</sup>

Gotama himself with a penetrating mind and a capacious intellect, which take in not only the subtle philosophy of his creed, but what we are here called upon to admire the most, all the encouraging signs of the passing times, and the hopeless prospects of the future, predicted the downfall of Buddhism. He has given five signal epochs for the ascertainment of the declension of his doctrines. They are the following :—The first, when the means by which the paths to Nirwana are attained will be lost ; the second, when the observance of the precepts by the priesthood will be neglected ; the third, when the greater part of the doctrinal writings, together with the Pali language in which they are written, will disappear ; the fourth, when the priests will continue to degenerate ; that is to say, they will begin to take life, and to plough and sow, and to walk about with a strip of cloth on their arms as a mark of their order ; and the fifth, when Buddha’s relics will disappear altogether. For the consummation of all this, Gotama has given the same period of time which God in his mercy has assigned for the manifestation of the Saviour—“forty centuries or four thousand’ years.” Bold assertion ! extravagant hope ! yet it is not a little remarkable that more than half of this period has already elapsed. Two thousand four hundred and forty-nine years may seem to us earthly mortals, whose “days” are “as a shadow that passeth

<sup>j</sup> Hardy on *Buddhism*, p. 13.

<sup>k</sup> Sir E. Tennent’s *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 171.

<sup>l</sup> Some of the Ceylon books represent this as five thousand. But it may be a mistake, since the Tibetan annals give it as four thousand.—See *Asiatic Researches*, xx., p. 442.

away," or, "as it were a span long"—an immense long period of time. Yet in the sight of Him "a thousand years are but as yesterday," that which is "past" is "as a watch in the night." He allowed four thousand years to pass before he produced "the seed of the woman" to "bruise the serpent's head." It was nevertheless "in the fulness of time." Twenty-three centuries, then, during which Buddhism has flourished, may not be a matter for surprise. "Buddhism, like all the ancient religions of the world, may have but served to prepare the way of Christ by helping, through its very errors, to strengthen and to deepen the ineradicable yearnings of the human heart after the truth of God."\* Of the predicted time, however, a period of nearly seventeen centuries still remains; and although the Buddhist books have not been lost, and the Pali language is still in a high state of cultivation, it is, nevertheless, certain that the extinction of Buddhism will take place before the remainder of the term shall have been added to the bygone period. And, with the signs of the times to which we have briefly adverted, we may reasonably anticipate the speedy arrival of that time when "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ;" when Jesus with his saints shall commence his reign of a "thousand years;" when the nations will worship the one Jehovah; and when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."

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\* Professor Max Müller's *Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 32.

**ÆTHIOPIC LITURGIES AND HYMNS.**

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. J. M. RODWELL,

Rector of St. Ethelburga, London.

(Continued from Vol. III. (New Series), p. 352.)

*The People say*,—O Christ our God, make us meet to greet the sanctity which is from heaven, that we may praise Thee with cherubim and seraphim, and cry aloud, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Almighty, heaven and earth are full of the sanctity of Thy glory.

*The Priest says*,—The Lord be with you. Holy among the holy (*thrice*).

We praise Thee, O Lord, through the love of Thy only Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom in these latter days Thou hast sent to us, even Thy Son, as Saviour and Ransomer, the messenger of Thy counsel, the Word who proceedeth from Thee, and by whom Thou hast made all things according to Thy will.

*And the Deacon says*,—*Pray* for the blessed and holy patriarch, Abba Gabriel, or N, and our reverend abba our bishop, Abba N, who laud Thee in their prayers and intercessions; Stephen<sup>m</sup> the protomartyr, Zacharias the priest, and John Baptist; for all the saints and martyrs who have fallen on sleep in the faith of Christ; Matthew and Mark, Luke and John, the four evangelists; Mary the mother of God; Simon Peter and Andrew; James and John; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew; Thaddeus and Nathaniel; James the son of Alphæus, and Matthias; the twelve apostles; and James the apostle the brother of our Lord, bishop of Jerusalem, the sanctuary; Paul and Timothy; Silas and Barnabas; Titus; Philemon; Clemens: the seventy-two disciples and their five hundred companions; the three hundred and eighteen orthodox fathers: may their prayers be multiplied unto us.

With them visit Thou us, and remember with peace Thy holy catholic and apostolic Church which Thou hast acquired with the precious blood of Christ. And remember all patriarchs, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, who direct aright the way of true doctrine.

*The People answer*,—Have mercy, O Lord, upon the souls of Thy servants and handmaidens who have eaten Thy flesh and drank Thy blood, and have fallen on sleep in Thy faith.

*And the Priest says*,—Let us again make our suit to Almighty God, the Father of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

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<sup>m</sup> Renaudot prefixes *per* to all these names, but in the Roman and Brit. MS. text the preposition is absent.

Remember, O Lord, Thy holy catholic and apostolic Church, which is from one end of the world unto the other.\*

Remember, O Lord, our reverend father, Abba the patriarch N, and our blessed bishop, Abba N. Preserve them to us for many peaceful days and years.°

Remember, O Lord, the presbyters and deacons and sub-deacons, orthodox in the faith.

Remember, O Lord, our king, Lebuna Denghel. Preserve him to us in peace and health.

O Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, bless Thy people of beloved Christians with heavenly benediction, and send to them the grace of Thy Holy Spirit. Set wide open to us the gates of Thy holy Church with mercy and truth, and keep us perfect in the faith of the Trinity to our last breath; O my high priest, Jesus Christ, regard the sufferings of us Thy people; be Thou the guide of our fathers who have gone forth and journey, and bring them to their abodes in health and peace; give Thou Thy blessing to the winds of heaven, and the rain, and the fruits of the earth this year, according to Thy goodness; cause abundance and fertility<sup>p</sup> upon the face of the earth, and confirm to us Thy peace.

Incline the heart of mighty kings to do us good: bestow grace upon the fathers of the holy Church: all those who are in the presence of mighty kings as their Lord, do Thou comfort.

O Lord, give rest to our fathers and brethren who have fallen on sleep and do rest in the orthodox faith: bless those<sup>q</sup> who offer incense, and holy bread and wine, and oil and ointment, and veils and books for public service, and vessels for the temple; may Christ our God recompense them in the heavenly Jerusalem. And all those who are gathered together<sup>r</sup> with us to seek the mercy of Christ our God, have mercy upon them, and on all those who give us alms, before Thy awful tribunal. Give tranquillity to every afflicted soul<sup>s</sup> that is in chains and bound; and those who are in exile and captivity, and those who are held fast in bitter servitude, deliver Thou them, O our God, in the multitude of Thy mercy. O high priest, Jesus Christ, do Thou remember in Thy heavenly kingdom all those who desire us to remember them. O Lord, save Thy people and bless Thine

\* Μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς (St. Mark, p. 18).

° Συντηρῶν συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς εἰρηνικῶς ἐκτελοῦντας . . . κ.τ.λ. (St. Mark, p. 9), συντηρῶν συντήρησον αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς, χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς (ibid., p. 22).

<sup>p</sup> Lit., joy and delights.

<sup>q</sup> Τῶν προσφέροντων τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς προσφορὰς τὰ εὐχαριστηρία προσδεῖται (St. Mark, p. 21).

<sup>r</sup> Τὰς ἐπισυνάγωγας ἡμῶν Κύριε, εὐλόγησον (St. Mark, p. 23).

<sup>s</sup> Μνήσθητι Κύριε πασης ψυχῆς χριστιανῆς θλιβόμενης τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς . . . ἢ ἐν



heritage: look upon them and lift them up for ever, and keep them in the orthodox faith and in repute<sup>4</sup> all the days of their lives, and cause them to be in the love which passeth understanding, through the prayer and intercession which the lady of us all, the holy and pure Mary, mother of God, maketh on our behalf; and by the four great luminaries, Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Suriel; and by the four incorporeal beasts; and by the twenty-four priests of heaven; and holy John Baptist; our fathers, the patriarchs, the apostles, the seventy-two disciples, and the three holy children, and holy Stephen the chief of the deacons,<sup>5</sup> and holy George, and holy Theodorus, and holy Marcorius (*sic*), and holy Minas, and holy Philotheus, and holy Basilides,<sup>6</sup> and holy abba Nob,<sup>7</sup> and all the martyrs, and my lord Abba Antonius, the great and holy father, and our three holy fathers Macarius, and our father Abba Bessoi,<sup>8</sup> and our father Abba John; our father Abba Cyrus, and our father Abba Barsoma, our father Abba Salama,<sup>9</sup> and our father John Chama, and the righteous Abba Bul, and our holy fathers the Greeks, Maximus and Damateus; and the mighty and holy father Abba Moyses and the martyrs; and our father Abba Tecla Haimanoth, and the reverend abba the patriarch Abba N and Bereh, and our king Claudius or N, and all the just and elect invested with the cross, and the angel of this holy day. May their prayers and benediction and intercession and peace, and the love of God, be with us for ever and ever. Amen.<sup>4</sup>

*The Priest says*,—Give rest to the souls of all these,<sup>5</sup> and

ἐξόρισται ἡ πικρὰ δουλεία . . . (St. Mark, p. 22). Ἐλευθέρωσον (ibid., p. 19). Τοὺς εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν (ibid., p. 22).

<sup>4</sup> Lit., *glory*, or *praise*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. Brit. Mus. adds, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Brit. Mus. inserts Basilides here.

<sup>7</sup> For Basilides MS. Brit. Mus. repeats, *Marcorius*, who is followed by *Banadulius* and *Claudius*. The insertion of this latter name shews that the MS. Brit. Mus. is more recent than that from which Teafa Zion printed at Rome in 1548, when Claudius was on the throne. The name Lebuna Denghel (p. 109) may be copied by mistake from an older MS., or may be a title of honour.

<sup>8</sup> MS. Brit. Mus. adds, *Virgin and martyr of the only-begotten and confessor*.

<sup>9</sup> The Festival of Abba Bessoi is celebrated May 3. A hymn for the vigil of his feast is to be found in MS. Cairo, p. 429, in which he is said to have had a vision of the Saviour in answer to his prayers, who raised his disciple Hacui from the dead.

<sup>10</sup> Frumentius, consecrated bishop by Athanasius (vide hymns on his festivals, MS. Cairo, for Dec. 14, and p. 436, also ap. Lud. *Hist.*, iii., 2). His name is omitted in MS. Brit. Mus., and that of Synodius Pachomius inserted.

<sup>11</sup> This prayer, from the words, *Lady of us all*, above, is at the close of the Liturgy in MS. Brit. Mus.

<sup>12</sup> The "Liturgical peculiarity" of the Liturgy of St. Mark "is the prefixing of the great intercession for quick and dead to the words of institution, instead of affixing them to the invocation of the Holy Ghost, as does the Antiochene family; or inserting them between the words of institution and the invocation, as does the Nestorian." (Neale, preface, p. 5.)

have mercy upon them, Thou who didst send Thy Son from heaven into the Virgin's womb.

*The Deacon says*,—Ye who are seated arise.

*The Priest continues*,—Was borne within her, and was made man, Thy Son, manifested by the Holy Ghost.

*The Deacon*,—Look eastward.<sup>c</sup>

*The Priest*,—In Thy presence stand thousands of thousands of saints, angels and archangels.<sup>d</sup>

*The Deacon says*,—We look.

*The Priest says*,—And thy venerable beasts with six wings—seraphim and cherubim, with two wings they cover their faces; with two wings they cover their feet; and with two wings they fly from one end of the world unto the other, evermore celebrating Thy holiness and uttering Thy praise: accept now this our ascription of holiness while we say, Holy, holy, holy.

*The Deacon says*,—Respond.

*The People say*,—Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth! Right full are the heavens and the earth of the sanctity of Thy glory.

*The Priest says*,—Full verily are the heavens and the earth of the sanctity of Thy glory, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. Holy is Thy Son, who hath come and was born of the Virgin, in order that he might accomplish Thy will, and prepare for Thee a holy people.

*Here the Priest places his hands over the thurible, and expands them over the sacramental elements.<sup>e</sup>*

*The People say thrice*,—According to Thy mercy, and not according to our offences.

*The Priest says*,—He stretched forth his hands to suffering: he suffered that he might deliver those who suffer—who put their trust in Thee: who gave himself up of his own good pleasure to the passion, that he might destroy death and break the bonds of Satan, trample down hell, sanction a covenant, and make known his resurrection. On that night when they betrayed him, he took bread into his holy and blessed and immaculate hands: he looked up to heaven unto Thee his Father, gave thanks, blessed, and sanctified, and gave it to his disciples, say-

<sup>c</sup> 'Ο Διακονος εἰς ἀνατολήν.

<sup>d</sup> This agrees *verbatim* with St. Mark, p. 24.

<sup>e</sup> *Æth. Kordan.* In St. Mark, ὁ ἱερεὺς σφράγιζει τὰ ἄγια, and proceeds to the words of institution.

<sup>f</sup> Μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἁχραντῶν καὶ ἁμωμον αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν ὄνιον πατέρα (St. Mark, p. 24).

ing, Take, eat all of you of this: this bread is my body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins. Amen.

*The People say*,—Amen, Amen, Amen. We believe and are sure:<sup>g</sup> we glorify Thee, O our Lord and God: this is indeed—we believe it—Thy body.

*The Priest*,—And in like manner the cup:<sup>h</sup> he gave thanks, he blessed, and sanctified it, and said to them, Take, drink ye all of it, for this cup is my blood which is shed for you, for the ransom of many. Amen.

*And over the cup they say this*,—Amen. That this is verily Thy blood we do believe.

*Priest*,—For as often as ye do this, ye make a commemoration of me.

*People*,—We proclaim Thy death, O Lord, and Thy holy resurrection; we believe in Thy ascension, and in Thy second coming: we ask of Thee, O Lord our God: we believe that it is so indeed.

*Priest*,<sup>i</sup>—We now commemorate Thy death and resurrection: we give Thee thanks that Thou hast hereby made us meet to stand before Thee, and to minister unto Thee in the priest's office: we ask Thee, O Lord, and beseech of Thee, to send the Holy Spirit and *his* virtue<sup>j</sup> upon this bread and upon this cup, and make them the flesh and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. Amen.

*The Priest says*,<sup>k</sup>—Grant alike to all those who shall receive thereof, that they may be to them for sanctification, and for the fulness of the Holy Ghost, and for the strengthening of faith, that they may sanctify Thee through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

*The Deacon says*,—With all our hearts let us ask of our Lord God to bestow upon us the goodly union of the Holy Spirit.

*The Priest says*,—Grant us to be joined together by the Holy Spirit, and heal us by this oblation, that we may live in Thee for ever and ever. Amen. Blessed be the name of the Lord; and blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord; and blessed be the name of his glory. So be it. So be it. So be it.

<sup>g</sup> Credimus et confidimus, Lud. et certi scimus (Renaudot).

<sup>h</sup> This passage is mistranslated by Renaudot and Neale. Ludolf's text is fuller and nearer to the Greek.

<sup>i</sup> This seems a simpler form of the prayer at p. 25, 26 of St. Mark, *Ἀγαπήσω . . . θάνατον . . . καὶ . . . ἀνάστασιν . . . ὁμολογοῦντες . . . Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν σε . . . ἐξαποστείλον . . . τὸ πνεῦμα . . . τὸ ἅγιον . . . ἐνεργεῖαν . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα, τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα. . . .*

<sup>j</sup> Or, *might*.

<sup>k</sup> Compare the *εὐχαρίστια* in St. Mark, p. 31.

*And the People say in like manner,—*Send forth the Holy Ghost upon us.

*The Deacon says,—*Rise up for prayer. -

*The Priest says the prayer at the breaking.*

I humbly adore Thee, O Lord God Almighty, who sittest upon the chariot of the cherubim,<sup>1</sup> who dwellest in the Highest, and art praised by the lowest, reposing eternally in the light of Thine essence, who hast shewed to us the hidden mystery of the cross: for, who is a God, merciful and holy, like Thee, whose is the power that is not far from us, forasmuch as Thou didst give authority<sup>2</sup> to the apostles—to those who minister unto Thee in sincerity of heart, and to those who offer unto thee a sweet savour, for the sake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To Thee, to Him, and to the Holy Ghost, be praise, honour, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

*The Deacon says,—*Ye who stand, bow down your heads.

*The Priest says,—*O God, who sittest upon the cherubim,<sup>3</sup> and lookest down upon Thy people and upon Thine heritage, bless Thy servants and Thine handmaidens and their children; and recompense whomsoever shall come and receive from the throne of Thy table, with purity of heart, for the remission of sins, which by the Holy Ghost is communicated for the salvation of soul and body in the heavenly kingdom and heritage, by the favour and goodwill of Thine only Son, through whom, with Thee, to Him, and with the Holy Ghost, be glory and honour, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

*The Sub-deacon says with the People,—*The hosts of the angels of the Saviour of the world stand before him and environ the body and the blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Let us therefore come into his presence, and adore Christ with faith.

*The Deacon says,—*Worship the Lord with fear.

*The Priest says the Prayer for Repentance.*<sup>4</sup>

O Lord Almighty, Thou art he who healest our souls and our bodies: for Thou hast spoken by the word of Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, when he spake to our father Peter,—Thou art the rock, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not shake it to its fall. And unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of

<sup>1</sup> See n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν* (St. Mark, p. 28).

<sup>3</sup> Compare St. Mark, pp. 28, 29. *Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν σου.*

<sup>4</sup> At this point, the Liturgy of St. Mark makes the people say thrice, *Kyrie Eleison*.

heaven. That which thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and that which thou shalt absolve on earth shall be absolved in heaven. Again, therefore, let Thy servants and Thy handmaidens be absolved, by the mouth of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the mouth of me Thy servant, a sinner and transgressor. O Lord our God, Thou art he who takest away the sins of the world, accept the repentance of Thy servants and of Thy handmaidens, and cause the light of life to arise upon them, and forgive their sins, for merciful art Thou and gracious, O Lord our God, longsuffering and abundant in mercy and truly just. Whether we have sinned against Thee in our words, or whether in our deeds, or whether in our thoughts, do Thou remit and forgive and pardon, for merciful art Thou, and the lover of men. O Lord our God, make us all to be absolved, and do Thou absolve all Thy people. Absolve, O Lord, our patriarch Abba N, and our holy and blessed bishop Abba N, and all patriarchs, bishops, elders, and deacons [each by name]. Preserve them to us for many years and length of days in righteousness and peace. Absolve, O Lord, our king N from every bond of sin. Remember, O Lord, all those who have fallen on sleep and do rest in the faith of Christ, and give their souls a place in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and deliver us from all evil and curse,<sup>p</sup> and from all denial of the truth, and from perjury, and from partaking in apostasy and with apostates. Bestow upon us a heart and understanding that we may be far from all the works of Satan. Grant us to do Thy will at all times, and write our names in the kingdom of heaven together with all the just and martyrs through Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom, to Thee, with Him, and with the Holy Spirit, be glory and power, now and ever, and for ever and ever. Amen.

*The Deacon says,*—Let us behold.

*The Priest says,*—Holy things for holy persons.

*The People say,*—There is one Holy Father, one Holy Son, one Holy Ghost.

*The Priest says,*—The Lord be with you.

*The People say,*—And with Thy Spirit.

*The Priest says,*—O Lord Christ have mercy upon us.

*And the People say the same thrice.*

<sup>p</sup> Ὑψαί ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ἀρᾶς καὶ κατάρτας καὶ ἀπὸ ἀναθεματός (St. Mark, p. 10).

<sup>q</sup> Ὁ ἱερεὺς. Τα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Ὁ Ἄαος. εἰς πάντη ἅγιος, εἰς υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἐν πνεῦμα ἁγίον εἰς ἐνότητα πνευμάτων ἁγίων. Ἀμήν.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς. Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων

Ὁ Κληρὸς. Καὶ μετὰ πνευμάτων σου (St. Mark, p. 31).

*The Deacon says*,—A Prayer: All ye who are in repentance, bend down your heads: rise up for prayer.

*The Priest says*,—Peace be with you all.

*The People say*,—And with Thy Spirit.

*The Priest says*,—The holy and precious life-giving body, even that, in truth, of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ which was given for the remission of sins, and for the life of the world to those who receive it in faith. Amen.

The holy, precious, life-giving blood, even that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who was given for the remission of sins, and for the life of the world, to those who receive thereof in faith. Amen.

For this is the body and blood of Immanuel our very God. Amen.

I believe, I believe, I believe, from this time forth and for ever. Amen.

For this is the body and the blood of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, which he took from the Lady of us all, the holy and pure Virgin Mary, and made it one with the Godhead without commixture or confusion, without division or change of Deity, and witnessed a good confession in the days of Pontius Pilate, and gave himself up by his own will for our sakes, upon the tree of the Holy Cross. Amen.

I believe, I believe, I believe, that the Deity was not divided from the manhood for one hour, or the twinkling of an eye.

And he gave himself for us, for salvation, and for the remission of sins, and for eternal life for those who receive thereof in faith. Amen.

I believe, I believe, I believe, from henceforth and for ever. Amen.

*And after he has administered to himself the body of Christ, he administers it to all the people, saying*,—

This is the bread of life which came down from heaven, the precious body of Immanuel our very God.

*And he to whom it is administered shall say*,—Amen.

*And the Deacon shall administer the cup, saying*,—This is the cup of life which hath come down from heaven, the precious blood of Christ.

*He to whom it is administered shall say*,—Amen and Amen.

*The Deacon says*,—Pray for us and for all Christian people. Make a commemoration on behalf of those who have desired us to remember them in the peace and in the love of Jesus Christ; praise ye and sing.

*The Priest says*,—To those, O Lord, whom Thou hast called,

and whom Thou hast sanctified, give a portion in Thy calling; and strengthen them in Thy love, and keep them in Thy holiness, through Christ Thine only Son, through whom, to Thee, in Him, and with the Holy Spirit, be glory and power, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

*The Priest says*,—Thou, O Lord, who hast given the eternal light of salvation, constancy, and guardianship to thy servants, and hast preserved their past nights and days in peace, bless this present and future days, O our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom, to Thee, with Him, and with the Holy Ghost, be praise and power, now and ever, world without end. Amen.

*And the Deacon says*,—Let us give thanks unto God, whose holy gifts we have received, that what hath been administered to us may be for the life of the soul, and for healing; let us make our suit, and let us commend ourselves, with ascriptions of praise, to our Lord God.

*And the Priest says*,—I will exalt Thee, O God, my king, and praise Thy name for ever and ever.

*And the People say*,—Our Father, which art in heaven, lead us not, O Lord, into temptation.

*And the Deacon says*,—He hath bestowed upon us of his holy body and precious blood, even the body of Christ: let us therefore praise him who hath made us meet to partake of this precious and holy mystery.

*And the Priest says*,—Every day will I bless Thee, and praise Thy name for ever and ever.

*And the People say*,—Our Father.

*And the Priest says*,—My mouth shall utter the praise of the Lord, and all flesh shall bless his holy name for ever and ever.

*And the People say*,—Our Father.

*The Priest says*,—O ruler of souls, guide of saints, and glory of the just, grant us, O Lord, the eyes of knowledge that may ever behold Thee, and ears which may hearken only unto Thee, since Thou hast satiated our souls with Thy grace. Create a clean heart within us, O Lord, that we may ever comprehend the greatness of the good and lover of mankind: be gracious, O our God, unto our spirits, and give us a pure mind which turneth not aside, Thou who hast given unto us Thy humble servants Thine own body and blood: for Thine is the kingdom, O Lord. Praised and blessed be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end. Amen.

*The Priest says the Prayer of Benediction.*

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\* Καταγγασον τους νοητους ημων οφθαλμους (St. Mark, p. 32).

O Lord our God, the inextinguishable light, look upon Thy servants and Thy handmaidens, and sow in their hearts the fear of Thy name, and take count of them that they may bring forth fruit by the blessing which Thou hast given them of Thy body and blood; and that it may abide on those who do bow their heads in Thy presence—even Thy people, men, women, and children. Unite us with them: protect, help, and save us by the might of Thine archangels: withdraw us from every evil work, through Christ Thy only Son, in whom, to Thee, with Him, and with the Holy Ghost, be glory and power, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.<sup>4</sup>

Here ends the Eucharistic office (Kedasse) of our fathers the apostles. May their prayers and blessing be with us. Amen.

Holy! holy! holy! ineffable Trinity! Grant unto me that I may receive this Thy body for life and not for judgment. Grant that I may bring forth fruit that shall please Thee by shewing forth Thy praise, and that I may live unto Thee by doing Thy will. In faith will I cry to Thee as Father, and cry for Thy kingdom. Hallowed Lord be Thy name: to Thee be glory for ever and ever.

*The Deacon says*,—Bow down your heads before the living Lord that by the hand of his servant the priest he may bless you, *And the People say*,—Amen.

*Priest*,—The Lord bless us his servants with peace, that our's may be remission of sins, to whom his holy body and precious blood have been imparted. Grant to us by the Spirit to tread down all the might of the foe: for the blessing of Thy holy hand, which is full of mercy, do we hope: take us far from every evil work, and in every good work vouchsafe us a part. Blessed is he who hath given us his holy body and his precious blood! we have received grace and attained to life by the might of the cross of Jesus Christ! To Thee, O Lord, do we render thanks for that we have received the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Laud be to God, who hath given us his holy body and precious blood.

Laud be to Mary, the glory of us all, who brought forth to us this sacramental gift."

<sup>4</sup> The MS. B.M. here ends the office thus:—The Deacon,—*Depart ye in peace*; but adds the cautions prefixed to the Liturgy of our Lord the healer of the sick, *If any one*, etc. (p. 27.)

<sup>5</sup> Korban.



NO. II. THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE (KEDASSE) OF OUR LORD,  
THE HEALER OF THE SICK.

*The Deacon says*,—Let your hearts be in heaven.

*The People say*,—Yea, our hearts are in heaven. For thy name sake strengthen us, and make us worthy of Jesus Christ our Lord and God.

*The Deacon says*,—If any one is at variance with his neighbour let him forgive him.

*The People say*,—According to Thy mercy, O our God, and not according to our offences, *be it unto us*.

*The Deacon*,—If any one hath conceived hypocrisy in his heart, let him humbly confess it.

If any one hath a pollution of mind, let him withdraw.

If any one hath fallen into a sin, let him not forget it, because it shall not be forgotten.

If there be any one with infirmity of mind, let him not draw near.

If there be an unclean person, one who is not pure, let him withdraw.

If there be any one who is at variance with the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, let him withdraw.

If any one hath despised the prophets, let him withdraw himself, and save his soul from the wrath of the Only-begotten. Let him not do despite to the cross, but flee from the wrath of God. For he who beholdeth us is the Father of lights, with his Son, and his holy angels, who visit the Church.

Look to your souls. Purify your souls: remember not your neighbour's offences against you.

See that there be no one who is angry with his neighbour. God is looking on. Lift up your hearts.

Let us draw nigh unto salvation, life, and holiness in the wisdom of God. Let us receive the grace which is bestowed upon us severally.

*The Priest says*,—The Lord be with you. Let us give thanks unto our God. Holy things for holy persons. Holy! holy!

*The People say*,—Holy, holy, holy! O Lord, God of gods, who wast and art for ever in heaven and in earth (*thrice*).

*The Priest says*,—We render solemn thanks unto Thee, the goal to which our spirits tend,\* the Giver of our life, the incorruptible treasury, the Father of Thy Only-begotten Son, and our Saviour, who hath proclaimed Thy will; for Thou hast willed that we should be saved by Thee. Our heart rendereth thanks

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\* Lit., *The end, scope of our souls.*

unto Thee, O Lord: Thou art the might of the Father, and the grace of the Gentiles, the knowledge of what is right, the wisdom of the erring, the healer of souls,<sup>w</sup> the greatness of the humble. Our asylum Thou! the staff of the just, the hope of the exiles, the harbour of the tempest-tossed, the light of the perfected, Son of the living God. Let the light of Thy unshaken grace shine upon us for steadfastness<sup>x</sup> and strengthening of belief; with wisdom, and the power of inflexible faith, and unwavering hope. Bestow spiritual knowledge upon our low estate,<sup>y</sup> that we may be Thy pure servants evermore in uprightness, O Lord; and let all the people laud Thee.

*The People say*,—Lord, we praise and glorify Thee.

*The Priest says*,—Yea, Lord, we render thanks unto Thee, we bless Thee, and evermore make our petition to Thee, O Lord, Father of those on high, who reignest over the treasures of light.<sup>z</sup> Look down upon Jerusalem out of heaven. Lord of powers and archangels, and might of dominations, the glory of the thrones,<sup>a</sup> the investiture of luminaries, the joy of delight; King of kings, Father whose hand holdeth and ruleth the universe. By Thy counsel Thy Only-begotten Son was crucified for our sins.

*The Deacon says*,—Ye who are seated, arise.

*Priest*,—Who by the word of Thy covenant hast created all things,<sup>b</sup> for in him Thou art well pleased.

*The Deacon says*,—Look eastward.

*The People answer*,—We look.

*Priest*,—And Thou didst send him into the Virgin's womb: he was conceived in her belly, became flesh, and his birth was known to be through the Holy Spirit. Of the Virgin was he born that he might fulfil Thy will, and prepare for Thee a holy people.

*The Deacon says*,—Respond.

*The People say*,—Holy, holy, holy.

*Priest*,—He stretched forth his hands to the passion. He suffered that he might save the suffering who put their trust in Thee. By his own will was he delivered up to suffering, that he might save those who suffer, and strengthen those who totter, find out the lost, and quicken the dead, and take away death, and break the bonds of Satan, and fulfil his Father's will, and tread hell under foot, and set open the gates of life, give light

<sup>w</sup> Hence probably the title of this Liturgy.

<sup>x</sup> Lit., *With implanting*.

<sup>z</sup> Lit., *Knowledge of the Spirit upon our humility*.

<sup>a</sup> i.e., probably, the starry heavens.

<sup>b</sup> Col. i. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Or, in accordance with a slight variation in the text, suggested in the MS. notes to the Ed. Rom. in Zion College, *hast done all thy pleasure*.

to the just, sanction a covenant, dispel darkness, rear up the infants, and proclaim his resurrection.

On that night in which they betrayed him, he took bread into his holy, blessed, and immaculate hands; he looked up to heaven and Thee, even unto his Father; he gave thanks, blessed, consecrated, and brake, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat; this bread is my body, which is broken for you for the ransom of many. Amen. And as often as ye shall do this, ye will celebrate<sup>c</sup> my commemoration. And in like manner the cup of wine after they had supped: Thou didst mingle, Thou didst give thanks, Thou didst bless, sanctify, and gavest to them Thy very blood,<sup>d</sup> which was shed for us.

Now, therefore, O Lord, commemorating Thy death and resurrection we do put our trust in Thee; we offer unto Thee bread and a cup, giving thanks unto Thee, to Thee alone from all eternity, God the Saviour. For Thou hast commanded that we should stand before Thee, and minister to Thee in the priest's office.<sup>e</sup> We, therefore, Thy servants, O Lord, make our suit to Thee, O Lord, and beseech Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit and virtue upon this bread and upon this cup, to make it the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for ever and ever. Amen.

*The People say*,—Lord, have mercy upon us; Lord, have mercy upon us; Lord, be gracious to us.

*The Priest says*,—Moreover we offer unto Thee this eucharist, O eternal Trinity, O Lord, Father of Jesus Christ, whom every creature and soul venerates.<sup>f</sup> . . . We render unto Thee this gift, and yet offer not meat and drink unto Thy holiness. Grant to us that it be not unto us for judgment, and for the accusing of the enemy or for perdition, but for the healing of our bodies, and the strength of our spirit. Yea, O our God, grant to us for Thy name sake to flee from all thoughts which may displease Thee. O Lord, grant that all deadly plottings may be driven away from us, who in Thy name are written down in the inner veil of Thy sanctuary on high. Let death hear Thy name and be struck with consternation, and let the abyss be rent asunder, and the enemy be trodden down; the wicked spirit tremble: and let the serpent withdraw himself. Let infidelity be banished, and the apostate be put to grief; let anger subside, and envy prevail

<sup>c</sup> Lit., *Do, make*.

<sup>d</sup> Thus in the extract printed by Ludolf. But the Roman text reads, *Thou didst give them thy blood in a figure*.

<sup>e</sup> Ludolf inaccurately renders *INSTAR sacerdotum ministremus*. Comm., p. 344. But see his Lex. in v.

<sup>f</sup> The text is obviously corrupt. Probably some such words as *of thine own creatures do we offer* are lost.

not; let the obstinate be convinced, and all the lovers of gold be rooted out. Let trouble depart, the deceitful man be cast down, and all kinds of poison lose their force. Grant, O Lord, to the inner eyes of our heart that they may behold Thee, celebrate Thee, and serve Thee, since Thou alone art their portion, the Son and word of God, whom all things do serve. Those to whom Thou hast revealed Thyself in grace, perfect and strengthen: those who are in grace do Thou heal: preserve those who with might of tongue proclaim<sup>s</sup> the faith: direct Thou those who are taught the words of eloquence:<sup>a</sup> those who do Thy will, save Thou eternally: visit the widows: take charge of orphans: receive those who are fallen on sleep in the faith.

Give us also, O Lord, a portion with all Thy saints: give us strength to please Thee as they pleased Thee: feed Thy people in uprightness and holiness. Give unto us all, O Lord, who have received these Thy sacred gifts, communion<sup>i</sup> of spirit. Let us be satiated with the Holy Spirit and the strength of true faith, that we may evermore give thanks unto Thee and to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ: for Thine is the honour and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

O, ruler of souls,<sup>j</sup> guide<sup>k</sup> of the just, and glory of the saints, bestow upon us, O Lord, the eyes of knowledge, that we may evermore behold Thee, and ears also which may hearken only to Thy word, after that our soul is now satiated with Thy grace. Create in us a clean breast, O Lord, that we may ever understand Thy greatness, who art good and the lover of man. O our God, be gracious to our souls and bestow on us a stedfast mind, who have received Thine own body and blood—even on us Thy humble servants; for Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, praiseworthy and glorious, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

*The Priest says*,—Grant that we may be united together by Thy blessed name.

*And*, Blessed is he that cometh.

*And*, He shall be blessed. May it be so to whomsoever the grace of the Spirit is sent forth.

*The Priest says the Prayer at the Breaking of the Bread.*

Again let us beseech of Almighty God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to grant that with blessing we may receive Thy holy mystery. Bestow strength upon us; but grant that it bring not any one of us into condemnation, but

<sup>s</sup> Or, *celebrate*.

<sup>a</sup> Lit., *The word of the tongue*.

<sup>i</sup> Lit., *Commingle, conjunctio animorum*. Lud.

<sup>j</sup> This prayer does not occur in the printed Roman edition. It is supplied from Ludolf.

<sup>k</sup> Lit., *Pilot*.

may work that which is expedient for those to whom hath been vouchsafed the reception of the holy mystery of the flesh and blood of Christ, the Lord our God who ruleth all things.

*The Deacon says*,—Pray ye.

O Lord God Almighty, let the reception of Thy holy mystery impart strength to us, and not bring any one of us into condemnation, but bless all through Christ Thy only Son, through Whom, to Thee, with Him, and with the Holy Spirit, be laud and power for ever, world without end. Amen.

*The Deacon says*,—Arise.

O Lord of luminaries, O Lord of dominions, O Lord of archangels, exalted in heaven and lauded by the mouth of every creature! O God, who instructest the heart in things secret and things manifest! Thy people humble themselves before Thee, and subject to Thee the obduracy of *their* heart and flesh: look upon whomsoever is meet for Thy abode: bless both these men and these women: let Thine ear hearken unto them, and listen to their prayers: strengthen them by the might of Thy right hand, and help them against the suffering of evil: be the keeper of their souls and of their bodies, giving both to them and to us the increase of faith and of Thy fear, through Thine only Son, through Whom, to Thee, with Him and with the Holy Spirit, be glory and power, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

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Here ends the Eucharistic office of our Lord Jesus Christ. To him be glory, with his good Father and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

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THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE (KEDASSE) OF OUR LADY MARY.  
COMPOSED BY ABBA HERIACOS,<sup>1</sup> BISHOP OF THE CITY OF  
BEHENSEA.

My heart is inditing of a good matter: and I will set forth the eucharistic office of Mary, not for the many, but for the few. Mary's praise will I proclaim—not with senseless prolixity but with brevity—and I will set forth the greatness of the Virgin.

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<sup>1</sup> There is some doubt as to the correct orthography of the name Heriacos. It is written by Ludolf, *Cyriacos*; by Dillman, from the MS. Brit. Mus. 16,202, Heriacos, but with a hard *h*. He was bishop and metropolitan of Behensa or Bahnessa, seven days from Cairo on the banks of the Canal Menhi (Edrisii, *Africa*, p. 511). A bishop of Nubia of the same name is mentioned in the life of Chail, the forty-sixth patriarch of Alexandria, (Renaudot, *Or. Lit.*, i., p. 441,) A.D. about 730. See also Renaudot, as above, p. 452. But Dillman says, "Cyriacus ipse, quo tempore vixerit, nondum erutum est."

And now will I stand in humility and love this day in the presence of this tremendous mystery, and before this table and sacrament—a sacrament indeed—whereof the impure in spirit cannot taste. Unlike the sacrifices of the fathers of old, with blood of sheep, and goats, and bulls! But this is fire; fire that giveth life to the righteous of heart, to those who do His will, a consuming fire to the wicked who deny His name; a fire indeed it is which the fiery ones, the cherubim and seraphim, who are a flame of fire, cannot touch! Therefore will we love thee, O Mary, and celebrate thy praises, because thou hast brought forth to us the food of very righteousness, and the drink of very life. O ye ancient fathers, consecrated by imposition of hands, and appointed to succeed the apostles, we take you as our intercessors with God *all* our days; and we take as intercessors with our Lord God those two of whom we make mention, the patriarch Abba N of the great city Alexandria, and the head of our cities, the blessed bishop Abba N.

*The Deacon says*,—*Pray for the blessed one.*

*The Priest says*,—O Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

*He continues*,—For us and for them all, O advocate, do thou intercede with thy Son, to give rest to the souls\* of all patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and anagnosts, who rightly direct the way of the Word; of kings, and judges, and leaders, and those who were in authority; youths, virgins, monks, rich and poor, great and lowly, the widow and the orphan, the stranger and the poor, and all the people of the congregation who are at rest: most especially on behalf of those who sleep in this place, on their behalf do Thou oft intercede: give refreshment to all their souls; *for* wherever be the place that is designated as that of victorious martyrs, and the place of the just elect, and the place\* of Thy holy angels, in every place Thou art the head, and powerful is Thy name with God.

*The Deacon says*,—Rise up ye who are seated.

Let us arise in the fear of God to magnify and celebrate her who is full of grace, full of praise, uttering a salutation of joy to her who is full of grace. Greater the majesty of aspect in thee than the majesty of the cherubim of many eyes, and the seraphim of eight wings.

*The Deacon says*,—Look eastward.

\* The MS. Brit. Mus. here inserts the names of the apostles, etc., as, in the previous liturgies.

\* The passage is corrupt,—*absque bono sensu*, Dillm., *Lex.*, p. 631. I have ventured a conjecture, which the Æthiopic scholar will see does the least amount of violence to the text.

*The Priest says*,—Verily God the Father hath beheld the earth, the north and south, the east and west, and searched diligently in all the ends thereof, and found none like thee; and was well pleased with thy sweet odour, and loved thy beauty, and sent His son to thee whom he loved.

*The Deacon says*,—We are looking.

*Priest*,—Holy is God the Father who was well pleased with thee. Holy is the only begotten Son Jesus Christ who dwelt in thy womb. Holy is the paraclete who sanctified thee and purified thee. O Virgin! O full of praise! whereunto shall one liken thee? Thou art the loom out of whom Emmanuel put on the inexplicable clothing of the body! He made the warp of the original flesh of Adam, and the woof of thy flesh; and His shuttle was the Word, and the reed was from the overshadowing of the high God, and the weaver the Holy Spirit! O marvellous and hard saying! By the tables which thou spreadest, the fathers of old passed from death to life. O stepping stone from earth to the heavens, by whom the old creation is renewed! Thou wast the hope of Adam when driven forth from Paradise, the meekness of Abel who was slain by violence, the goodness of Seth, the deeds of Enoch, the ark of Noe wherein he was saved from the evil deluge, the blessing of Shem and the portion of Lot, the pilgrimage of Abraham, the fragrance of Isaac, the ladder of Jacob, the consoler of Joseph, the tables of Moses, the bush at Sinai, the bell that was in Aaron's robe, and moreover the rod that sprouted, and blossomed, and bare fruit; Joshua's column of testimony, the fleece of Gideon, Samuel's vessel of ointment, and horn of Chrism; the root of Jesse wherein he gloried, the chariot of Aminadab, the harp of David, and crown of Solomon; a closed garden, and a sealed well; he sent thee as Elia's cruse of gold, and the vessel of Elisha; pattern of virginity; the pregnancy which Isaiah beheld; the primogeniture without cohabitation of Daniel, the Mount Paran of Habakkuk, the closed east of Ezekiel, the coming one of Haggai, the Bethlehem and land of Ephratah of Micah, the tree of life of Zephaniah, Nahum's healer of wounds, Zechariah's rejoicing,<sup>p</sup> he that crieth in Malachi! O Virgin, parable and

\* This passage is altered from the homily of Proclus in Cyr., f. 119 (Mansi, *Concil.*, iv., 577): "Mary was the venerable loom wherein was woven His corporeal nature, that rugged garment; and His maker (weaver) the Holy Ghost; and His reed (*radius textorius*) a virtue from the overshadowing of the Most High; and His warp was of the original flesh of Adam; and His weft was from the pure flesh of the Virgin; and the shuttle the grace of the Word, his clothier and artificer."

<sup>p</sup> The text is very corrupt. The word *Silondas* is doubtless a corruption of *Sophonias*, commemorated in the Æthiopic calendar on July 4; and the references may be to Zech. vi. 12; Neh. iii. 19; Zeph. iii. 17.

prophecy of the prophets, grace of the apostles, sister of angels, mother of martyrs, glory of youths, virgins, and monks, who watch within her gates day and night! O Virgin, O full of grace! not of base concupiscence<sup>†</sup> wast thou conceived, but of the legitimate embraces of Anna and Joachim wast thou born! O Virgin, not amid pastimes didst thou grow up, like the stiff-necked daughters of the Hebrews, but in the holy temple, in sanctity and purity! O Virgin, it was no earthly bread on which thou wast nourished, but heavenly bread of heavenly make! O Virgin, it was no earthly drink that thou didst drink, but spiritual drink was poured out of the heavens! O Virgin, who knewest not pains like women before thee and since, thou who hast been the deliverer of the world! no deceitful youths were thy comforters, but angels of heaven visited thee when the priests contended *about thee*, and the high priest praised thee. O Virgin, thou wast not betrothed to Joseph that thou mightest know him, but that he might keep thee in sanctity and purity. For thus it was. When God the Father saw thy purity, He sent an angel of light unto thee whose name was Gabriel, and he said to thee, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. Then came unto thee the inseparable word out of his Father's bosom: thou didst become pregnant with Him who cannot be comprehended. He whose height cannot be diminished, and to whose profundity no addition can be made, was covered in thy womb: the fire of Deity, which can neither be known nor measured, dwelt within thee. Earthly fire can be both known and measured. It is not right that we should compare the fire of Deity with the earthly fire that can be known and measured. Impossible is it that the Deity should be described. This sufficeth, and this fire is a mere likeness. The Deity is not a sphere like the sun or moon, or capable of weariness like a man; but He is wonderful, and sitteth on high, whither thought of man hath not reached, or knowledge of angel extended. The Deity hath not length and breadth, height and depth, right and left, but filleth all things and places. The Deity hath not extension or contraction, but as His Deity is proclaimed in all lands. There is no roof over the Deity, or foundation beneath Him; He is the roof and He is the foundation: there is no lowering or humbling of the head on the part of God, that He may take up from the earth anything that is on it, but He holdeth all things in His hand as He shewed to Peter. God hath no breast which is in front, or back

<sup>†</sup> Concupiscentia turpitudinis (Lud., *Lex.*, col. 508).

<sup>†</sup> See the passages quoted from the apocryphal gospels in my translation of the Koran, p. 499 (n.)



which is behind, but is veiled in a flame of fire: a flame of fire is He—pure Deity—unsullied and bright. We believe on the Father as the sender, that He is a Father in His person; and we believe in the Son who was sent that He is a Son in His person; and we believe in the Holy Ghost who descended upon the Jordan, and upon the apostles, that He is a Holy Spirit in His person, three titles, one God. Not like Abraham who was older than Isaac, and Isaac who was older than Jacob. Not so: the Father is not older than the Son in His being as a Father, and the Son is not older than the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is not younger than the Father and Son: and the Son is not younger than the Father in His being as a Son: not as Abraham who laid commands on Isaac by the law of creation, and Isaac who laid commands on Jacob: not thus is it with God: the Father lays not commands upon the Son in virtue of His essence as a Father; yet the Son is not greater, being of an equal essence; and the Holy Ghost is His equal;—Father, Son, and Spirit, one God—one glory and one kingdom, one authority and one tribunal. Thought is with the Father, speech with the Son, assent with the Holy Ghost: the Father's is counsel, utterance the Son's, fulfilment of the Holy Ghost: the Father createth, the Son conjoineth, and the Holy Ghost fashioneth: the Father sendeth, the Son exerciseth power, the Holy Ghost is the witness: the Father draweth, the Son vouchsafes familiarity,\* the Holy Ghost admonisheth: the Father purifieth, the Son refineth, the Holy Ghost sanctifieth: the Father strengtheneth, the Son maketh constant, the Holy Ghost holds the helm: the Father putteth on the raiment, the Son crowneth, the Holy Ghost giveth grace: the Father taketh His seat, the Son judgeth, the Holy Ghost examineth. Thus do we believe in the union and conjunction, not dividing or separating them lest there be a diversity, yet, dividing and separating lest there be a confusion. Not that we say there are three, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but He is one in a trinity of subsistence: not that we say He is one like Adam, the beginning of the creation, but He is three in one subsistence. Behold we have heard of the profane Jews and erring Ishmaelites (Muhammadans), who say that God is *absolutely* one, in their ignorance; for they are blind of heart. Behold! we regard them as pagan idolaters! Many their gods, and many their demons! We follow the guides in a good path, even as the apostles have taught us, saying, The Father is a sun, and the Son is a sun, and the Holy Ghost is a sun, one sun of righteousness, which hath shed light upon all: the Father fire, the Son fire, and the Holy Ghost fire; one

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\* Or, shews intimacy.

fire of life from on high: the Father a day spring, and the Son a day spring, and the Holy Ghost a day spring; one splendour which by its light hath scattered the darkness: the Father a vine, the Son a vine, and the Holy Ghost a vine; one vine of life by which all *the world* is made sweet: the Father milk, the Son milk, and the Holy Ghost milk; one milk without commixture.<sup>1</sup> In such a faith and trust we all say the Prayer of Faith [—the Nicene Creed].

Let us now return to the beginning of our discourse, and enquire of the Holy Virgin as to her conception, which is so marvellous to all. And let us say, O Virgin, where dwelt within thy womb the devouring fire, whose countenance is fire, and his clothing fire? How were not the coverings burned? The fire that burned, whither did it go, and where was it infixed, and where was it expanded in thy womb? On thy side on the right hand, and on thy side on the left,—whereas thou wast but a small body—was the fire-girt cherubic throne? Where was it prepared within thee, who wast but a little betrothed one? A mother was she, and yet a handmaiden: her womb was narrow, and yet capacious: a pregnancy without cohabitation, like a bee, as the story saith; milk united with virginity! While I think on these things my mind desires to swim in the depths of the ocean of thy Son, but the waves of the secret things of thy beloved one overwhelm it. Yea, when I think on this, my mind desires to mount on high and bring forth the secret, and to pluck away the veil that enshroudeth the living one, but it fears the flame of fire, and attaineth not unto half of the half of the *seven* heavens: yea, when I muse on this, my thoughts desire to ride upon the wings of the wind, and fly to the east and west, to the north and to the south, and into all quarters; and in its flight to behold the nature of things created, and to measure the depth of the seas, and to scan the height of the heaven, and to penetrate the universe: but it cannot be, and the mind returneth to the place where it was at first. And now we will not investigate His depths, or scrupulously enquire into His majesty; for the tongue of prophets and apostles cannot praise the extent of His greatness. Awful is He, and there is no place for irreverence towards Him, and yet He humbleth Himself unto us. Too lofty is He to be attained unto, and yet took, with us, the form of a servant: a fire is He which cannot be touched; yet have we seen Him, and handled Him, and eaten and drank with Him; and now will we praise the Son by saying, Holy, etc.

*The Deacon saith,—Respond.*

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<sup>1</sup> Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 2.

*The People say,—Holy.*

*Priest*,—O Virgin, O fruitful one who art eaten, and gushing fountain who art drank! O bread which is of thee! for those who eat thereof in faith, it is good, and life, and salvation! O bread which is of thee! To those who believe not, mighty, invincible, for its strength is of adamant! O cup which is of thee! to those who drink thereof in faith, it instructeth in wisdom and addeth life. O cup which is of thee! which maketh drunken those who believe not, and causeth to reel, and addeth sin instead of the remission of sin! Now, therefore, will we offer praise to thy Son, saying, Praise be unto Thee! Praise be to Thy kingdom! Praise with pure incense will we offer unto Thee.

*The Subdeacon then offers the incense.*

*Priest*,—Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, from whom proceedeth every good gift and every perfect bestowment, became man, and performed every work of man, sin only excepted, and was born in Bethlehem, and was instructed in the law of the Hebrews, was baptized by John, and was tempted in the desert, hungered and thirsted, and wrought miracles.

On that night in which He delivered His soul up to death, He shewed to His disciples the many marvels of His crucifixion, and passion, and death, and resurrection on the third day in the flesh and spirit, with blood and bones, as He was at first. When the twelve disciples were with Him on His right hand and on His left, and with them was numbered, after the manner of tares mingled with wheat, Judas who betrayed Him.

*The Deacon saith*,—Uplift your hands, ye priests.

Then was it that Jesus Christ took bread into His holy hands and spotless fingers: He looked up to heaven to His Father, and interceded with Him that begat Him, and committed His disciples to Him that He might keep them from the evil one: He blessed, for blessed is He; and sanctified, for holy is He; and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat of this all of you: this bread is my body which is broken for you for the ransom of the whole world. Amen. And in like manner the cup after supper: He looked up, and said, Take, drink of this all of you, for this cup is my blood, which the spear caused to gush forth for you for the remission of sins. Amen. O Lord; as then, bless, and break, and distribute this bread. Amen. O Lord; as then, sign, sanctify, and distribute this cup. Amen. And this my priestly function do thou purify, approve, and accept. Amen. And this priest who is with me do Thou help in this mystery. Make us—both him and myself—like Joseph and Nicodemus who wrapped up Thy body: and this deacon who ministereth unto Thee according to the law of the ministry, do

Thou advance to the higher dignity of our priesthood, and make him full of grace and righteousness and favour, like Stephen, who beheld the very Trinity,\* who gazed upon and rejoiced at the descent of the Holy Ghost.

*Here the Deacon rejoiceth.*

And this people who are gathered together this day, priests, and deacons, and all the laics, great and small, make them meet for the reception of Thy mystery. Have mercy and rebuke not.

*The People say thrice*,—Have mercy upon us, O Lord, and rebuke us not.

*The Priest saith*,—Vouchsafe union with Thyself to all those who partake of it, that it may be to them for sanctification, for fulness of the Holy Ghost, and for the strengthening of faith, that they may sanctify and praise Thee through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

*The Priest says*,—Vouchsafe us union. Blessed be His name, and blessed be the name of His glory; so be it (*thrice*). Lord, send forth upon us the grace of the Holy Ghost.

*The Prayer at the Breaking,*

O God, Maker, giver of all things, perfecter of all things, container of all things, whom angels and archangels worship, powers and dominations, heaven and earth, the sun, and moon, and stars, and all grades of being; for from the beginning all subjection, majesty, and dominion are His! He who was rich in all things made Himself poor of all; love drew down the mighty Son from His throne, and brought Him to the death! Oh victim, who resisted not<sup>†</sup> those who dragged Him along, and bent His neck to the slaughterers! Oh Lamb, that was dumb before His shearers! Oh patience, that opened not His mouth in His suffering, before those who smote Him! Oh bread, which came forth from the treasure which Joseph<sup>‡</sup> bought, and found therein the precious gem of the onyx! Oh bread, that came forth from the virginal chamber! This sign of his cross, which is separate from this bread, is not separate or different; the form, and softness, and taste, are one. As the form of this sign of the cross is not separate or different from this bread, in like manner His deity is not separate or diverse from His humanity: thus Thy majesty was commingled with our meanness, and our meanness with Thy majesty, O Lord our God!

*The Deacon says*,—Pray.

\* Lit., *the essence of the Trinity*.

† Thus Ludolf after Castell. The word literally means, *makes a hissing or chuckling sound*.

‡ Lit., *Ox who resisted not with his horn*.

§ The husband of the Virgin Mary (Matt. xiii. 46).

*Priest*,—To our latest breath let us hear this word of eucharistic consecration. In it let us seek a refuge; in it let us find reconciliation; in it let us make our boast; for it is the coming of the Son out of the heaven of heavens on high for judgment and for mercy; so that this bread is at once a refuge and a tribunal, and the merciful one. At this perturbing word the soul trembleth, and my members quake, and the doors of my heart within me are opened. Lo! this bread is broken! Lo! this table is prepared! Let him that will receive come, and delay not. But first of all humble your souls, and purify your hearts.

If any be polluted or unclean, let him withdraw.

*The People say*,—According to Thy mercy, O our God, and not according to our offence.

If any one hath fallen into a sin, let him not forget it, for it is not forgotten.

If any one hath habitually lightly esteemed this sacrament, let him not draw nigh; he is forbidden.

This bread which is seen is not as earthly bread; it is the fire of the Godhead.

Where is the mouth that can feed on this bread? Where the teeth that may masticate this bread? Where the stomach that shall contain this bread? Let us now, therefore, look up and say, According to Thy mercy, O our God, and not according to our offences.

*The Priest says*,—To Thee, O Lord, the maker of all things, to the invisible God, stretch we forth our souls. To Thee, the humbler of all things, do we humble ourselves: Thee, the adored of all, do we adore: to Thee do we subject ourselves, who to Thyself dost subject all things. Oh, Thou revealer of things secret, and concealer of that which is manifest! O Thou who bringest forth that which is within, and hidest that which is without, hear now the cry of Thy people who call upon Thee in righteousness.

*The Deacon says*,—Let us attend. Holy things for holy persons. There is one holy Father; one holy Son; and one Holy Ghost. The Lord be with you.

*The People say*,—And with Thy spirit. Lord Christ have mercy upon us (*thrice*).

*The Priest saith*,—Oh Christian people! as ye are gathered together on this day, so shall God gather you in Jerusalem, the place of freedom, in the heavens; as ye have heard this voice of Mary's liturgy, so shall God cause you to hear in Mount Zion the voice of the harp of His children, and the song that thrills

the very bones, and by its abundant sweetness ravishes the heart exceedingly. Thither shall He bring you, where is set up the tabernacle that burns with fire, and where the high priest Jesus Christ abideth. There is the image of that face pourtrayed, and the pure crown, and the radiant robes; the work of no human hand, but of celestial texture. To the congregation of the saints shall He bring you, and of martyrs, youths, and virgins, and monks, and among them is the adorned tabernacle, Mary the adorned one. Let us not seek our adornment of the greatness and the vain glory that is clad in death, and goeth down to hell: let us possess purity of soul, and not merely purity of the body; for in perfectness of spirit did the prophets see God, and beheld Him face to face. Let us possess humility, like the apostles; for with humility did Christ endue them, and power to bind and loose all the bands of sin. Let us possess the gift of reticence and patience—like Mary whom the Lord praised, when He said, Mary hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her.

And now let us ask for the gracious grace of the Lord our God.

*The Deacon says,—Pray.*

Remind, O Virgin, thy Son, though He forgetteth nought. Remind of His birth, wherein He was born of thee in Bethlehem, and was wrapped in swaddling clothes; and how they warmed Him, in the days of the winter, with the breath of the ass and ox. Remind of His journey with thee, when thou fleddest with him from city to city in the days of Herod the king. Remind of the tears which flowed from thine eyes, and ran down upon thy Son's cheeks. Remind of the hunger and the thirst, and all the hardships which came upon thee with Him. O Virgin, remind of mercy not wrath. Remind of compassion and not destruction. Remind of sinners and not the righteous. Remind of the polluted and not the pure. And now let us praise the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end. Amen.

*The Priest saith the Prayer of Benediction,*

Let us give thanks to God for all His grace which He hath bestowed and conferred upon His mother in this liturgy, which He hath caused us to utter and celebrate of his good pleasure. To Him be glory, even unto Him the wise, for ever and ever. Amen.\*

[To be continued.]

\* [The following note is added by the Æthiopic monk Tesfa Zion. I have met with one who said this: Whoso celebrates this office does not celebrate (sanctify) Mary, but all those who hear it are sanctified. Mary is ever holy in heaven and earth. May her blessing be with Tesfa Zion and his son Tanase. Amen.]

### THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM IN PALESTINE.

THE interest so generally felt in all that concerns the topography of the Holy Land must be traced to higher motives than mere curiosity; it has a higher and a diviner reason. Under such circumstances it is our duty to aid the inquirer so far as we can, even if it be by the smallest contributions. There are many ways in which a little might be done, and one of them is the publication or translation of documents not generally accessible: with notes if possible, and if not, without them. Among the matters which might thus be placed before the ordinary reader, we should concede a prominent position to the *Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim*, or, according to its Latin title, *The Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum sive Burdigalense*. This Itinerary is from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and belongs to A.D. 333; as is shewn by the mention of the consuls Dalmatius and Zenofilus. Dr. Robinson, who makes this observation, adds, "Reland has given the names and distances of the places mentioned in Palestine; but *not the description of Jerusalem and the vicinity, which is important.*" The text of the whole has been sundry times reprinted since the first edition in 1600, published at Cologne, and edited by Andreas Schottus, along with the *Itinerary of Antonine*. Its title is, "Itinerarium Antonini Avgusti, et Burdigalense. Quorum hoc nunc primum est editum: Illud ad diuersos manusc. codices et impressos comparatum, emendatum, et Hieronymi Svirite Cæsaraugustani, doctissimo commentario explicatum."

We have called the edition of Schott the first edition, on the faith of the words of the title page,—"*hoc nunc primum est editum.*" There is nothing in the preface either to confirm or to correct this statement; the editor only says, *addidi—Itinerarium item Burdigala Hierosolymam vsque*, a P. Pithoeo viro doctissimo in membranis repertum. We observe, however, that Mr. Thomas Wright, in his *Early Travels in Palestine* (Ed. Bohn, 1848), gives an account of this Itinerary, involving the assertion of a previous edition. We have not at hand the means of verifying what he says, but we quote the whole of the passage, with the exception of a note, in which he shews that the date of the itinerary is properly assigned to A.D. 333.

"We have fortunately one document of a very remarkable character, which has preserved to us the local traditions of the Christians of Syria under the Romans. It was first brought to light by the celebrated French antiquary, Pierre Pithou, who printed it, in 1588, from a manuscript in his own library, under the title of *Itinerarium a Burdigala*

*Hierusalem usque*; and it was afterwards inserted in the editions of the *Antonine Itinerary*, by Schott and Wesseling. The author of this *Itinerary* was a Christian of Bordeaux, who visited the Holy Land in the year 333, and it was evidently compiled for the use of his countrymen. This visit took place two years before the consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built by the Emperor Constantine and his mother Helena. The compiler of this *Itinerary*, who is the first traveller to the east who has left us an account of his journey, departed from Bordeaux, then one of the chief cities of Gaul, passed by Arles and other towns, and crossed the Alps into Italy, which country he traversed, passing through Turin, Pavia, Milan, Brescia, Verona, etc., to the then magnificent city of Aquileia; thence he crossed the Julian Alps, and passed through Noricum, Pannonia, Illyria, Dacia, and Thrace, to Constantinople; and thence, after crossing the Bosphorus, he continued his route through Asia Minor to Syria. Hitherto the *Itinerary* is a mere recapitulation of names and distances; but, after his arrival in Syria, he continually interrupts his bare list of names, to mention some holy site, or other object which attracted his attention.

"On his arrival at Jerusalem, he gives us a long description of that city and its neighbourhood. From Jerusalem he returns to Constantinople, varying a little his route, and thence he retraces his steps as far as Heraclea in Thrace, where he leaves his former road, passing through Macedonia to Thessalonica, and thence to Italy, where he visited Brundisium, Capua, and Rome, and thence returned to Milan."

Reland says very little concerning our *Itinerary*. He only remarks: "Inter pretiosas veteris ævi reliquias quæ ad manus nostras pervenerunt non ultimo loco collocanda esse existimem tria Itineraria Romana, quorum unum vetus itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, et Burdigalense, dici solet, quod iter describat Burdigala Hierosolymas institutum. Anno æræ Christianæ 333, urbis conditæ 1085, id iter confectum fuisse scriptor ipse docet quum consulibus Zenophilo et Dalmatio III se in itinere versatum notat" (*Pal.*, p. 415). From the *Itinerary* itself, as Dr. Robinson remarks, Reland quotes the portion which relates to Palestine, omitting the account of Jerusalem. To his extract he appends a few observations which we shall give further on. His casual references to the *Itinerary* it is hardly necessary to collect.

The special title of the *Itinerary* in the edition before us is, "Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque, et ab Heraclea per Aulonam, et per urbem Romam, Mediolanum usque, ante annos mille et ducentos simplici sermone scriptum, ex antiquissimo exemplari nunc primum editum." This is followed by an address to the reader, "Petrus Pithoeus I. C. Lectori," in the course of which we find a few things deserving of extract. "Ne quis vero quæ hic noster de *angulari lapide*, sive de pinna templi, et aliis quibusdam sanctæ urbis monumentis refert, inter recentiorum



commenta numerare ausit, visum est monere, eadem fere non in Lyrani modo glossis, et Petri nostratis scholastica historia legi, sed et inter titulos historiarum, qui in antiquissimis codicibus Aur. Prudentii libris Peristephanon subjiuntur, quem *Dittochaum* sive *Diptychion* de toto veteri et novo testamento scripsisse Gennadius testatur; quamquam is libellus titulo *Enchiridii*, a nonnullis Amoeni nescio cujus nomine editus legitur. Illud etiam notasse non ab re fuerit jam tum in illis Galliæ partibus quæ *Provinciæ* nomine quondam censitæ fuerant, viarum intervalla non per leugas sed per miliaria numerata." After this, some remarks come respecting the author's mode of reckoning by leagues at one time, and by miles at another. The editor concludes with a reference to two words of very frequent occurrence in the *Itinerary*, *mansio* and *mutatio*. Of the first he says, "*Mansio* quid sit nullus puto ignorat." He would probably now find many who do not know what it is. It literally signifies a stopping place, and hence an inn or place where suitable accommodation for a halt may be obtained. Of the second of the two words Pithoeus remarks, "*Mutationes* sunt veredorum vel animalium ad iter. Eæ vehiculis et animalibus, eorumque pabulis instructæ erant; sed non cæteris rebus ad usum vitæ humanæ peregrinantibus necessariis; ideoque distinguuntur in libris nostris, ut XI. Cod. Theod., tit. i., cap. ix." *Mutationes* are therefore merely places for halting, baiting, or changing horses, with less accommodation than that found at a *mansio*. It is however hard to believe that some of the places mentioned as *mutationes* were no more, and it is possible that the Pilgrim only means that he made no more of them. Besides *mansio* and *mutatio*, we find *vicus* or *civitas* prefixed to names of places. As, however, we are not writing an archæological commentary upon the *Itinerary*, we shall refrain from remarks upon these and similar matters. But we must observe that the barbarous spelling of names is sometimes sufficient so effectually to disguise them that we cannot recognize them. Inasmuch as the reckoning in this part of the *Itinerary* is uniformly by miles, we have dropped the initial M in the translation and only retained the numerals. It will be noticed that the Pilgrim at intervals introduces the number of *miles*, *mutations*, and *mansions*, between the two points. We have retained the words "mansion" and "mutation," although, perhaps, we might have done better by putting instead of them "halt" and "change." A few words in the Latin we are really not able to render, because in all probability there is some corruption of the text. We print the Latin with the simple correction of manifest errors of the press.

Ciuitas Antiocha m. xvi.  
 Fit à Tharso Ciliciæ Antiochiam Milia cxli.  
 Mutationes x. Mansiones vii.

Ad palatium Dafne. m. v.

Mutatio	Hysdata	m. xi.	Ciuitas	Ladica	m. xvi.
Mansio	Platanus	m. viii.	Ciuitas	Gaulala	m. xiv.
Mutatio	Bachaias	m. viii.	Ciuitas	Balaneas	m. xiii.
Mansio	Cattelas	m. xvi.			

Finis Syriæ Coelis et Foenicis.

Mutatio	Maraccas	m. x.	Mansio	Antaradus	m. xvi.
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Est Ciuitas in Mare à ripa mil. ii.

Mutatio	Spiclin	m. xii.	Mutatio	Bruttosalia	m. xii.
Mutatio	Basiliscum	m. xii.	Mutatio	Alcobile	m. xii.
Mansio	Arcas	m. viii.	Ciuitas	Berito	m. xii.
Mutatio	Bruttus	m. iv.	Mutatio	Heldua	m. xii.
Ciuitas	Tripoli	m. xii.	Mutatio	Parphirion	m. viii.
Mutatio	Tridis	m. xii.	Ciuitas	Sidona	m. viii.

Ibi Helias ad viduam ascendit et petijt sibi cibum.

Mutatio	Ad Nonum	m. iv.	Ciuitas	Tyro	m. xii.
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Fit ab Antiochia Tyrum vsq : mil. clxxiv.

Mutationes xx. Mansiones xi.

Mutatio	Alexandroschene	m. xii.
Mutatio	Ecdeppa	m. xii.
Ciuitas	Ptolomaida	m. viii.
Mutatio	Calamon	m. xii.
Mansio	Sicamenos	m. iii.

Ibi est mons Carmelus, ibi Helias sacrificium faciebat.

Mutatio	Certa	m. viii.
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Fines Syriæ et Palestinæ.

Ciuitas	Cæsarea Palestina	id est,
	Iudæa	m. viii.

Fit à Tyro Cæsaream Palestinam milia lxxiii.

Mutationes ii. Mansiones iii.

Ibi est Balneus Cornelii Centurionis, qui multas eleemosynas faciebat. In tertio milario est mons Syna, vbi fons est, in quem mulier, si lauerit, grauida fit.

Ciuitas	Maxianopoli	m. xvii.	Ciuitas	Stradela	m. x.
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Ibi sedit Achab Rex, et Helias prophetauit,

Ibi est campus vbi Dauid Goliath occidit.

Ciuitas	Sciopoli	m. xii.
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Aser vbi fuit villa Iob. m. vi.

Ciuitas	Neapoli	m. xv.
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Ibi est mons Agazaren. Ibi dicunt Samaritani Abraham sacrificium obtulisse, et ascenduntur vsque ad summum montem gradus num. ccc. Inde ad pedem montis ipsius locus est, cui

nomem est Sechjm. Ibi positum est monumentum, vbi positus est Ioseph in villa quam dedit ei Iacob pater eius. Inde rapta est et Dina filia Iacob à filijs Amoræorum. Inde passus mille, locus est cui nomen Sechar, vnde descendit mulier Samaritana ad eundem locum, vbi Iacob puteum fodit, vt de eo aqua imple-ret, et Dominus noster Iesus Christus cum ea loquutus est. Vbi sunt arbores platani, quos plantauit Iacob, et balneus qui de eo puteo lauatur. Inde milia xxviii. euntibus Hierusalem, in parte sinistra est villa, quæ dicitur, Bethar. Inde passus mille est locus, vbi Iacob cum iret in Mesopotamiam addormiuit, et ibi est arbor amigdala, et vidit visum, et Angelus cum eo luctatus est. Ibi fuit Rex Hieroboam, ad quem missus fuit Propheta vt conuerteretur ad Deū excelsum: et iussum fuerat prophetæ, ne cum pseudopropheta, quem secum Rex habebat manducaret, et quia seductus est a pseudopropheta et cum eo manducauit rediens occurrit prophetæ leo in via, et occidit eum leo.

Inde Hierusalem mil. 12. Fit à Cæsarea Palestina Hieru-salem vsque, mil. 116, mansiones 4, mutationes 4.

Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duæ ad latus templi, id est vna ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram, quas Salomon fecit. Interius vero ciuitatis sunt piscinæ gemellares, quinque porticus habentes, quæ apellantur Betsaida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur. Aquam autem habent eæ piscinæ in modum coccini turbatam. Est ibi et cripta vbi Salomon Dæmones torquebat. Ibi est angulus turris excelcissimæ, vbi Dominus ascendit et dixit ei is qui tentabat eum.\* Et ait ei Dominus: Non tentabis Domi-num Deum tuum, sed illi soli seruias. Ibi est et lapis angularis magnus, de quo dictum est: lapidem quem reprobauerunt ædifi-cantes. Item ad caput anguli, et sub pinna turris ipsius, sunt cubacula plurima, vbi Salomon palatium habebat. Ibi etiam constat cubiculus in quo sedit et Sapientiā descripsit, ipse vero cubiculus vno lapide est tectus. Sunt ibi et excepturia magna aquæ subterraneæ, et piscinæ magno opere ædificatæ, et in æde ipsa vbi templum fuit, quod Salomon ædificauit. In marmore ante aram sanguinem\* Zachariæ, ibi dicas hodie fusum. Etiam parent vestigia clauorum militum, qui eum occiderunt, in totam aream, vt putes in cera fixum esse. Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani. Est et non longe de statu is lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Iudæi singulis annis, et vnguent eum, et lamētant se cum gemitu et vestimēta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt. Est ibi et domus Ezechiae regis Iudæ. Item exeunti in Hierusalē vt ascendas Sion in parte sinistra, et deorsum in valle iuxta murū, est piscina quæ dicitur Siloa, habet quadriporticū, et alia pis-cina grandis foras. Hic fons sex diebus atque noctibus currit: septima vero die est Sabathum et totum nec nocte nec die currit.

In eadem ascenditur Sion, et paret vbi fuit domus Caiphæ sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est, in qua Christum flagellis ceciderunt. Intus autē intra murū Sion, paret locus vbi palatium habuit Dauid, et septem synagogæ quæ illic fuerunt, vna tantum remansit, reliquæ autem arantur et seminantur, sicut Isaias propheta dixit. Inde vt eas foris murum de Sion euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam, ad partem dextram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes vbi domus fuit sive prætorium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha vbi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta vbi corpus eius positum fuit, et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo iussu Cōstantini Imperatoris basilica facta est, id est Dominicū miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria vnde aqua leuatur, et balneum à tergo, vbi infantes lauantur.

Item ab Hierusalem euntibus ad portam, quæ est contra Orientem, vt ascendatur in montem Oliueti, vallis quæ dicitur Iosaphath ad partem sinistram vbi sunt vineæ. Est et petra vbi Iudascarioth Christum tradidit. A parte vero dextra est arbor palmæ de qua infantes ramos tulerunt et veniente Christo substrauerunt. Inde non longe quasi ad lapidis missum sunt monumenta duo\* monubiles miræ pulchritudinis facta. In vnum positus est Isaias Propheta qui est vere Monolitus, et in alium Ezechias rex Iudæorum. Inde ascendis in montem Oliueti, vbi Dominus ante passionem Apostolos docuit. Ibi facta est basilica iussu Constantini. Inde non longe est monticulus, vbi Dominus ascendit orare et apparuit illic Moyses et Helias, quando Petrum et Ioannem secū duxit. Inde ad Orientem passus mille quingentos est villa, quæ appellatur Bethania. Est ibi cripta vbi Lazarus positus fuit, quē Dominus suscitauit.

Itē ab Hierusalē in Hiericho mil. 18, descendantibus montem in parte dextra, retro monumentum est arbor sicomori, in quam Zachæus ascendit, vt Christum videret. A ciuitate passus mille quingentos est fons Helisei prophetæ; antea si qua mulier ex ipsa aqua bibebat, non faciebat natos. Ad latus est vas fictile Helisæi, misit in eo sales, et venit et stetit super fontē, et dixit: Hæc dicit Dominus, Sanaui aquas has, ex eo si qua mulier inde biberit, filios faciet. Supra eundem vero fontē est domus Rachab fornicariæ, ad quā exploratores introierunt, et occultauit eos, quando Hiericho versa est et sola euasit. Ibi fuit ciuitas Hiericho, cuius muros gyrauerūt cum arca Testamenti filij Israel et ceciderunt muri. Ex eo non paret nisi locus vbi fuit arca Testamenti et lapides 12, quos filij Israel de Iordane leuauerunt. Ibidem Iesus filius Naue circumcidit filios Israel, et circumcisiones eorum sepeliuit.

Item ab Hiericho ad mare mortuum millia nouem. Est aqua ipsius valde amarissima, vbi in totum nullius generis piscis est, nec aliqua nauis, et si qui hominum miserit se vt natet, ipsa aqua eum versat.

Inde ad Iordanem vbi Dominus à Ioanne baptisatus est mil. 5. Ibi est locus super flumen monticulus in illa ripa, vbi raptus est Helias in cœlum.

Item ab Hierusalem euntibus Bethleem milia quatuor, super strata in parte dextra, est monumentum, vbi Rachel posita est vxor Iacob. Inde milia duo à parte sinistra est Bethleem, vbi natus est Dominus noster Iesus Christus, ibi basilica facta est iussu Constantini. Inde non longe est monumentum Ezechiel, Asaph, Iob, et Iesse, Dauid, Salomon, et habet in ipsa cripta ad latus deorsum descendantibus, Hebræis scriptū nomina super scripta.

Inde Bethasora mil. 14, vbi est fons, in quo Philippus Eunuchum baptizauit. Inde Therebinto mil. 9, vbi Abraham habitauit, et puteum fodit sub arbore Therebinto, et cum Angelis loquutus est, et cibum sumpsit. Ibi basilica facta est iussu Constantini miræ pulchritudinis. Inde Therebinto Cebron, mil. 2, vbi est memoria per quadrum ex lapidibus miræ pulchritudinis, in qua positi sunt Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Sarra, Rebecca, et Lia.

Item ab Hierosolyma sic.

Ciuitas	Nicopoli	m. xxii.	Mutatio	Betthar	m. x.
Ciuitas	Lidda	m. x.	Ciuitas	Cæsarea	m. xvi.
Mutatio	Antipatrida	m. x.			

Fit omnis summa à Contantinopoli vsq: Hierusalem mil. vnde-  
cies centena lxiv. mil.

Mutationes lxix. Mansiones lviii.\*

#### TRANSLATION.

City                      Antioch<sup>b</sup>                      16

From Tarsus of Cilicia to Antioch there are 141 miles, 10 mutations, and 7 mansions.

To the palace of Daphne, 5

\* As a note upon the whole of what he quotes, Reland says,—In his excerptis, quamvis de singulis urbibus vicisque quorum heic fit mentio dicetur infra libro tertio, hæc obiter notari velim. Quum scribitur a Tyro Cæsaream Palæstinam esse millia LXXIII., manifestus error est. Lege LXIII. Summam effice ex spatiis ante constitutis. *Maxianopolis* est urbs quæ aliis Maximianopolis nuncupatur. *Stradela* est Jizreel urbs in Veteri Instrumento memorata, unde Græci Ἰεζρεὴλ fecerunt. *Sciopoli* pro Scythopoli scribitur. *Aser* illa est cujus Eusebius in Onomastico meminit. Plura non addimus, ad necessitudinem rei hæc satis esse rati, quod et infra de uno quoque loco heic memorato agere constituerimus et integrum aliquando hoc Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum notis illustratum edere nobis sit propositum.

<sup>b</sup> See note No. 1 below.

Mutation	Hysdata	11	City	Ladica	16
Mansion	Platanus	8	City	Gavala	14
Mutation	Bachaias	8	City	Balancas	13
Mansion	Cattelas	16			

## Boundary of Coele-Syria and Phœnicia.

Mutation	Maraccas	10	Mansion	Antaradus	16
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There is a city on the sea, 2 miles from the shore.

Mutation	Spiclin	12	Mutation	Bruttosalia	12
Mutation	Basiliscum	12	Mutation	Alcobile	12
Mansion	Arcas	8	City	Berytus	12
Mutation	Bruttus	4	Mutation	Heldua	12
City	Tripolis	12	Mutation	Porphyriion	8
Mutation	Tridis	12	City	Sidon	8

There Elija went to the widow and sought food for himself.

Mutation at the ninth (milestone) 4.

City	Tyre	12
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From Antioch to Tyre, 174 miles, 20 mutations, 11 mansions.

Mutation	Alexandroschene	12	Mutation	Calamon	12
Mutation	Ecdippa	12	Mansion	Sicameni	3
City	Ptolemais	8			

There is Mount Carmel where Elijah sacrificed.

Mutation	Certa <sup>c</sup>	8
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## Boundary of Syria and Palestine.

City	Cæsarea of Palestine, i.e., Judea	8
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From Tyre to Cæsarea of Palestine, 73 miles, 2 mutations, 3 mansions.

There is the bath of Cornelius the centurion who gave much alms. At the third milestone is Mount Sina,<sup>d</sup> where there is a fountain at which if a woman bathes she becomes pregnant.

City	Maxianopolis	17	City	Stradela	10
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There king Ahab abode, and Elijah prophesied. There is the plain where David slew Goliath.

City	Sciopolis	12
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Aser, where the residence of Job was, 6.

City	Neapolis	15
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There is Mount Gerizim.<sup>e</sup> There the Samaritans say Abraham offered sacrifice,<sup>f</sup> and there go up steps to the top of the mount three hundred in number.<sup>g</sup> Thence, at the foot of the mount itself is a place, the name of which is Sychem.<sup>h</sup> There is placed a monument<sup>i</sup> where Joseph is laid at the farm (*villa*) which Jacob his father gave to him. Thence was carried also Dinah the daughter of Jacob by the sons of the Amorites (Emor). A mile thence is a place of the name of Sychar,<sup>j</sup> whence the

<sup>c</sup> Note, No. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Note, No. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Note, No. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Note, No. 5.

<sup>g</sup> Note, No. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Note, No. 7.

<sup>i</sup> Note, No. 8.

<sup>j</sup> Note, No. 9.

Samaritan woman came down to the same place where Jacob dug a well, that she might draw water from it, and our Lord Jesus Christ talked with her: where there are also plane trees which Jacob planted,<sup>k</sup> and a bath which is supplied from that well.<sup>l</sup> Twenty-eight miles thence on the way to Jerusalem, on the left hand, there is a place which is called Bethar.<sup>m</sup> A mile thence is the place where Jacob slept when he went into Mesopotamia, and there is an olive tree there, and he saw a vision, and an angel wrestled with him. There was king Jeroboam to whom the prophet was sent that he might be converted to the high God; and it was commanded to the prophet that he should not eat with the false prophet whom the king had with himself. And because he was seduced by the false prophet, and did eat with him, as he returned a lion met the prophet in the way, and the lion slew him.

Thence to Jerusalem there are 12 miles.

From Cæsarea of Palestine to Jerusalem there are 116 miles, 4 mansions, and 4 mutations.

There are in Jerusalem two great pools at the side of the temple, that is, one on the right and the other on the left, which Solomon made. But inside the city there are a pair of pools, having five porches, which are called Bethsaida\* (Bethesda). There the sick of many years were healed. Now those pools have water coloured like scarlet. There is there also a crypt where Solomon put demons to torture. There is the corner of a very lofty tower where the Lord ascended, and said to him who tempted him,—and the Lord said to him, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only thou shalt serve." There is also the great corner stone of which it is said, "The stone which the builders refused." Also at the head of the corner, and below the pinnacle of the tower itself, are very many chambers, where Solomon had a palace. There also exists the chamber in which he sat and wrote Wisdom; and the chamber itself is roofed with one stone. There are there also great receptacles of subterraneous water, and pools constructed with great labour, and in the house itself (*in æde ipsa*) where the temple was which Solomon built. On the marble before the altar, the blood of Zacharias, which you would say had been shed there to-day. There are also to be seen the prints of the nails of the soldiers who slew him over all the floor, so that you might fancy it had been set in wax.

There are there also two statues of Hadrian. And not far from the statues there is a broken stone, to which the Jews come every year, and anoint it, and lament with groaning, and read

\* Note, No. 10.

<sup>l</sup> Note, No. 11.

<sup>m</sup> Note, No. 12.

<sup>n</sup> Note, No. 13.

their garments, and so retire. There is there also the house of Hezekiah king of Judah. Also on the way out into Jerusalem, as you ascend Sion on the left side, and downwards into the valley near the wall, there is a pool which is called Siloa; it has a square portico, and another large pool is outside. Here the fountain flows six days and six nights, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath, and it flows not at all either by night or by day. In the same part Sion is ascended, and the place is to be seen where the house of Caiaphas the priest was; and there is still a column there at which they scourged Christ with scourges. Now inside, within the wall of Sion, the place is to be seen where David had a palace. And of the seven synagogues which were there only one remained, but the rest are ploughed up and sown over, as Isaiah the prophet said. Thence as you go outside the wall of Sion on the way to the (*porta Neapolitana*) Nablous gate, on the right hand, down in the valley, are the walls where was the house or prætorium of Pontius Pilate. There the Lord underwent an examination [received a hearing] before he suffered. On the left hand is the hill of Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified. Thence about a stone's throw is a crypt where his body was deposited, and arose on the third day. There lately, by command of Constantine the emperor, a basilica has been constructed; it is a church (*dominicum*) of wonderful beauty, having at the side cisterns from which water is raised, and a bath behind where infants are laved (*lavantur*).<sup>o</sup>

Also on the way out of Jerusalem at the gate, which is towards the east as one goes to Mount Olivet, is a valley which is called Jehoshaphat's on the left hand, where there are vineyards. There is the rock too where Judas Iscariot<sup>p</sup> betrayed Christ. On the right hand is the palm tree from which the children took branches, and spread them before Christ as he came. Not far thence, about a stone's throw, are two monuments, *monubiles* made of wonderful beauty. In one of them is deposited Isaiah, which is truly a monolith (*monolitus*); and in the other, Hezekiah king of the Jews. Thence you ascend into Mount Olivet, where the Lord before his passion taught the apostles. There a church has been constructed by command of Constantine. Not far thence is a hill, where the Lord went up to pray, and there appeared to him Moses and Elijah, when he took Peter and John along with him. Thence to the east one mile and a half is a place (*villa*) which is called Bethany. There is there a crypt where Lazarus was placed, whom the Lord raised up.

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<sup>o</sup> Note, No. 14.

<sup>p</sup> Note, No. 15.



Also from Jerusalem to Jericho 18 miles, as you descend the hill on the right side, at the back of a monument is the sycamore tree into which Zaccheus climbed in order to see Christ. A mile and a half from the city is the fountain of Elisha the prophet. Formerly if any woman drank of the water she bore no children. At the side is the earthen vessel of Elisha. He cast salt into it, and came and stood over the fountain, and said, "These things saith the Lord, I have healed these waters." If any woman drinks water thence she shall produce children. Above the said fountain is the house of Rahab the harlot, to whom the spies went in, and she hid them, when Jericho was overthrown, and she alone escaped. There was the city of Jericho whose walls the children of Israel went round with the ark of the covenant, and the walls fell. Of it there only appears the place where the ark of the covenant was, and the twelve stones which the children of Israel took out of the Jordan. At the same place Joshua the son of Nun circumcised the children of Israel, and buried their circumcising.

Also from Jericho to the Dead Sea are nine miles. The water of the same is most bitter, where there is no fish at all of any kind, nor any ship, and if any man enter it to swim, the water turns him over. From thence to the Jordan, where the Lord was baptized by John, it is 5 miles. There is a place above the river, a hill on the bank where Elijah was carried to heaven.

Also as you go from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, 4 miles, upon a road on the right hand is a monument where Rachel the wife of Jacob was buried. Two miles thence, on the left hand, is Bethlehem, where our Lord Jesus Christ was born. There a church has been erected by command of Constantine. Not far from thence is the monument of Ezechiel, Asaph, Job and Jesse, David and Solomon, and it has their names inscribed in Hebrew in a crypt at the side as you go down.

Thence to Bethsora<sup>a</sup> 14 miles, where the fountain is in which Philip baptized the eunuch.

Thence 9 miles to the Terebinth where Abraham dwelt, and dug a well under the Terebinth tree, and talked with the angels, and took food. There, by command of Constantine, a church has been erected of wonderful beauty.

Thence from the Terebinth to Hebron, 2 miles, where is a square memorial of stones, of wondrous beauty, in which are buried Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah.

Also from Jerusalem thus:—

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<sup>a</sup> Note, No. 16.

City	Nicopolis	22	Mutation	Betthar	10
City	Lydda	10	City	Cæsarea	16
Mutation	Antipatris	10			

The whole sum from Constantinople to Jerusalem is 1164 miles, 69 mutations, 58 mansions.

### NOTES.

1. *Antioch.*]—That is, Antioch on the Orontes. The names which follow are some of them inaccurately spelt, and there are errors in regard to some of the distances. The *Itinerary* of Antonine for this portion of the route runs thus (according to the spelling adopted by Reland, p. 418, 419):—

Antiochia		Sycamina	m.p.	24
Platanos	m.p.	Cæsaria	"	20
Catela	"	Betaro	"	18
Laudicia	"		(al. 19)	
Gabala	"	Diospoli	"	22
Balanea	"		(quæ olim Lydda)	
Antarado	"	Lamnia	"	12
Arcas	"		(al. Jamnia)	
Tripoli	"	Ascalona	"	20
Biblo	"	Gaza	"	16
Berito	"	Rapa	"	22
Sidona	"	Rino Corubra	"	22
Tyro	"		(i. e., Rhinocolura)	
Ptolemaidem	"			
	(al. 30)			

Again, in the *Itinerary* from Benmaris or Bemmaris to

Neapolis:—

Damasco	m.p.	Gadara	m.p.	16
Aere	"	Scythopoli	"	16
	(al. 34)	In Medio	"	10
Nene	"		(al. 12)	
Capitoliada	"	Neapoli	"	7

Again, from Seriane to Scythopolis:—

Salaminiada	m.p.	Aere	m.p.	32
Hemisa	"		(Aenos? Rel.)	
Laudicia	"	Neue	"	30
Lybo	"	Capitoliada	"	36
Heliopoli	"	Gadara	"	16
Abila	"		(al. Cadara m.p. 20)	
Damasco	"	Scythopoli	"	16

Again, from Cæsarea to Eleutheropolis:—

Cæsarea Eleutheropolin	77		
Betaro	31	Eleuteropolim	18
Diospoli	28	(forte 28)	
(al. 18)			

Again, from Neapolis to Ascalon:—

A Neapoli Ascalona	74	Eleutheropoli	20
Elia	30	Ascalona	24

These are the portions which Reland quotes from the Antonine *Itinerary*, and comprise many of the names in which we are at present interested. Reland, with admirable industry, has collected many other passages from ancient writers, and carefully examined and annotated them; to his second book we must refer the reader. As it regards the Pilgrim's list, most of its items may be corrected or verified from other sources.

2. *Certa.*]—Between Mount Carmel and Cæsarea of Palestine, is thought by Reland to be the same as is called Cartha in some old notitia; but it answers in position very nearly to Dora or Dor, now Tantura. The disfigurement of the name is nothing uncommon.

3. *Mount Sina.*]—We know of no mount with any such name near Cæsarea, still less of any fountain with such marvellous powers. Maxianopolis, Stradela, and Sciopolis, are, as Reland says, put for Maximianopolis, Esdraelon (or Jezreel), and Scythopolis. So Agazaren is Gerizim of course.

4. *There is Mount Gerizim.*]—A well known mountain, belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, situated in the centre of Palestine. A fertile valley with an average width of about half a mile, running from east to west, separates it from Mount Ebal. These celebrated mountains stand opposite each other like two giants, at an equal elevation of about 2500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and 800 feet above the valley of Nablus, which intersects them.

It is satisfactory to learn that the Christian geographical tradition of the country in the time of our author placed Gerizim where all other history and tradition have placed it; inasmuch as we find that Jerome, shortly after this date (*De Locis Hebraicis, voce Gerizim*), contends for another site, and charges the Samaritans with gross error in confounding the two. He (Jerome) places the Gerizim and Ebal of Moses and Joshua in the neighbourhood of the traditional Jericho—some thirty miles distant from the Gerizim and Ebal of Shechem. He, probably, was led into this mistake from the difficulty of reconciling the whole narratives of the passage of the Jordan with the traditional site of Jericho. The idea never suggested

itself to him (nor to any other geographer that we know of, excepting ourselves) that there might have been two Jerichos; one up in the tribe of Ephraim, just opposite Shechem, and another, a more modern one, on the site which tradition assigns it. However this may be, there is no room for doubt regarding the identity of the two mountains, inasmuch as Moses himself locates them "beside the plains of Moreh" (Deut. xi. 29, 30).

5. *There the Samaritans say Abraham offered sacrifice.*—There is no doubt that Abraham sacrificed at Shechem (Gen. xii. 6, 7); but our author most probably refers here to the Samaritan tradition, that it was here the patriarch offered up his son Isaac. Later pilgrims have mentioned the same tradition, nor have we any substantial reason for refusing it. To us it appears that no other mountain in Palestine meets all the requirements of the scriptural narrative but Mount Gerizim. Dr. Stanley, in his *Sinai and Palestine*, has briefly discussed the question in a most satisfactory manner, to which we would refer the reader. Dr. Thomson, in his excellent work, *The Land and the Book*, has endeavoured to confute the doctor, and to prove that the temple mountain at Jerusalem is the true Moriah of Abraham. His reasons, however, appear to us both weak and unsatisfactory. We have read the narrative (in Gen. xxii.) more than once on the sacred spot itself, and after carefully considering all its bearings, we feel satisfied with the correctness of the Samaritan tradition.

6. *There go up steps to the top of the mount three hundred in number.*—We cannot question the correctness of this passage, although we have been unable to trace any reference to these steps in any other early author. It has, however, given rise to speculations by some modern travellers. M. De Saulcy, in a hasty visit up the mountain, seems to have imagined that he discovered a few of these steps still remaining; and in support of a wild theory of his own, suggests there must have been a mistake

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\* The Rev. John Mills, who has spent much time in the Holy Land, and has made many investigations into matters pertaining to sacred sites and Palestinian topography, has kindly written this and several other of the above notes. Under these circumstances, the translator has omitted much that he might have said, and has in particular avoided those points which Mr. Mills is so much better qualified to speak upon. The translator feels compelled to apologize for some necessary errors in the translation, owing to the uncritical state of the only text he has had access to. For two reasons in particular it is desirable that this fragment should be better known; *first*, because of its antiquity reaching back to the time of Eusebius himself; *secondly*, because of the light it throws upon the positions then assigned to places about which we have still much controversy, and which will always be invested with peculiar interest in the eyes of the student of God's Word.

in the number of the steps, and proposes to read *fifteen hundred* instead of *three hundred*. His English editor, in a note, remarks, as "a very probable inference, which does not appear to have struck M. De Saulcy, but which seems to result from the general accuracy of the Pilgrim's descriptions, is that in the year 333 only about three hundred steps of this staircase were remaining. The Pilgrim does not say that this is the whole of the original staircase, but all he saw at the time; and that seems the more likely, as the staircase must have worn out by degrees."

Now there are two paths leading from the valley up the mountain; one behind the town of Nablus, which is the one most frequented, and which undoubtedly has been the common road from the earliest times, and another about half-way between the city and Jacob's well. We have several times passed up and down both, but were not so fortunate as M. De Saulcy in being able to identify any part of this staircase, although we carefully searched for it. We indeed noticed something similar to steps in the bare rock in the latter path about midway to the top, but bearing no evidence that we could discern of their having been made by human hands.

But was there any such staircase in the Pilgrim's time? Undoubtedly there was. And here we must remind the reader of the well-known medals struck at Nablus in commemoration of Antonius Pius. On this medal is represented a building of some kind, most likely a temple, with a high tower close by, both erected on the mountain; and a staircase leading up from the city to the temple. There is hardly a question but that this is the staircase referred to by the Pilgrim, and which had continued to his time. Our author's loose though common expression "top of the mountain," seems to have misled his commentators as signifying the very highest point on Gerizim; when evidently he only meant the prominent spur close behind the city. The same kind of expression is made use of in the narrative of Jotham (Judges ix. 7), and equally misconstrued: "He went and stood in the top of Mount Gerizim," for the purpose of speaking, where the men of Shechem might have heard him. Any one who would impartially examine the place could not fail to conclude that the "top" where Jotham stood is the very spot where the said temple stood, and to which the staircase led.

7. *At the foot of the mount itself is a place, the name of which is Sychem.*—The Pilgrim without a doubt refers to the new city—the Neapolis, built by Vespasian, the modern Nablus. Still it is singular he should call it by the old name Shechem, and not by the new name Nablus. It is a proof that he, at all events, identified the old and new cities, and has thus probably

transmitted to us the almost universal tradition then current. Eusebius, his contemporary, is the only ancient author we know of that makes a distinction between the two (*Onom.*, *Τερεβυνθος* and *Συχερμ*). But if he meant that the sites of both towns were essentially apart (which seems doubtful from his mode of expression), his opinion is quite untenable.

8. *There is placed a monument, etc.*—Our author here seems to refer to Joseph's tomb, so frequently described by travellers. It is certain that Joseph's body was removed from Egypt to Palestine, and was buried in the parcel of ground bought by his father Jacob (Joshua xxiv. 32); and we see no reason to doubt that the present tomb near the south-eastern corner of Mount Ebal is the identical one.

But we may here observe that, according to some, there is another building shewn as the tomb of Joseph. Dr. Stanley (in a note to p. 241, *Sinai and Palestine*), says that "the other is about a quarter of a mile up the valley on the slope of Mount Gerizim, and is said by the Samaritans to be so called after Rabbi Joseph of Nablus," evidently indicating the Mohammedan mosque Imad ed-Deen.

The authority for this tradition is not given. We may as well mention that we made enquiry on the spot with Amram the Samaritan priest concerning this supposed tradition, and that he assured us he never knew the place to be called by such a name, neither after the patriarch nor any other Joseph. He only knew as Joseph's tomb the generally accepted one. And yet it is difficult to perceive the correctness of the following paragraph unless some such tradition was current at the time the Pilgrim wrote, respecting the place where the mosque now stands.

9. *A mile thence is a place of the name of Sychar.*—Our author here clearly distinguishes between Shechem and Sychar. Others have held this opinion too. But without at present disputing its correctness, let us try to discover the locality of his Sychar. It was either a mile from Shechem, or from Joseph's monument. If the former, we are at a loss to know where to find it; but if the latter, it might be the little village of Asker, situated on the south-eastern corner of Mount Ebal, a pleasant and fertile spot. The name and situation would have suggested to us the *possibility* of its being the Sychar of the New Testament, had not insurmountable difficulties been apparent in the way of dissociating Shechem from Sychar. We shall, however, take it for granted that our Pilgrim meant Asker. And now from which of the two monuments did he calculate the distance? It neither tallies with the one nor the other. From the accepted

tomb it is under half the distance, and our author could hardly have made such a mistake, as he is more exact in his measurements than some more modern travellers. From the other it is not far from the mark, and this would lead us to suppose that tradition, as accepted by the Pilgrim, had fixed upon that as Joseph's monument. No number of suppositions, however, can disprove the Samaritan tradition which has been continuous from a time anterior to the Christian era.

10. *Where there are also plane trees which Jacob planted.*—There are at present no trees of any kind in the immediate vicinity of the well, though there might have been in the Pilgrim's time. We were told by some of the inhabitants that formerly the valley in this neighbourhood was pretty well covered with orchards of fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, and that there were remains of many within the memory of some living, though now there are no traces of them left. We have no recollection of this statement concerning trees planted by Jacob being mentioned by any one excepting our author. Having repeatedly spent a pleasant hour or two beneath the grateful shade of Abraham's oak at Hebron, under which it is alleged the patriarch pitched his tent, it would have given us equal pleasure to have done the same at the plane trees of Jacob at Shechem had they been there. It is worthy of note, though, that the olive-trees in the valley of Shechem appear to be much older than any around Jerusalem, and than any we observed in other parts of Palestine, although we are not ready to believe they were planted by the patriarch.

11. *And a bath which is supplied from that well.*—May we not conclude from this passage, that in 333 this bath was the only building in close proximity to the well; had there been any other, our Pilgrim most likely would have mentioned it. When Arculf visited the spot (A.D. 700), there was a Christian Church built over the well. And there is every reason to suppose that the valley in the neighbourhood of the well was at one time or another pretty well covered with buildings. And we observed that the ground from the well to Joseph's tomb was strewn with fragments of pottery, tessellated stones, etc., the remains of former buildings.

12. *Bethar.*—There is a little confusion here in placing Jacob's wrestling with the angel on his outward journey to Mesopotamia (comp. Gen. xxviii. 10—22; xxxi. 13; xxxii. and xxxv. 6—16); it will be very observable, however, the Pilgrim is not at all accurate in his Scripture knowledge. Bethar here stands for Bethel, and furnishes us with a curious example of the changes which names can undergo. This name has ended at

different times in *l*, *r*, and *n*—Bethel, Bethar, Beitin. We must not confound this Bethar with Betthar below.

13. *Bethsaida*.]—An easy error for Bethesda. The redness of the water, “in modum coccini turbata,” is affirmed by Eusebius (in the *Onomasticon*, *s. voc.* Bezatha), who speaks of it as a supposed trace of the sacrificial washings which had been practised there, and to which it owed its name of Probatika (*of sheep*). The statement of Eusebius is copied by Jerome. They both mention two pools. What follows about Solomon’s dungeon for torturing demons, the pinnacle of the temple, the chief corner-stone, the chamber where the book of Wisdom was written by Solomon, and the blood of Zacharias, we may dismiss as idle fiction. Only of the last we may say that it is an early illustration of a belief, even now prevalent in this country, that the blood of a murdered man will not wash out. Shakespere’s *Lady Macbeth* will occur to the recollection of all readers.

14. *Infants are laved*.]—That is, of course, “baptized.” The church of Constantine here alluded to was at that time not yet formally dedicated. The Pilgrim never names the empress Helena in his notices of the sacred buildings of Constantine.

15. *Judas Iscariot*.]—The Latin Judascarioth may be put for this or for Judas of Kerioth, which was, we suppose, his true name. The word *monubiles*, which we have left untranslated, seems to be an error for *monolithica*, or some other form of the word monolithic. In the next sentence it is not clear that Isaiah is not the *monolith*, but we suppose this word applies to his monument, and the very same which is now christened “The Tomb of Absalom.” When Absalom succeeded to the dignity of the “evangelical prophet” we know not. The neighbouring tomb, then, assigned to Hezekiah is now appropriated to Zechariah.

16. *Bethasora*.]—The Biblical Beth-zur, a place which in modern times retains its old name slightly altered into Beit Sur. Not far from it the fountain Ain-ed-Dirweh is still shewn as the place where Philip performed the baptism of the Ethiopian.

17. *Betthar*.]—Betthar seems to be at present unknown; it is, however, beyond question the place which, in Antonine’s *Itinerary*, is written Betaro (or Betarus). Hieron. Surita thought it might be the Beddoro of Ptolemy.

[Some additional notes will appear in the next number.]



## RENAN'S LIFE OF JESUS.\*

THIS volume forms the first book of the *History of the Origines of Christianity*, of which M. Renan sketches the plan in the beginning of his introduction:—

"A history of the *Origines* of Christianity," he says, "ought to embrace the whole of that obscure, and if I dare say so, subterranean period, which reaches from the first commencements<sup>b</sup> of that religion to the time

"*Vie de Jésus*, par Ernest Renan, membre de l'Institut. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1863.

<sup>b</sup> "Depuis les premiers commencements de cette religion." The reader will need scarcely to be admonished that M. Renan takes his station as much as may be on the outside of Christianity, and hence he speaks of it as of *this* or of *that* religion, not *our* religion. So, too, in speaking of other matters in which he might be supposed to have a personal interest, he does not call them "ours," nor does he often adopt the "we," which is so common in Christian writers. The fact is, he identifies himself very little with the Gospel and the Church. He regards everything from an external point of view as an observer, a student, and a critic, not as one whose hopes and whole existence are bound up in the Gospel. Possibly he regards this attitude as a proper and an advantageous one, and one which enables him with impartiality to consider the facts and phenomena before him. Others, however, will very much doubt this, and believing that when Christ said, "He that is not with me is against me;" believing, too, that a personal feeling of interest in Christ is a great and essential help to the true knowledge of Him, they will think that M. Renan is in a false position. Of his actual theological views we will not here speak, but readers of the book will find in it indications of that refined Pantheism which excludes all that constitutes what is generally regarded as the supernatural. His calm, quiet dogmatism, his almost utter freedom from the spirit of partizanship, and the lucid beauty of his style, will be apparent to all. The first of these features will perhaps lead some to overlook the investigation of the real grounds upon which his assertions rest, and may sometimes secure acceptance for statements which are destitute of all solid basis. The second may produce an impression in his favour as a lover of truth: it will prevent angry criticism, and it will only induce feelings of regret and sorrow when our convictions are altogether against him. The third will increase our admiration of his literary dexterity as an accomplished and a charming writer, but it must not throw us off our guard, and make us unobservant of the instability and even mischievous tendency of much that is painted in the most agreeable colours. It is manifest that a professedly Christian writer might treat of Mohammed or of Buddha as Jesus is here treated of, and might handle the writings of any other creed as the Gospel is here handled. It is possible even that the occasional flashes of admiration which we here meet with in reference to Jesus might be introduced into any discussion of any of the founders of the great religious systems which obtain in the world. We do not think, however, that even M. Renan would exalt any of them to the same degree as he exalts "Jesus" (it is almost invariably "Jesus" in these writers), nor that he would represent any other religion as equal in excellence in some points to Christianity. M. Renan admits that Jesus was the greatest and best of the sons of men, and that Christianity is on the whole the best of religions. We lament that by not declaring his faith and hope in Christ, and by not identifying himself with Christianity, he places himself among those whose hope is in reason—the reason of man,—and whose faith is in what men call philosophy. What is this after all but natural religion, polished, purified, and elegant it may be, but still natural religion? May he cease to view Christianity as "*that* religion," and learn to call it his own!

when its existence became a public notorious fact, evident to the eyes of all. Such a history would be composed of four books. The first, which I now present to the public, treats of the very fact which has served as a starting-point for the new religion; it is wholly filled up by the sublime person of its founder. The second would treat of the apostles and their immediate disciples, or to speak better, of the revolutions which religious thought underwent in the two first Christian generations. I would close it about the year 100, at the moment when the last friends of Jesus are dead, and when all the books of the New Testament are nearly fixed in the form in which we read them. The third would set forth the state of Christianity under the Antonines. We should there see developed and sustained an almost permanent war against the empire, which, having attained at this time the highest degree of administrative perfection, and governed by philosophers, combats in the rising sect a secret and theocratic society, which obstinately contradicts it and undermines it without ceasing.<sup>c</sup> This book would contain the whole extent of the second century. The fourth book, in fine, would shew the decisive progress made by Christianity after the Syrian emperors. We should see then the skilful construction of the Antonines crumble, the decline of the ancient civilization become irrevocable, Christianity profiting by its ruin, Syria conquering all the East, and Jesus, in company with the gods and deified sages of Asia, taking possession of society,<sup>d</sup> for whom philosophy and the purely civil state no longer sufficed. Then it is that the religious ideas of the races grouped around the Mediterranean are profoundly modified; that the oriental religions everywhere get the upper hand; that Christianity, become a very numerous church, totally forgets its Millenarian dreams,<sup>e</sup> breaks its last attachments to Judaism, and passes all entire into the Greek and Latin world.<sup>f</sup> The struggles and literary labour of the third century, which are already carried on in broad daylight, would only be exhibited in general outlines. I

<sup>c</sup> We scarcely approve of this statement. Christianity certainly assailed the philosophy of the times, which was bitterly opposed to the Church and promoted the persecution of it, as abundant evidence remains to prove. But among all the extant writings of the noble band of Apologists of the second century, is there any shadow of a trace of an attack upon the empire? We should very much like to see how such an assertion could be maintained.

<sup>d</sup> *Une société*, a state or form of society.

<sup>e</sup> M. Renan over and over again assumes and says that the first Christians believed in the speedy return of Christ, and in Millenarian opinions. In this he only follows the prevailing current in which his school writes. We believe the view quite a mistaken one, and that the traces of Millenarianism to be found in the Christian literature of the first century and a half are so few and generally unimportant that the opposite conclusion is the only reasonable one.

<sup>f</sup> By this our author seems to mean that the Church, or, as he says, Christianity, assumed the air and manner of the Greek and Latin world; that it in a manner ceased to be a Jew and an alien, and became a citizen, naturalized, and imbued with Gentile ideas. All this passage implies a transition on the part of Christianity which is more than a change of aspect, and constitutes a veritable development. In other words, it implies that apostolical Christianity was rapidly disappearing, and was well nigh extinct when Constantine put the finishing stroke to his work. Whether it is true that the apostles were thus only the founders, and others afterwards the actual builders, is at least a moot point.

should recount yet more summarily the persecutions of the beginning of the fourth century—the last effort of the empire to get back to its old principles, which denied all place in the state to religious association. Finally, I should limit myself to an indication of the change of policy which, under Constantine, inverted the position of parties, and made of the most free and most spontaneous religious movement an official religion subject to the state, and a persecutor in its turn.”

We shall not stop to offer any remarks upon a plan which we have left the author to describe at length in his own words. He has accomplished its first division in the volume before us, and he is hopeful that he may execute the second, but he hardly promises to perform the third and fourth. The first sketch of the present issue was written in Lebanon while M. Renan was on the business of the commission for exploring Phœnicia. His opportunities for studying the chief scenes in our Saviour's life, his antiquarian tastes, his character for learning and criticism, his daring expression of opinion, and his popularity as a writer, made men eagerly expect his new book. On its appearance an edition of ten thousand copies was found insufficient to satisfy the extraordinary demand for it, and several editions have been since exhausted. The great expectations which were formed have in one sense been abundantly realized, but we are not yet able to say what the impressions produced by the book will result in. Such as adopt the author's novel principles of criticism, and are prepared dogmatically to reject whatever they do not find to their taste, will certainly not think more highly of the Gospel narratives as a whole, nor will they see in Jesus Christ much that is ascribed to him in Scripture and by the churches; they will not have stronger faith in the specially supernatural, and they will look upon the Gospel system as something very different from what it is commonly represented to be. Upon some, the effect of the volume may be to induce them to a more careful and searching examination of the evangelical history. If any such should read these lines, we hope they will be persuaded to have the New Testament at their elbow as they go through M. Renan's pages, and will honestly examine every text referred to. As for the large number who will peruse the work with no inclination to accept its peculiar teachings, we trust they will not overlook, amid much that they will object to, the many hints and thoughts by which they may profit.

The volume is dedicated “to the pure soul of my sister Henrietta, who died at Byblos the 24th September, 1861.” This dedication breathes a spirit of tender fraternal affection, but it reveals a state of mind in relation to the Gospel, its hopes

and its consolations, which is sad and ominous. Has M. Renan's Christ nothing better to teach him than is implied by the concluding words of the dedication? We will copy, but we will not translate them:—"Tu dors maintenant dans la terre d'Adonis, près de la sainte Byblos et des eaux sacrées où les femmes des mystères antiques venaient mêler leurs larmes. Révèle-moi, ô bon génie, à moi que tu aimais, ces vérités qui dominant la mort, empêchent de la craindre et la font presque aimer." Thank Heaven, we have got something grander and higher than this, and, as we are not writing to M. Renan, and therefore shall not wound his feelings, we will say that we thank God there are memories clinging to the tombs of our pious dead, purer and holier than those of the pagan abominations here appealed to. Ought a Christian man to talk in such a way of rites which Scripture (Ezek. viii. 13, 14, where Tammuz is of course Adonis) reckons among the "greater abominations?" It is of course thought profane and cruel to speak as we do, and we may be accused of invading the sanctities of the tomb. So be it, if these are sanctities; but in our view, the Adonis of Byblos is no more a sanctity than the goddess of Hierapolis, or the gods of Babylon.

The introduction proposes to deal principally with the sources of the succeeding history. This introduction is a rather elaborate affair, and in it the author expounds his theory of the Gospels, and states his opinions on some collateral subjects. To praise the style of the writer would be superfluous, as it is so well known and generally appreciated. Neither do we need to speak of the thoroughly free and independent tone which characterizes all that M. Renan publishes. These are merits which we readily acknowledge, but along with them, and perhaps naturally so, we find a disposition to what we think hasty generalization, and to a dogmatic tone of utterance where dogmatism is assuredly out of place, because it is the dogmatism of inference from insufficient premises. We have much admiration for M. Renan as a man, as a scholar, and as a writer, but this is no reason why we should either adopt his opinions, or applaud the manner in which he sometimes thinks proper to utter them. He has been immensely praised and flattered, and great importance has been attached to his works by his adversaries themselves. All this has fostered the tendencies which he long since manifested, and which we suppose he will manifest yet more positively as he advances in life. It is a great thing for a man who sits down to write to know that what he writes will be read by many, and be talked about by more, and such knowledge has its influence upon what is written.

Although the preceding remarks were commenced with special reference to the introduction, they apply to the whole book. Let us, however, return to the introduction. After the preliminary paragraphs already referred to, we have an intimation that although long critical dissertations are not permitted by the plan of the author, a continued series of notes will enable us to verify all the propositions of the text, by reference to authorities consulted. The principal sources for the life of Jesus are five:—1. The Gospels and New Testament in general; 2. The Old Testament Apocrypha; 3. The works of Philo; 4. The works of Josephus; 5. The Talmud. Upon the works of Philo the author remarks in a style which will strike many readers as new to them. "The writings of Philo have the inappreciable advantage of shewing us the thoughts which fermented in the time of Jesus in souls preoccupied with great religious questions. Philo lived, it is true, in quite a different province of Judaism from Jesus; but, like him, he was very detached from the littlenesses which reigned at Jerusalem: Philo is truly the elder brother of Jesus. He was sixty-two years of age when the prophet of Nazareth was at the highest degree of his activity, and he survived him at least ten years. What a pity that the chances of life did not conduct him into Galilee! what would he not have taught us." If Philo had a younger brother, it was assuredly not Jesus, though possibly the teachings of the fourth evangelist might be suggestive that he bore some resemblance to Philo in some of his utterances; and probably it is John to whom we may trace M. Renan's suggestion. Whatever resemblances may be seen or fancied between the Johannic representations and some things which Philo has written, most readers of Philo will agree that to call him the "elder brother of Jesus" is one of our author's vagaries.

In the remarks upon Josephus it is admitted that the passage relating to Jesus is authentic, but that it has been retouched by a Christian hand, and has been added to and abridged. As for the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, special reference is made to the Jewish portions of the sibylline books, to the book of Enoch, and to the book of Daniel. This last is styled *un véritable Apocryphe*, and the reasons for it are founded upon two considerations especially; first, its internal character and contents; and, secondly, its omission from the list in Ecclesiasticus. Of course, the prophecies of Daniel are a stumbling-block to those who, like M. Renan, read prophecy as history; but its omission from the account in Ecclesiasticus is a matter of minor importance. Other reasons for its modern date we need not discuss. We readily admit the importance of some of the Tal-

mudical writings, and we believe it is very desirable that they should be studied in this enquiry.

The four Gospels are, after all, the chief sources of our information, and upon them M. Renan has many things to say. He holds that they are in part legendary, and his reason for this, which he considers to be evident, is, that they are full of miracles and the supernatural. So, then, we are to believe that there are no real miracles in Christ's life, and that all miraculous narratives are legendary. More than this, the presence of the supernatural in any form is sufficient proof that it is legend, and not history, which we are reading. No doubt: for when a man has persuaded himself that nothing is real among us which is not human in its origin, and that divine interference cannot take place—that, in fact, there is neither miracle, nor prophecy, nor inspiration, he must deny the authenticity of the records of such things. But surely we must prove, and not take these things for granted. M. Renan contents himself with saying that he does not deny the possibility of a miracle, but that a miracle has ever been demonstrated. Now all such writing proceeds on foregone conclusions, and might be pronounced arrogant and dogmatic, but we are sorry to think that many will be led astray by it, and will not be at the pains to examine and investigate for themselves.

Of the remarks upon the four Gospels we have not much to say. The supernatural is ignored throughout, and on the assumption that his principles are correct, the author pronounces respecting the origin, character, value, and date of each. Luke is admitted to have written the gospel which bears his name, as well as the Acts of the Apostles. Matthew and Mark have not the same tokens of individuality. All of them, however, bear signs of the date to which they may be assigned. Luke certainly wrote after the siege of Jerusalem, and Matthew and Mark were written before it. Among the proofs that Luke's gospel was written at the date asserted, prominence is only given to passages prophetic of the fall of Jerusalem, and specially chap. xxi. 9, 20, 24, 28, 32, compared with chap. xxii. 36. Thus again it is deliberately taken for granted that prophecy is history, and that the mere presence of a prediction is sufficient proof that the book which contains it was written after the event. Such are the monstrosities of that rational criticism which professedly treats the Bible as any other book, and ignores the presence of the supernatural wherever it finds it. One can hardly help thinking that if this is correct, the early Christians must have been a generation of poor, easy, credulous fools, who took in everything which was offered them respecting Jesus.

The sceptical M. Renan is, however, a devout believer in Papias, and quite thinks that his account of Mark and Matthew is a correct one. Mark, then, wrote a short record of the sayings and doings of Jesus not in chronological order, and according to the reminiscences of Peter: Matthew wrote in Hebrew a collection of our Lord's discourses or sayings. But Matthew and Mark, as we have them, are not as they proceeded from their original writers; they have been amplified, modified, and altered in various ways. As a matter of fact, the present synoptical gospels are based upon Matthew's collection of "sayings" and Mark's collection of "sayings and doings." It is admitted, however, and this is some consolation, that the Apocryphal gospels were not counted of much importance. At the same time, for a century and a half our synoptical gospels had no great authority, and men augmented and modified them *ad libitum*. It occurs to us, however, to ask what became of all the diverse recensions of gospels, the existence of which our keen-scented critics have discovered? How is it that they have all melted away, and that neither they nor their relics have been rescued from destruction? How is it that the Gospels we have are those which exist in all the most ancient churches, and that there are not even ascertained traditions of others different and less complete? We shall be told there are traces of such recensions in the rejection of the two first chapters of Matthew, in the absence of the last nine verses of Mark, and in some other lesser indications. It may be so: but such indications are a very meagre substratum of facts for a system opposed to that of the Catholic Church. We have read of a sect in the East which rejected all the Gospels except that of Mark, but no sane man would thence conclude that Mark's was the only genuine Gospel.

But what of the apostle John and his Gospel? Our author by no means likes the fourth Gospel. Yet he imagines it may have been more or less written by John under the influence partly of his reminiscences of early life, and partly of the philosophical schools of Asia Minor. He does not think that it truly represents the opinions or the manner of Jesus. "This Gospel," he concludes, "proceeded, towards the end of the first century, from the great school of Asia Minor, which was attached to John, and it presents to us a version of the life of the Master worthy to be taken into high consideration, and often to be preferred," and this, he says, is demonstrated both by external testimonies, and by an examination of the document itself, in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired. The observations which in deference to so able a writer we must call critical, and

designed to shew the character of the last Gospel and of its writer, strike us as anything but dignified and profound. They might be worthy of discussion, but their chief use will be to shew upon what slender threads men can hang their faith, while they reject all the traditions of the Church, and the broad facts upon which universal assent is given to a document. We speak generally, and do not condemn all that is said of St. John and his Gospel. Out of a desire to deal fairly with M. Renan, we quote a portion of what he says (p. xxvii.—xxxii.) of this Gospel:—

“But it is above all, the reading of the work, which is of a nature to produce an impression. The author always speaks in it as an eye-witness; he wishes to make himself pass for the apostle John. If then this work is not really the apostle's, we must admit a fraud which the author himself confessed. Now although the ideas of the time in reference to literary good faith differed essentially from ours, we have no example in the apostolic world of a falsification of this kind. Not only, for the rest, does the author wish to make himself pass for the apostle John, but we clearly see that he writes in the interest of that apostle. At every page is betrayed the intention of fortifying his authority, of shewing that he has been preferred by Jesus (xiii. 23; xix. 26; xx. 2; xxi. 7, 20), that on all solemn occasions (at the Supper, at Calvary, at the tomb) he has occupied the first place. The relations—in a word fraternal, although not excluding a certain rivalry—of the author with Peter (John xviii. 15, 16; xx. 2—6; xxi. 15—19), his hatred to Judas on the other hand (vi. 65; xii. 6; xiii. 21, etc.), a hatred perhaps prior to the treason, seem to come out here and there. One is tempted to believe that John, in his old age, having read the evangelical recitals which were in circulation, on the one hand remarked in them divers inexactitudes;<sup>s</sup> on the other, he was shocked to see that there was not accorded to him in the history of Christ a sufficiently great place; that then he began to dictate a crowd of things which he knew better than the others, with the intention of shewing that, in many cases where Peter only was spoken of, he had figured with and before him (comp. John xviii. 15, etc., with Matth. xxvi. 58; John xx. 2—6, with Mark xvi. 7; see also John xiii. 24, 25). Already in the lifetime of Jesus these slight sentiments of jealousy had been betrayed between the sons of Zebedee and the other disciples. After the death of James, his brother, John remained the sole heir of the private reminiscences of which these two disciples, by the confession of all, were the depositaries. Hence his perpetual attention to recall that he is the last survivor of the eye-witnesses (i. 14; xix. 35; xxi. 24, etc. Comp. the First Epistle of St. John i. 3, 5), and the pleasure which he takes in recounting circumstances which he only could know. Hence, so many little traits of precision which seem like the scholia of an annotator:—‘it was

<sup>s</sup> The way in which Aristion or Presbyteros Joannes expressed himself upon the gospel of Mark before Papias (Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii., 39), implies, in effect, a favourable criticism, or to speak better, a sort of excuse, which seems to suppose that the disciples of John entertained ideas somewhat better on the same subject.



the sixth hour; 'it was night;' 'this man was called Malchus;' 'had made a fire of coals, for it was cold;' 'now the coat was without seam.' Hence, finally, the disorder in the redaction, the irregularity of movement, the incoherence (*le décousu*) of the first chapters: so many features inexplicable on the supposition that our Gospel is only a thesis in theology without historical value, and which, on the contrary, are perfectly comprehended, if we see in it, conformably to tradition, recollections of an old man, at one time of prodigious freshness, at another having undergone strange alterations.

"A capital distinction, in fact, ought to be made in the gospel of John. On the one hand this gospel presents us with a picture of the life of Jesus, which differs considerably from that of the synoptics. On the other, it puts into the mouth of Jesus discourses of which the tone, the style, the drift, and the doctrines, have nothing in common with the *Logia* reported by the synoptics. Under this second aspect, the difference is such that our choice has to be made in a decisive manner. If Jesus spoke as Matthew wills, he cannot have spoken as John wills. Between the two authorities no critic has hesitated, or will hesitate. At a thousand leagues from the simple, disinterested, and impersonal tone of the synoptics, the gospel of John manifests without ceasing the pre-occupations of the apologist, the private opinions of the sectary, the intention of proving a thesis, and of convincing adversaries.<sup>A</sup> It was not by pretentious, dull tirades, ill written, and saying little to the moral sense, that Jesus founded his divine work. Even if Papias did not inform us that Matthew wrote the sayings of Jesus in their original language, the natural, ineffable truth, the unequalled charm of the synoptic discourses, the profoundly Hebrew turn of these discourses, the analogies which they present with the sayings of Jewish doctors of the same period, their perfect harmony with the nature of Galilee,—all these characters, if we compare them with the obscure gnosis, and the constrained (*contournée*) metaphysics which fill the discourses of John, would speak loudly enough. It is not meant to be said that there are not in the discourses of John admirable flashes—traits which truly come from Jesus.<sup>i</sup> But the mystic tone of these discourses responds in nothing to the character of the eloquence of Jesus, such as we conceive it to be according to the synoptics. A new spirit has breathed; gnosis is already commenced; the Galilean era of the kingdom of God is finished; the hope of the near coming of Christ has passed away; men enter among the aridities of metaphysics, and the darkness of abstract dogma. The spirit of Jesus is not there; and if the son of Zebedee truly sketched these pages, he had in verity forgotten when he wrote them the lake of Gennesareth, and the charming discourses which he had heard upon its borders.

"One circumstance, too, which proves very well that the discourses reported by the fourth Gospel are not historic pieces, but compositions

<sup>A</sup> See for example, chap. ix. and xi. Remark, above all, the strange effect produced by passages like John xix. 35; xx. 31; xxi. 20—25; when one remembers the absence of all reflections which distinguishes the synoptics.

<sup>i</sup> For example, iv. 1, etc.; xv. 12, etc.; several utterances repeated by John are also to be found in the synoptics, xii. 16; xv. 20.

destined to cover with the authority of Jesus certain doctrines dear to the redactor, is their perfect harmony with the intellectual state of Asia Minor at the time when they were written. Asia Minor was then the theatre of a strange movement of syncretic philosophy; all the germs of Gnosticism existed there already. John appears to have drunk at these foreign sources. It can be that after the crises of the year 68 (date of the Apocalypse) and of the year 70 (ruin of Jerusalem), the old apostle, of ardent and changeful (*mobile*) soul, disabused of his belief in a near apparition of the Son of Man in the clouds, had leaned towards the ideas which he found about him, and of which several amalgamated sufficiently well with Christian doctrines. In lending these new ideas to Jesus, he did nothing but follow a very natural tendency. Our recollections are transformed along with everything else; the ideal of a person whom we have known changes with ourselves.<sup>j</sup> Considering Jesus as the incarnation of the truth, John could not fail to attribute to him what he had come to take for truth.

"If everything must be said, we shall add that John himself had little part in this, that this change occurred around him rather than by his means. One is sometimes tempted to believe that precious notes, coming from the apostle, have been used by his disciples in a sense very different from their primitive evangelical spirit. In fact, certain parts of the fourth Gospel have been added by an after-thought; such is the whole of the twenty-first chapter (verses 30, 31, of chap. xx., evidently form the old conclusion), where the author seems to have proposed to himself to render homage to the apostle Peter after his death, and to answer the objections which men would draw, or already drew, from the death of John himself (ver. 21—23). Some other places bear the trace of cancels and corrections" (vi. 2, 22; vii. 22).

We pause here in our extract, not because M. Renan has no more to say of the fourth Gospel, but because we think our readers generally will have had enough of this long succession of somewhat daring assertions. We have introduced the author's own Scripture references in order to shew what sort of evidence he relies upon.<sup>k</sup> It is our earnest desire that our readers should take the pains to look at the texts referred to; they cannot otherwise form any conception of the strange and wonderful criticism which extracts such strange and wonderful

<sup>j</sup> It is thus that Napoleon became a liberal in the recollections of his companions in exile, when they, after their return, found themselves thrown among the political society of the time.

<sup>k</sup> "Un système continu de notes met le lecteur à même de vérifier d'après les sources *toutes les propositions* du texte. Dans ces notes, on s'est borné strictement aux citations de première main, je veux dire à l'indication des passages originaux sur lesquels *chaque assertion ou chaque conjecture* s'appuie." Introduction, p. vi. We suppose this is meant to apply to the introduction as much as to the formal discussion of the life of Jesus. By the way, it is noticeable that writers of certain tendencies almost invariably have the name of Jesus, and seldom that of Christ. The reason of the preference is manifest enough, but one is sometimes half tempted to ask the old question over again—"Is not this THE CHRIST?"

inferences from them. For ourselves, we have not a particle of respect for such criticism. If the divinings of a certain class of prophetic interpreters among us have won for their promulgators the contemptuous nickname of "pulpit fortune-tellers," what name do they deserve who, out of the pulpit, it may be, but under the profession of religious philosophy, thus mangle and distort the simple language of the Gospels? Our advocacy has always been in favour of the old common-sense rule, that the natural and obvious meaning of a passage (viewed in connexion with its context) is to be preferred in all ordinary cases. Our new critics, the great advocates of truth and impartiality, do not even pretend to deny or to disguise their predilections, nay, they do not now seem to feel called upon to justify their procedures, and hence this introduction of Scripture texts in a sense unheard of before, alike independent even of the rules of grammar, and of the scope of the context. Not that they are always wrong in their application of texts. It would be untrue to say this. But they explain and apply passages as no preacher nor commentator on earth has understood them; and we are sometimes even reminded of the old monkish preacher, who when a dispute arose about paving a town, preached upon the subject from the words, "paveant illi; non pavebo ego." In the case before us, John has to be written down, and his Gospel placed lower than the rest in certain respects. How can this be done more effectually than by appeals to John's own words: "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee!" The writer, therefore, "on every page betrays his intention to fortify his authority, and to shew that he was the one whom Jesus preferred," and what better proof can we have of this than that four or five times over he calls himself "the disciple whom Jesus loved?" And his weakness is further shewn by numerous details of a trifling description, but quite sufficient to demonstrate that if he were preferred by Jesus he was not the man of noblest character. He cherished a certain feeling of rivalry in regard to Peter.<sup>1</sup> Do you need proof of this? it is found in the fact that John says he went into the high priest's palace while Peter stood for a time at the door; in the fact that John says he ran faster than Peter as they went to the sepulchre; and in the fact that John records that exquisite conversation between our Lord and Peter, when Christ said, "Lovest thou me?—feed my lambs," etc., and predicted Peter's death. John positively hated Judas, and it is proved by this, that he says Christ knew who should

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<sup>1</sup> M. Renan is or was a Roman Catholic, and his early reminiscences come up every now and then quite unexpectedly; to this class we ascribe frequent allusions of a particular kind to St. Peter.

betray him, calls Judas a thief who cared not for the poor, and relates the diabolical treason of the man of Kerioth. John saw that the other Gospels did not always mention him when they related transactions in which he figured along with Peter, or before him; so John must write a Gospel to gratify his vanity. The evidence is at hand: Matthew does not relate how John went into the high priest's palace not merely as well as Peter, but before him; Mark singles out Peter in the events which closely followed the resurrection; and John was asked by Peter to ascertain from Christ who should be his betrayer. The fourth evangelist is moreover perpetually anxious to shew that he is the last surviving apostle. What is the evidence? That John says he beheld the glory of the Word incarnate; records what he saw at the crucifixion; was in all respects a faithful chronicler; and was in general an eye-witness of what he affirms. Nothing can be more conclusive than such testimony, if we may judge from the positive manner in which M. Renan builds his thesis upon it.

A few other assertions in the extract are based upon texts. Our Lord's discourses reveal in John's Gospel the pre-occupations of an apologist, the private opinions of a sectary, the intention to prove a thesis and to convince an adversary. This assertion is maintained in view of the chapter where the account of the man born blind is related, and that in which the beautiful episode of Lazarus is introduced. It is further evidenced by the reference to a passage of the Old Testament which John says was fulfilled at the crucifixion, by the declared intimation of the apostle that his Gospel was written that men might believe and be saved, and by the concluding verses of the Gospel. Some things are admitted to be genuine, but only two such passages peculiar to John are enumerated, and two others in which he agrees with the other evangelists. John originally concluded his Gospel with the twentieth chapter as the closing verses indicate, and the twenty-first chapter was added as a reply to real or imaginary objections, as verses 21—23 prove. The Gospel bears traces of cancels and corrections, for John says a great multitude followed Jesus because they saw his miracles on the diseased, and says circumcision was not of Moses but of the fathers. Such is the internal evidence upon which M. Renan ventures to base his extraordinary chain of assertions, and we venture to say that on such principles of interpretation anything may be proved which a writer wishes to prove.

It must not be supposed that John is the only one of the evangelists who is "minished and brought low;" we might be able to shew that the others meet with severe handling. But let us conclude what we have to report concerning John, in

whose behalf we are sorry our space enables us to say so little. M. Renan admits that many of the historical details are valuable, but he says he "dare defy anybody to write a life of Jesus which shall have a meaning, if the discourses which John lends to Jesus are taken into account." The discourses excite his particular ire, and very little can be said against them which is not said. We could retort upon M. Renan that he is the natural man who cannot discern spiritual things (1 Cor. ii. 14—16), but we will only express our regret that any writer should be so absolutely benighted as to select among the chapters to be animadverted upon, the seventeenth chapter of St. John's gospel.<sup>m</sup> It has been admitted on all hands, and in all ages, that St. John's gospel extensively differs from the others in its style and selection of topics; but it has been reserved for modern critics to discover that these differences are inconsistent with historic fidelity. No doubt it is true that St. John uses more frequently than others some words, as "world," "truth," "life," "light," etc., but until we know all that Christ taught, we cannot know that this was not his teaching. It seems to us that this whole question turns upon the nature and extent of inspiration on the one hand, and upon the degree of literalness with which the Lord's discourses are reported, on the other. M. Renan finds it convenient to draw a parallel between John and the other evangelists, and Plato and Xenophon, Christ being the subject of the first, and Socrates of the last. On the whole he inclines to doubt whether John wrote the discourses of the fourth gospel, and to think that the historical portions represent the life of Christ as it was known in "the school of John;" a knowledge in some respects superior to that of the other gospels.

In general, M. Renan accepts the four canonical gospels as authentic, and he refers them all in their origin to the first century. The discourses reported by St. Matthew he thinks highly of; but his historical portions are of less authority. The first gospel, however, is charged with legends of a later date, among which the first and second chapters are especially noted. The gospel of Mark is in some respects inferior, but it is less intermixed with fables. Luke's historical value is not so considerable, and his gospel is accused of serious defects: he is less strict in his indications of places; he has a false idea of the temple; he seeks to reconcile different narratives; he softens down certain passages; he exaggerates the marvellous; he commits errors in chronology; he is totally ignorant of Hebrew;

<sup>m</sup> Introduction, p. xxxiv., note 3.

<sup>n</sup> M. Renan on this point refers in particular to what concerns Quirinus, Lysanias, and Theudas. Upon the case of Quirinus we recommend attention to

and so forth. He is in fact less an evangelist than a biographer of Jesus, a "harmonist," a corrector after the style of Marcion or of Tatian.<sup>o</sup> Still, his gospel is not without literary excellences.

The conclusion arrived at is that "the synoptic redaction passed through three stages: 1. The documentary and original state (the *λόγια* of Matthew, and the *λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα* of Mark), primary redactions which no longer exist; 2. The state of simple combination, wherein the original documents are amalgamated with no attempt at composition, but without revealing any personal view on the part of the authors (the actual gospels of Matthew and Mark); 3. The state of combination or of redaction which is designed and meditated, where we perceive the effort to conciliate different versions (the gospel of Luke). The gospel of John," he adds, "as we have said, forms a composition of another order, and altogether apart." The apocryphal gospels are of less value as we have them. Our gospels are not biographies like those of Suetonius, nor fictitious legends after the manner of Philostratus, but legendary biographies, resembling somewhat the legends of the saints, the lives of Plotinus, Proclus, and Isidore, and some other writings of that order. Over and over again we are assured that our gospels contain passages designedly coloured, or positively fictitious. Nowhere do we find that M. Renan has the remotest idea of inspiration, and indeed how can he, when he thinks the gospels to be what he describes them? They are, he says, in flagrant contradiction with one another, and in such a case the historian can only choose for himself what he believes to be true. The whole body of miracles and supernatural facts has to be excluded at once; for if no modern miracle can bear investigation, how is it possible that these can stand? He does not say miracles are impossible, but only that none have yet been proved. A modern miracle worker would be subjected to tests such as were

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a preceding article, p. 46, etc., in the present number; for Lysanias see p. 51, 52; as for Theudas, who is named Acts v. 36, although not affecting the gospel of Luke, we may simply allude to the statement of Origen, *Contra Celsum*, lib. i., c. 11.

\* We do not think it worth while to discuss these points. The proofs relied upon are isolated texts and passages, of which some are noticed in the preceding note. The others are, chap. iii. 23; and the omission of Matth. xxiv. 36; iv. 14; and xxii. 43, 44; Luke i. 31, compared with Matth. i. 21. (To prove that Luke is *totally ignorant* of Hebrew, further evidence of which is that he quotes no saying or word of Jesus in that language, and that he names all localities by their Greek name. This last proof is especially absurd. Luke wrote in Greek, and hence he naturally employed the forms in which names were wont to appear in that language. To call these names all Greek, is unworthy of M. Renan's reputation as a scholar. Perhaps M. Renan has something to tell us about the different modes of writing such words as Nazareth, Bethlehem, Arimathæa, etc., which shall explain his singular affirmation).

never applied to those of Scripture. On every account historical criticism lays down as a principle, that a supernatural recital cannot be admitted as such, that it always implies credulity or imposture, that the historian's duty is to interpret it, and to see what truth or error it may conceal. Upon such principles, M. Renan tells us he has compiled his book, with the assistance of the four gospels, and a sight of the regions to which they relate.

We shall reserve for another occasion the twenty-eight chapters of history which follow this introduction. We have thought it sufficient now to present a statement of the principles avowed by M. Renan in his prolegomena, and to make a few observations upon some things which he says. He is not alone in his utterances; we could find many of them in other modern authors, but we have put them aside, choosing rather to take this one as the representative of a class, who are abundant in labours, and whom, if we are to maintain our ground, we must understand, and be able to answer. Their books are read, and not only read, but eagerly believed by many who are but too anxious to justify their lurking scepticism, and to throw off the trammels of the ancient faith. Let it be conceded that the gospels are what M. Renan tells us they are, and it is utterly impossible that the authority of the epistles should stand. Have we come to this? Is it then a matter of fact that the gospels are feeble, corrupt productions, containing only a portion of historical matter? Is it true that their authors were so entirely influenced by human motives and personal considerations? Is it reserved to the acute and learned scholar and critic to separate the precious from the vile, the chaff from the wheat, in these compositions? If the gospels are only legendary biographies, like the legends of the saints, is it wise or safe, we say not is it needful, to circulate them among the general public? for the general public cannot have the knowledge and the skill required for discerning the good and bad, the true and false. So far as men at large are concerned, inspiration goes, authority goes, and faith goes. Henceforth the world had better repudiate the gospels as we have them, or store them in their museums, and betake themselves to the new gospel according to M. Renan.

[To be continued.]

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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*[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]*

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## THE CASDIM AND THE CHALDEES.

THE ethical relations of the early inhabitants of Babylonia has long been a subject of curiosity and research, but it is only within the last few years that materials have been granted us for settling the question. The cuneiform records generally, and more particularly the clay tablets found in the royal library of Essarhaddon, must, when fully deciphered, clear up all doubts upon the subject. Some time may indeed elapse before this is the case, since both new inscriptions are constantly being brought to light, and but few of the celebrated "bilingual tablets," which have already done so much to further the progress of cunealogy, have as yet been examined. We say *few*, for, be it remembered, many thousands of these, incrustated with the dirt of ages and mostly in fragments, are lying in the British Museum, and necessarily it will be a work of time and trouble to clean and get together all of them, and even then their decipherment will be difficult, as the tablets relating to mythology, astronomy, geography, etc., are principally inscribed in a non-Semitic language—the tongue of the early Turanian people of Chaldea, for the meaning of which we must trust almost entirely to the syllabaries, or tablets, which give explanations of cuneiform signs, with Assyrian translations of the ancient Chaldean words expressed by those signs, and grammatical treatises. The examination of these syllabaries is by no means exhausted; but sufficient results have been obtained to justify us in attempting a solution of the question, "Who were the primeval races of Babylonia?" We will first examine the Semitic traditions. Genesis (x. 22, and xxii. 20—22) gives us the two genealogies which we here place side by side:—

Sons of Shem, Elam, and Ashur, and Arphaxad, and Lud and Aram. And the sons of Aram, Uz, Hul, etc.	Sons of Nahor, Uz, Chesed, Kemuel the father of Aram, etc.
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Now Josephus tells us that Arphaxad was the ancestor of the Chaldeans, and it is at once manifest that the latter part of the name  $\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\chi\alpha\delta$  is none other than  $\kappa\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\delta$ , Chesed, the mythical progenitor of the Casdim, who are generally identified with the  $\chi\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$ . I believe the  $\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  or  $\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\epsilon\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  of Otesias is also the same name; with regard to the first part of which we may remark that "Arba was a great man among the Anakim," and the Rephaim, or "giants" is evidently connected with  $\alpha\rho$  (great). At the same time it is difficult to account for the initial  $\kappa$ , and the word certainly seems rather to be  $\alpha\rho\beta\alpha$  (four) as in Arbela, "the city



of "the *four* gods," and in Kiprat-Arbat, "the four tribes," which last is the common ethnic title of Mesopotamia and Chaldea on Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. Indeed it is possible that Arphaxad is the Hebrew equivalent of this title, the *א* taking the place of *ג*, as in Arap-kha (Arrapachitis), the city of "the *four* fish;" and this change is especially to be found in Assyrian, *e.g.*, Sardanapalus (Assn.), Merodach-Baladan (Babn.), *apilu* (Assn.), *גל* (Heb.) At the same time it is difficult to understand how the plural affix of *נשד* has been dropped, unless it came to be so when the ethnic designation was transferred to one mythical progenitor, as was the case with *נ*. On the other hand, it may be objected that "Casdim" is found as a masculine singular, as well as plural, while Chaldea is written *נשדמה* in Ezek. xvi. 29; xxiii. 16. But as we find *נשדמה* (with the Chaldee emphatic aleph) in Dan. ii. 10; iii. 8, etc., we are allowed to suppose that the (originally) plural form *נשדים* afterwards came to be conventionally applied to the general denomination of Chaldeans, and was so used in the singular; and that from this incorrect form Ezekiel's *נשדמה* was deduced, just as in English from the corrupt form Whitsunday, Whitmouday, etc., are vulgarly spoken of. I therefore believe that *נשדים*=the *Cashdi* or *Chesed*, who are considered by the ethnographer in Genesis to belong to the same Semitic class of families as Aram or the Syrian "highlanders," Lud the Ruten of the Egyptian monuments, who dwell in the upper and lower provinces of Mesopotamia, Assur or the Assyrians, and Elam the ancient Semitic "world," not the Nummi or Elammi, which appears in classical writers under the name of Elymais. According to this view we should expect to find the language of early Chaldea to be Semitic; but such is not the case. On the contrary, it is of the Turanian type, in which we find the rude originals of many Aryan roots, as well as Egyptian—the primeval form of the Semitic tongues. Nevertheless we have very plain indications of a Semitic dynasty; for on ancient Chaldean bricks, which are written in the usual Turanian language, we find the kings' names to be pure Semitic. Thus we have Libith (the Assn. form of *לִבְתָּ*), Ishmi-Dagon (from *שמי*), Naram-Sin (from *נרם* or *רם*, all phonetically spelled out. Moreover, there is in the Museum of Paris a long inscription of Khamu-rabi (whom I believe to have been the prototype of Semiramis) which is as purely Semitic as any Assyrian record, and yet we have discovered a black-stone and many bricks of this king inscribed in the usual Turanian language. Indeed, the king's name itself is Shemitic. We therefore find two languages, and, consequently, two peoples co-existing by the side of one another, and as the monarchs' names are Semitic, while the commemorative bricks which were intended for the commonalty contain Turanian modes of speech, we must conclude that a Semitic dynasty had conquered the original Tartar inhabitants; and from former considerations we may well consider these to be the Casdim of Scripture. And now there opens upon us an unexpected difficulty. The name Casdim has not been found on any of the cuneiform inscriptions yet examined, and recent researches make it next to impossible that the *Χαλδαῖοι* can be any longer identified with the Casdim. For firstly, as is remarked by Sir H. Rawlinson, "the substitu-

tion of the Hebrew sibilant for the Assyrian liquid is without precedent, though the reverse is sufficiently common;" but in Assyrian itself *s* before a dental generally becomes *l*, as *istū* for *ultu* ("from"), *altānan* for *astānan* ("I fought,"), etc. This objection, I well know, is answered by the assumption that *casad*, the native Assyrian form, was adopted by the Jews instead of the usual *Kaldi*; but surely the Hebrews would have used *Kaldim* if it were equivalent to *Casdim*, especially since the latter word is never found on any of the inscriptions. But a greater difficulty is further met with. The title *Kaldu* or *Kaldai* is, like *Casdim*, utterly unknown in any early records, and when the name is first found (on the tablets of Shalmaneser the conqueror of Jehu), we find the *Kaldai* described as a tribe, or rather an amalgamation of tribes, on the lower Euphrates, between the southern confines of Chaldea and the shores of the Persian Gulf, entirely separate from the inhabitants of Babylonia, and in close alliance with the king of Susania. From these considerations, principally, I propose the following theory as to the ethnography of ancient Chaldea. A primeval Turanian race, which we may call *Accadai*, were the first settlers there of whom we know anything. These were conquered by a Semitic nation called *Casdim*, who poured down from the north, and were afterwards identified with the *Kaldai*, an Aryan family, who probably came from the mountains of *Ararat* and *Minni*.

In reference to this scheme we will now consider what additional light is thrown upon it, (I.) from Scripture, and (II.) from the cuneiform inscriptions as yet known and deciphered.

Isaiah (xxiii. 13.) distinctly shews the Semitic origin of the *Casdim*:—"Behold the land of the *Casdim*: this people was not; the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof." Here we have the Assyrian relationship of the *Casdim* stated; and we must infer from the passage that they were originally a body of Assyrians who conquered Chaldea, and gained the sovereignty over the *Kiprat-Arbat*, or "mingled people that dwell in the desert" of Lower Mesopotamia (Jer. xxv. 24), who are described by Jeremiah (l. 27) as dwelling "in the midst of" the *Casdim*, and are joined by Ezekiel (xxx. 5) with *Cush* or *Susania*, *Phut* or the *Patena*—"the land of the bow"—(who gave their name to *Padan-Aram*), and *Lud* or the *Routen*. Jer. xxv. 9, again seems to refer to the northern name of the *Casdim*; and the Semitic *Babel* is called "daughter of the *Casdim*" (Isaiah xlvii. 1, 5), while *Nebuchadnezzar* is expressly called a man of the *Casdim* (Ezra v. 12), and indiscriminately king of the *Casdim* and king of *Babylon*. Now we know from his monuments that *Nebuchadnezzar* was as much a Semite as *Abram* the "*Casdim*" man. Indeed the account of *Abram* ought to settle the question at once. He is said to have come from "*Ur of the Casdim*" as distinguished from "the moon-city" of the Turanian *Accadians*, and as he most certainly was a Hebrew, *i.e.*, a Semite, we must conclude his *Casdim* neighbours were believed to be Semites also.

We will next proceed to the monumental evidence. *Shalmaneser*, on the *Black Obelisk*, says that in his eighth year "*Merodach-mumu*,

king of Kar-duniyas, rebelled " with Merodach-bilu-tsate, but that the former was defeated, "and fled to the city of the waters of the Turnat," which was a confluent of the Lower Euphrates. He then gives the following valuable information:—"In my ninth year, for the second time, I went to the land of the Accadai. I came in sight of the city Gananate. Exceeding fear of Assur fell on Merodach-bilu-tsate, and to save his life he fled to the mountains. I followed after him. I slew with arrows Merodach-bilu-tsate with the soldiers who had joined in his sin (of rebellion). I went to the great strongholds. I offered sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa and Cutha. I made offerings to the great gods. I went down (*urid*) to the land of Caldi. I took their cities. I received the tribute of the kings of the land of Caldi. The assault of my servants swept (the land) up to the sea." We here notice the line of march, and consequently the order of nomenclature, to be the Accadai (or inhabitants of South Mesopotamia), Babylon with its adjacent cities, and, lastly, the Caldai who lived upon "the sea," (the Persian Gulf). The word here used for "sea" is *marrati*, instead of the ordinary *abbi*, and is another form of the Hebrew מַרְאִי, "a large sheet of water," which perhaps gave name to the Burat or Euphrates. Now as the Caldai are generally described as living on "the sea," some may suppose it is a proof of their identification with the Casdim, "whose cry is in their ships" (Isaiah xliii. 14). But this cannot be held of any account, when we find on the bilingual tablets "ships of Ur" mentioned as sailing with Cushite vessels; and, indeed, when we regard the high civilization of the Casdim (Ezek. xxiii. 14, etc.), it is manifest that they must have possessed a large trading-fleet. I am not sure of the correct rendering of "Merodach-bilu-tsate;" seeing that the last constituent is non-Semitic, it is probable that the name is to be read "Merodach-inu-tsate," as *inu* was the Accadian equivalent of *bilu* (בִּלּוּ). We see from this that Shalmaneser was the first king of Assyria who came in contact with the Caldai; indeed I conceive it highly probable that they were an entirely new people, which had only just occupied the country bordering upon Chaldea; and I may cite, as a proof of this, the fact that in the annals of later kings we find them always advancing more and more to the north, until in the time of Merodach-Baladan, the son of Yagina, they conquered and possessed Babylon. At all events Sardanapalus, the father of Shalmaneser, makes not the slightest allusion to them, although on his monolith inscription he speaks of his reduction of the neighbouring nations in his sixth year, when he "rebuilt Adlila, which Tsibur king of Kar-duniyas had taken and destroyed," and changed its name to Dur-Assur. This city of Adlila is in another place described as being in Zamua beyond the Turnat. In the eulogy of the same monarch he is styled the king who "had added to his border Biráti of Kar-duniyas," but not a word is said about the Caldai. (Van-zallus III. ?) the grandson of Shalmaneser, is the next that notices the Caldai. On a mutilated inscription of his, after recounting the articles of tribute he had received from Mariha king of Damascus, he states: "The kings of the land of Caldi made their submission. A weighty tribute for a continual (?) memorial

I imposed upon them." And he then makes mention of Babylon, Borsippa, and Tiggaba (or Cutha). This is the evidence afforded by the Upper Assyrian dynasty; Tiglath-Pileser III., and his successors, frequently speak of the Caldai, who came to great eminence under Merodach-Baladan. Tiglath-Pileser, in the chronicles of his reign, from his first to his seventeenth year, gives an account of his campaigns against Merodach-Baladan, son of Yagina, who ruled the Caldai on the sea-coast; and Sargon, who immediately succeeded him, describes this same Merodach-Baladan as having ascended the throne of (and therefore having conquered) Babylon in the same year that he himself became king (B.C. 721.) With this agrees Ptolemy's canon. Merodach-Baladan was defeated and forced to fly by Sargon, B.C. 709; but his son, bearing the same name (Isaiah xxxix. 1), succeeded in regaining Babylon, whence however he was expelled by Sennacherib in the latter's fourth campaign, from the relation of which we gather that Merodach-Baladan ruled the whole territory of Babylon to the shores of the sea, but that Susub-ira reigned over a detached tribe of Caldai, which dwelt in Bit-Yagina on the river Bittut. Now as Shalmaneser and (Van-zallus?) mention "the *kings*" of the Caldai, it is clear their sovereignties must have been swallowed up by the tribe of which Merodach-Baladan was the hereditary lord; that the latter extended his rule over Babylonia, and that after his expulsion thence by Sennacherib his sons still maintained themselves, with the help of the king of Elam, on the sea-coast, where Essar-Haddon attacked them. For on the celebrated cylinder of the last-mentioned king we read the following: "(Essar-Haddon) vanquisher of Nebo-mutsi-tsidi, son of Merodach-Baladan, who put his trust in the king of Elam, but could not save his life. Nahit-Merodach, his brother, came and did homage to me. From the midst of Elam he hastened and came quickly to Nineveh, my royal city, and kissed my yoke. The country of the sea-coast, to its whole extent, which was the inheritance of his brother, I placed under him." The next paragraph then proceeds: "*Nabiah* (suzerain?) of the land of Bit-Dakkurri, which is near the land of the Caldai, *before* (?) Babylon. *Subduer* (?) of Shamas-bani its king. . . . who had estranged the fealty of many subjects of the kings of Babylon and Borsippa. . . . I made those people again subject to the rule of the kings of Babylon and Borsippa. I made Nebo-sallim, the son of Balatsu (Belesys) its king." We are here again informed of the encroaching disposition of the Χαλδαῖοι, who had probably by this time so much intermingled with the Casdim as in later times to be confounded with them; and it is only to be regretted that the meaning of the words intervening between "Caldai" and "Babylon" is uncertain. It is expressed by a monogram which commonly has the value of *ap* or *ab*. A syllabary gives as its value *es* on the Accadian side, but unfortunately the Assyrian equivalent is uncertain, but it seems to read *bituv*. On the next line we have the sign explained by *ap* on the first side and *ap-tuv* on the third, but this gives us no help, as it is plain the last word is merely a Semitic modification of the Turanian original. In the third Achæmenian, the language of the Tartar subjects of Persia, *appu-ka*==

"before," the final syllable of which is only an affix, as in *ik-ka* (in), *tuba-ka* (around), etc. I have therefore translated the word "before," but of course this is very doubtful.

Thus far I think I have made it manifest that the Kaldai of the inscriptions, the Χαλδαῖοι of classical writers, are *not* the same as the Casdim of the Bible, and it now only remains to discuss the nomenclature and conditions of the inhabitants of Chaldea. And first we must notice the title *Kiprat-Arbat*, explained by Arba Lisanan (the four tongues), which is assumed by the early kings of Chaldea, by the monarchs of Assyria, and by the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar. This name has been supposed to shew that four nations of entirely different languages lived from early ages on the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris. I cannot, however, agree with this, but as *Kiprat* is generally used simply in the sense of "tribes," as is also Lasanan on the later inscriptions, I believe nothing more is indicated than that four different tribes, whose language perhaps was dialectically distinct, inhabited lower Mesopotamia and Chaldea, and that the title has therefore no connexion with the great divisions of after times—the Accadians (or Yanbanis according to Ibn Wahshiya), the Casdim and the Caldai or Chaldees; with regard to which, allowing that the preceding remarks are right, the second (the Casdim) is certainly Semitic. If so, *Casdim* from a singular *Casad* will signify "the conquerors"—a very appropriate title—from the common verb כָּסַד, which with its derivatives is so often met with in Assyrian, as in *acsudu* (I took), *cishitti* (acquisitions), *kissat* (possessions), etc. These Casdim or "conquerors," can only be the Assyrian dynasty of Berosus, which, according to him, lasted five hundred and twenty-six years, beginning about B.C. 1272, and to which belong Khamu-rabi, Merodach-adan-akhi, etc., who were perhaps the bases whereon the Greek fables about Ninus and Semiramis were built.

And now, who were the Caldai? I have already stated my belief that they were Aryans, but as this proceeds rather from conviction than from evidence, it would not surprise me were future discoveries to upset this theory, and determine their Turanian-Nummite descent. However, in the meantime, it is allowed us to speculate; and we are at once struck with the similarity of the word Kaldu with Khaldi, the moon-god of the ancient Armenians, to whom the inscription at Palou is addressed by Minúa the king of Nahri, who, on the rocks of Van, records his conquest of Babylon, a circumstance which somewhat bears upon our present discussion. For since the name of Babylon is spelled out phonetically in the Semitic manner of pronunciation, the Vannic invasion must have taken place after the settlement of the Casdim in Babylonia, and as the Vannic inscriptions do not seem to possess any very great antiquity, I am inclined to refer it to the period which elapsed, between the reigns of (Van-zallus III. ?) and Tiglath-Pileser in Assyria, when the kingdom seems to have been in a very weak condition, and to have therefore afforded an easy passage to the armies of Armenia, the three intervening monarchs having left us no records. Moreover, we find that Lutipri preceded Minúa in the government of Nahri; and, if Sir H. Rawlinson's identification of the (Semiduri?) of Sarda-

napalus with the son of Lutipri be correct, we may perhaps place the arrival of the Chaldee tribes in the country below Babylonia at that time, they having taken their road through the friendly state of Elam or Nummi. It may be objected, however, that the first syllable of the name Kaldu does not coincide with that of Khaldi; but if they were of Aryan origin, this would make not the slightest difference; and indeed the first name is indifferently written Kaldu and Caldu. Now *kal* answers to the Semitic *lisanan*; thus Khamu-rabi on his Black Stone inscrip. (ii. 1) calls himself *his kal-kal*, "king of the tribes;" and it is important to find from the other spelling that this is not the derivation of the name, since *cal*, according to the syllabaries = *itlu*, "a hero" (as in Calkhi, Calah, "the hero's place.")<sup>a</sup> I should therefore translate Caldi, "the moon-worshippers," connecting the word with the Germ. *helle* and *geld*, Sansk. *hailis*, ἥλιος, ἔλη, σελήνη, etc.

I had purposed discussing the ancient Accadian or Yanban language as far as it has been preserved to us, and also enquiring into the conditions of Kar-duniyas, Accad, Din-Turci and Babylon, but I must defer this to another opportunity, as my letter has already exceeded its intended limits.

June 19th, 1863.

A. SAYCE.

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### JOHN XIX. 10, 11.

YOUR correspondent J. B. appears to be a very touchy person, and to be very much on the look out for imputations of motives, where really rather kindness than unkindness is intended. I fear he gives a very strong instance of Catullus's proverb, "*Sed non videmus mantice quod intergo est.*" It is not generally thought to be the most polite manner of dissenting from another person's views to inform him that he has put something "supremely absurd, and what it is not easy to say whether it is more impertinent or silly," into the mouth of a speaker whose words he is discussing; and when that speaker happens to be our Saviour, it is certainly not the most reverent way of discussing the question. To suppose him somewhat "carried away by indignation at the novelty" of the view supported is surely a more charitable and friendly supposition than to consider such to be his habitual mode of writing and expressing himself, and to remark upon it accordingly. I am not aware that J. B. is known to fame, but everybody knows the fame of S. T. Coleridge; in discussing therefore a view

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<sup>a</sup> On further consideration I should translate the Assyrian capital, the ܡܚܕܐ of Genesis, simply "the citadel." The syllabary certainly gives *cal* the meaning of *itlu* (hero), but the primary sense of this Turanian root seems to be "strength," as in *his cal-ga* ("powerful king"), the common title of the early Chaldean monarchs. *Cal-khi* would then be "the stronghold" *par excellence*. Ammianus states that the kings of Nineveh had a very large city called Virta in Adiabene, beyond the passage of the river (Tigris); to reach which they had to cross the bridge Auzaba (i.e., over the Zab). Now Virta is evidently the Chald. ܝܪܬܐ (*Birati* in Assyrian); and as its situation agrees with that of Calah, I believe Virta is merely the Semitic translation of the ordinary name of that ancient city.

which had his authority, one might have expected J. B. to have been satisfied with endeavouring to prove it wrong without declaring it on his own authority to be a "sillier piece of impertinence than was ever perpetrated." I am quite certain that J. B. both misunderstands and misrepresents the view which I have taken of the passage in question, although at the end of his letter, in "granting that ὁ παραδίδους conferred the opportunity," he grants all that I for my part have ever contended for, but I should neither have complained of that nor of his language, had he not taken upon himself to read me a lecture upon the "insinuation" of motives, when I was really making a charitable supposition in his favour. But I cannot forbear returning him my hearty thanks for his admirable illustration from Lord Canning and the falsely-accused Hindoo, which, when fully carried out with all attendant circumstances, gives an exact parallel, and has completely cleared my own mind from any doubt I might still have entertained as to the right interpretation of the passage.

T. T.

### ETHIOPIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

ONE of your correspondents in the July number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* writes thus, "I wish to meet with reference to the best aids to the knowledge of the Ethiopic language and literature." Allow me to drop a few hints which I hope will throw some light on the subject.

The best accounts I see in English of the Ethiopic language occur in the *English Cyclopædia* and Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopædia*. It seems to be now generally agreed that the ancient Ethiopic or Gees (in which the old version of the Bible, and the book of Enoch, and some liturgies and ecclesiastical records, are written) is the parent of the Tigré language, which comes nearest to it, and the Amharic language, which is very considerably different, as appears by the evidence of the Bible Society.

As far as I am aware, the best grammar and dictionary of the Ethiopian language (which resembles the Hebrew and Chaldee in some respects, and still more resembles the Arabic) were published by Job Ludolph; though he seems often to confound the Ethiopic with the Amharic.<sup>b</sup>

Castell in his *Polyglottic Lexicon* gives us a dictionary of the Ethiopian; and Walton's *Polyglott* contains the Ethiopic Psalms. Some other books of the Old Testament have since been published, and the whole of the New Testament, in this language.

Adelung's *Mithridates* (vol. i., p. 401) contains a good description of this language, and the grammars and dictionaries thereof. To this I refer your enquirer. Welsford's *Mithridates Minor*, 1848, also de-

<sup>b</sup> We suppose that Dillman's *Ethiopic Grammar and Lexicon* must supersede those of Ludolph for all practical purposes. The *Lexicon* is only part issued.—  
ED. J. S. L.

votes several pages to the subject, and gives an analytic and etymologic catalogue of many of the Ethiopic words, with their analogies to other languages.

I observe in Hottinger's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, p. 318, a good account of Ethiopic literature supplied to him by Ludolph. To this also I refer your enquirer. It furnishes an exact account of the four volumes that contain the Old Testament, and the fifth volume which contains the New Testament. Hottinger has had the good sense to print their names in the Hebrew characters; for the Ethiopic character is abominably complicated and obscure, and its difficulty deters many from studying this language who would otherwise master it.

The notes appended to Laurence's *Version of the Book of Enoch* contain some valuable criticisms on this language.

The very interesting article on Ethiopic Liturgies in the current number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* supplies some further illustrations.

An admirable article on languages, in the *Cyclopedia Londinensis*, also gives information on the dialects of Abyssinia.

There can be no doubt that if these Abyssinian dialects were correctly printed in European characters, they would be much more easily learned, and cast new and unexpected light on the obscurities of African philology.

The subject is interesting and important; especially owing to the connexion of Ethiopia with the history of the Jewish and Christian churches. The prospects of missionary enterprise in these wild regions seem to be improving; and the recent discovery of the sources of the Nile may open new fields for the advance of Christianity and evangelization.

Bath, August 11.

FRANCIS BARHAM.

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### SIMPLIFICATION OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

It appears to me highly important that we should adopt some exact and definite method of representing oriental languages by European letters. One great hindrance to the more general acquisition of these languages is the difficulty and complexity of their alphabets, which severely tax the eyesight and the memory of students, and render the writing and printing of these languages very troublesome and expensive.

Having examined a vast number of methods of alphabetic representation, and finding none sufficiently precise and extensive for this purpose, I contrived a system which I call the *Literal System of Alphabetic Equivalents*; and I have had a few copies printed for private distribution. I now take the liberty of sending you one of these, hoping that you will kindly grant it your imprimatur in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, that it may have the benefit of the candid consideration of your learned readers. As I have found it work perfectly well myself, I can conscientiously recommend it to others.

Bath, August 11.

FRANCIS BARHAM.



### THE LITERAL SYSTEM OF REPRESENTING ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN ROMAN LETTERS.

Oriental languages, especially Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hindostanee, etc., may be much facilitated by being written or printed in Roman or European letters or characters. For instance, if some editions of the Hebrew Old Testament and Syriac Old and New Testaments, and the chief Oriental versions, were written and printed in common English letters, they might be much more easily and generally read and studied and communicated.

The fact is so obvious that many attempts have been made to express the chief Oriental languages in Roman letters, either on a *literal system* of equivalents (letters represented letter by letter), or on a *pronunciational system*, representing the supposed pronunciation of the words, in which the letters are too often sacrificed to the sounds.

Thus the literal system of representing the first verse in the Hebrew Bible would render it as follows:—"By rashith byra Aleim ath e shymim u ath e aryj." The pronunciational system would render it thus:—"Bereasheth bara Eloheem eath hashamayim vau eath haretz." In the latter case the strict letters of the original are sacrificed to the supposed pronunciation, as if instead of writing the French phrase, "*comment vous portez-vous*" literally, in its proper letters, we should render it pronunciationally as, "*commong voo portay voo*," destroying the etymology and beauty of the language.

As we consider a strict literal system of representation the most important—though we reject not the other on proper occasions—we here endeavour to furnish the chief Oriental alphabets, namely, the Hebrew, Syrian, and Arabic-Persian, in Roman or English letters, letter for letter. Whenever two consonants occur together we supply *y* for the missing or deficient vowel.

Our method of literal equivalents, which nearly agrees with that of Origen, Masclef, and Parkhurst, is the only one which gives letter for letter with clear and unmistakable precision, so that the writer and printer may represent the Oriental words exactly in correspondent English letters, and they may be instantly recognized and exchanged for the originals, and examined in dictionaries, etc.

It will be observed that our plan consists in giving exact equivalents of the principal letters of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Arabic-Persian alphabet, and circumflexing the subordinate letters. Thus *zain*, the seventh Hebrew letter, will represent one sound corresponding with the Arabic-Persian *ze*. But *zain* with a circumflex (which for convenient abbreviation is called *zaincir*) will represent another sound equivalent to the Arabic-Persian *zhe*.

The Hebrew routine of letters is the same as the Syriac, and the Arabic-Persian routine is similar to that of the Turkish and Hindostanee, etc.; so that if this literal system of equivalent Roman letters (with occasional circumflexes and the insertion of *y* for the missing vowel) be adopted, Oriental Bibles, books, and manuscripts may be expressed with precision, brevity, cheapness, and convenience, in the

ordinary European alphabet, leaving pronunciations to be learnt *vis a vis* in French, etc.

N.B. As the circumflex accents may now be obtained from the type-founder in a separate form, they may be easily attached to any letter on the above system.

HEBREW, or SYRIAN, ORDER of LETTERS, WITH THEIR VARIOUS PRONUNCIATIONS.					ARABIC-PERSIAN ORDER OF LETTERS, WITH THEIR VARIOUS PRONUNCIATIONS.				
Hebrew Name.	Numerical Value.	Arabic Name.	Literal System.	Various pronunciations.	Hebrew Name.	Numerical Value.	Arabic Name.	Literal System.	Various pronunciations.
1 Aleph ...	1	Alif	a	e i o u	Alef ...	1	Alif ...	a	e i o u
2 Beth ...	2	Be	b	v	Beth ...	2	Be ...	b	v
3 Gimel ...	3	Jim	g	gh	Pe ...	...	Pe ...	p	bh
Gimelcir. ...	...	Chim	g	ch	Thau ...	400	Te ...	th	t
4 Daleth ...	4	Dal	d	dh	Thaucir .	500	Se... ..	th	s ts
Dalethcir ...	...	Dhal	d	s z	Gimel ...	3	Jeem ...	g	j sh
5 He ...	5	He	e	h	Gimelcir. ...	...	Chim ...	g	ch
6 Vau ...	6	Vau	u	v w	Heth ...	8	He ...	h	hh
7 Zain ...	7	Ze	z	s ds	Hethcir .	600	Khe ...	h	kh
Zaincir... ..	...	Zhe	z	j	Daleth ...	4	Daul ...	d	dh
8 Heth ...	8	Ha	h	hh ch k	Dalethcir	700	Zaul ...	d	az ds dh
Hethcir .	...	Kha	h	ch	Resh ...	200	Re ...	r	rh
9 Teth ...	9	Ta	t	th	Zain ...	7	Ze ...	z	zh
Tethcir .	...	Tha	t	sh	Zaincir... ..	...	Zhe ...	z	j s c
10 Jod ...	10	Ye	i	y j	Samech .	60	Seen ...	s	sh
11 Caph ...	20	Kef	k	kh	Shin ...	300	Sheen ...	sh	ch
Caphcir .	...	Gav	k	g	Tsaddi .	90	Saud ...	j	s
12 Lamed...	30	Lam	l	lh	Tsaddicir	800	Zaud, or Dhad	j	z d
13 Mem ...	40	Mim	m	mh	Teth ...	9	Ta ...	t	th
14 Nun ...	50	Nun	n	nh	Tethcir .	900	Tha, or Za ...	t	z ts
15 Samech .	60	Sin	s	sh	Ain ..	70	Ain ...	o	a u
16 Ain ...	70	Ain	o	gn	Aincir ...	1000	Ghain ..	o	gh rh
Aincir ...	...	Gain	o	g	Pecir ...	80	Phe ...	f	ph
17 Pe ...	80	Pe	p	ph f	Koph ...	100	Kaaf ...	q	g k
Pecir ...	...	Fe	f	ph	Caph ...	20	Kef ...	k	k
18 Tsaddi...	90	Tsad	j	ts	Caphcir .	...	Gav ...	k	g
Tsaddicir	...	Dhad	j	s	Lamed...	30	Laum ...	l	lh
19 Koph ...	100	Kaf	q	ch	Mim ...	40	Meem ...	m	mh
20 Resh ...	200	Re	r	rh	Nun ...	50	Noon ...	n	nh
21 Schin ...	300	Shin	sh	x	Vau ...	6	Wau ...	u	v w
22 Thau ...	400	Te	th	th sh	He ...	5	He ...	e	h
Thaucir .	...	The	th	sh	Yod ...	10	Ye ...	i	y j

## IRENÆUS.

SOME persons have thought that Irenæus has disqualified himself for being a witness to the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse, because he seems to have held the strange notion that Christ<sup>c</sup> was about fifty years of age when He was crucified.

We can easily admit that deep sorrow and mental distress had caused our Lord, towards the close of his ministry, to appear much older than he really was. Accordingly, we are not surprised to read in one of the Evangelists, that the Jews said unto Jesus, Thou art *not yet fifty years old*, and hast thou seen Abraham," (John viii. 57.)

St. John has not noticed the mistake into which these Jews had fallen, thinking Christ to be then more than forty years old, as this was scarcely necessary. It is quite possible that a tradition (as incorrect as that in John xxi. 23) arose from these words among some Christians, that the Lord was about *fifty* years old at the time of his death.

Even if Irenæus were weak enough to accept this tradition, he cannot be fairly considered to have disqualified himself, by so doing, for being a witness to the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse, which he may have heard from the lips of Polycarp. G. B.

June 22nd, 1863.

## M. RENAN ON THE DATE OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

IN the introduction to his *Vie de Jésus*, M. Renan says of St. Luke's Gospel (p. xvii.), "The date of this Gospel can moreover be determined with much precision by considerations drawn from the book itself. The twenty-first chapter of Luke, inseparable from the rest of the work, was written certainly after the siege of Jerusalem, though but a short time after." So too again (p. xxxix.) he says of St. Luke, "Writing out of Palestine, and certainly after the siege of Jerusalem, the author indicates places with less strictness (*avec moins de rigueur*) than the two other synoptists." In the first of these passages he refers to Luke xxi. 9, 20, 24, 28, 32, and says, "Compare xxii. 36." In the second he refers to Luke xx. 41, 43, 44; xxi. 9, 20; xxiii. 29. As they stand in our version these passages are as follows.

"And when he was come near, he beheld the city and wept over it. —For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation," (Luke xix. 41, 43, 44.)

"But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified: for these things must first come to pass; but the end is not by and by. And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the

<sup>c</sup> J. S. L., Jan. 1862, page 393.

Gentiles be fulfilled. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.—Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled,” (Luke xxi. 9, 20, 24, 28, 32.)

“Then said he unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one,” (Luke xxii. 36.)

“For behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck,” (Luke xxiii. 29.)

The first observation which one naturally makes upon these texts is, that they are with one exception distinctly *prophetic* of the siege of Jerusalem and its attendant and consequent calamities. The passage (xxii. 36), which is an exception, refers to the events connected with Christ's own sufferings and the peril of his disciples, and nothing but a perverse ingenuity can associate it with the siege of Jerusalem. Why we should be sent to this as a clue to the date of St. Luke's Gospel, M. Renan only knows. As for the others, is it fair or dignified to metamorphose them into records of the past, without one word of explanation? Is it calculated to increase our respect for a writer, that by such a metamorphosis he should impugn the truthfulness of St. Luke? He must do this, because he tacitly insinuates that the evangelist puts into our Lord's mouth words which he did not utter; that St. Luke, when he had seen the destruction of Jerusalem, based upon the event fictitious predictions, which he ascribed to Christ and inserted in his Gospel. M. Renan does not even pretend that he has any evidence to justify his strange interpretations and insinuations; he only proceeds upon the assumption that there is no such thing as real prophecy. This treatment of St. Luke is not worse than is received by the other evangelists, but a single example will suffice to shew what reliance can be placed upon an author who sets at defiance the simplest rules of grammar in deference to a theory which excludes everything supernatural from the Scriptures, and from the life of Christ. Why does he not even take the trouble to observe that the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, which he admits to have been written before St. Luke's, also contain predictions of the siege of Jerusalem? He would of course say that these predictions belong to a later *redaction*,—to employ the lucky word which comes so often to the rescue of our modern destructive critics,—and that at the same time other fictitious elements were brought in. But apart from all theories of *redaction*, the passages relating to the siege of Jerusalem in the three first Gospels appear to us to stand all upon the same level. If those in Luke indubitably belong to the first composition, why not the others? If those in Luke do not belong to the first composition, why admit the others? The fact is, we live in happy times for a certain order of critics who make bold assertions without reasons, or with reasons which are not reasons. We have given one example, and the extracts from M. Renan contain two more. He says Luke wrote “not long after” the siege of Jerusalem. If after, how can we tell whether soon or long after? We are not told. He says Luke does not indicate

places with strictness. No proof of this is given, and the assertion is contradicted by facts. Take only the chapter specially referred to in the same sentence (Luke xix.) and note verses 1, (entered and passed through Jericho), 28, (ascending up to Jerusalem), and especially verses 29, 30, 37 and 41. These are surely exact enough for the most exacting. Written "out of Palestine" the Gospel may have been; so much the greater wonder for this minute precision.

C. H.

### SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

C. H. wishes (Vol. III., p. 453), for the titles and dates of the works respecting the inscriptions in Wadi Mucateb, and elsewhere in the Sinaitic Peninsular. The following paragraph, which appeared in *Notes and Queries*, third series, iii., June 20, 1863, page 497, will in a great degree point out where C. H. may obtain his desired information.

"I. H. E. asks if any recent progress has been made in reading the Sinaitic inscriptions? I beg to inform him that he will find two memoirs by Mr. J. Hogg, on the subject, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*; the first is in the third volume of the *Second Series*, and the second is in the fifth volume of the same series. In the latter especially he will learn the extremely erroneous views of the Rev. Mr. Forster.

"The late Herr Tuch discovered the alphabet, but an early death put a stop to that learned German's further progress in the decipherment of those inscriptions.

"Dr. Levy (I believe a Jew, or of Jewish origin) of Breslau, has given a long paper in vol. xiv., pp. 363—484, with plates of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländisch Gesellschaft*, in which he has interpreted a great number of the Sinaitic inscriptions, as well as others from Petra, the Haurân, etc.

"The language he makes out to be *Nabathæan*. It comprises likewise some coins; but the paper is written in German, and is difficult to read, except by one well acquainted with that language.<sup>d</sup>

"It is to be desired that some one would translate and publish it in English; perhaps I. H. E. would do so."

Q. E. D.

### ANECDOTA SYRIACA.

AFTER reading the temperate and kind remarks of Mr. Rose in the last number of the *J. S. L.*, I feel that I owe some sort of apology to him for having mixed up his name with a matter with which, it appears, he had very little to do. It was Dr. Land who misled me by writing (*Anecdota*, tom. i., p. 58): "Ibi enim hæc legi ille dixit: ܠܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ, 'Ne, Domine, denegetur præmium (homini) quinque

<sup>d</sup> The same Dr. Levy has a paper in the *Zeitschr. der D. M. G.*, vol. xvii., from which some additional references may be obtained to writings by Lenormant, Tischendorf, etc. (pp. 82, 104).—Ed. *J. S. L.*





the day following. I shall confine myself, however, to the specific reason supplied by the hypothesis of double feast-days.

(1.) As the desecration of the temple is only mentioned in connexion with the Passover, it is fair to suppose that it was occasioned by the immense demand for lambs, etc., required by the vast multitudes resorting to Jerusalem for the celebration of that festival. We all know that one particular day, Nisan 10, was appointed by the Law for "taking up," i. e., selecting, purchasing, and appropriating, the Paschal lambs. Nisan 10, then, would be the great market-day of the festival; and we can easily imagine how on that day the secular traffic, connected with the religious ceremonial of the nation, would gather about the precincts of the temple, choking up the avenues, hindering the access of worshippers, and actually encroaching on the court of the Gentiles. But if there were a double Nisan 14, there would be a corresponding double Nisan 10; and we might expect in that case to find two consecutive days marked by the desecration in question.\* (2.) It would be on the former of these two market-days that our Lord's lamb would be selected; and if the same two apostles (Peter and John) were employed to "take up" that lamb who were employed on the following Thursday to "prepare" it for the feast (as is natural to suppose), then it is not unlikely that Peter was engaged elsewhere at the precise time when Jesus was expelling the traders on the day of his public entry, and so did not witness the fact. This would explain why Mark, who is said to have written

\* Our Lord three years before, at the first Passover of his public ministry, performed only a *single* act of expulsion. We can easily account for this, even if there had been two market-days in A.D. 26; for our Lord having no particular reason, that appears, for using the privileged Nisan 14, such as he had in A.D. 29 (see Luke xxii. 15, 16), he would observe the popular Nisan 14 and the corresponding second Nisan 10, and would not necessarily encounter the desecration of the first Nisan 10. But it is a positive fact, that in A.D. 26 there was but one Paschal market-day, and so could be but one desecration. The Astronomer-Royal has kindly computed for me the true and mean times of new and full moon in March and April A.D. 26: the April full moon fell on April 20th, which is too late to suit Bucherius's Paschal limits (see my former paper, *J. S. L.*, January, 1863, p. 417). The March moon must therefore be the Paschal moon, and the Professor's table gives its times thus:—

Year.	True Time of		Mean Time of	
	New Moon.	Full Moon.	New Moon.	Full Moon.
A.D. 26.	March 7, Thursday, 9A. 34m. P.M.	Mar. 21, Thursday, 11A. 45m. P.M.	Mar. 6, Wednesday, 11A. 33m. P.M.	Mar. 21, Thursday, 8A. 44m. P.M.

As the Jewish day turned at sunset, and its first six hours, from sunset to midnight, formed part of the civil day which we commence from midnight, we learn from the above table that the true time of full moon was on the Jewish Friday March 22nd, 5A. 45m. after sunset, and the mean time of full moon was on the same day, 2A. 44m. after sunset: this March 22nd would be Nisan 15 by Josephus's rule (see my former paper, p. 415), and subtracting fourteen days from this we should get the Jewish Friday March 8th for Nisan 1st. It appears by the table that the true conjunction happened on that day only 3A. 34m. after sunset, so that there would be but one Neomenia, and a single passover, a single Nisan 10 or market-day, and therefore only a *single* desecration for our Lord to deal with at the Passover of A.D. 26.



his gospel under Peter's superintendence, has not recorded any expulsion as happening on the day of the public entry. (3.) We can now also see a reason why our Lord, in citing Isaiah lvi. 7 to the traders, added (according to Mark) on the second day the clause "for all nations," which (according to Matthew and Luke) he had omitted in citing the same text the day before; for as the Gentile proselytes would be most likely to unite with the authorities and the majority of the nation in observing the second or Friday Nisan 14, so the same Gentile proselytes would be present on the second Nisan 10, "taking up" their lambs, and would be greatly incommoded and scandalized by the profanation of their court. (4.) How natural in that case, that "certain Greeks" should beg to be introduced to the wonderful Prophet who had shewn such a condescending interest in the despised Gentiles (John xii. 20—22); and if we examine our Lord's observations in answer to their application, beginning "the hour is come" (ver. 23—36), we cannot fail to be struck with their appropriateness, as uttered by Him who at that very moment was presenting himself before the Father as the chosen "Lamb of God," "our Passover," to be sacrificed four days later as "the propitiation for the sins of the whole world."

The hypothesis then of double feast-days seems to me to account wonderfully well for the double act of expulsion, on two consecutive days; and to throw a new and unexpected light on several passages of the sacred narrative.

II. But in order to make good this point, it remains for me still to prove (what some would dispute) that the two expulsions fell on the proper days of the week; for if the double Nisan 14 fell on the Thursday and Friday, *i. e.*, the fifth and sixth days of the week, the double Nisan 10, with which I have been connecting the two expulsions, fell on the first and second days of the week, *i. e.*, the Sunday and Monday. Does it appear, then, from the course of the narrative, that the two expulsions did actually happen on the Sunday and Monday? Greswell and others, who assign the public entry into Jerusalem to the Monday, would deny it; I maintain the affirmative.

(1.) Now St. John states that our Lord reached Bethany *πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα* (xii. 1); and what this phrase means may be easily gathered from an analogous case. Epiphanius (*contra Hæreses*, L.) states, that the Quartodecimans kept their Pasch *πρὸ ὀκτωῦ Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων*, by which he means viii. Kal. April. or March 25th, the eighth day before the calends of April, *the calends themselves being included*: so by analogy *πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα* means the sixth day before the Passover, *the Passover itself being included*. But according to the theory which I advocate, while the three synoptic evangelists, in speaking of the last Passover, invariably mean the Thursday Nisan 14, St. John invariably means the Friday Nisan 14. Jesus therefore arriv-

† There is another difference observable in the mode of citing the text from Isaiah, which implies that it was cited at two different times. Matthew and Mark represent our Lord as saying on the first day, "it is written;" Mark on the second day, "is it not written?" The former is a direct appeal to the Scripture; but the latter is an appeal to the consciences of the traders, supposed to be enlightened by the text of the day before.

ing, according to St. John, six days before the Friday—the sixth day of the week, the Friday itself being included, arrived in fact on the first day of the week, *i. e.*, on the Sunday. (2.) The next incident mentioned without any hint of a change of day is a supper (John xii. 2), which being in the evening and on the same Jewish day with the arrival, proves that Jesus arrived in the evening to the supper: he had evidently passed the sabbath at Zaccheus's house, having suspended his journey for the sabbatic rest: this is the import of his words to Zaccheus, σπεύσας κατὰβηθι, σήμερον γὰρ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου δεῖ (a word of duty and necessity) με μέναι. Zaccheus's house was not far from Jerusalem (Luke xix. 11); and when Jesus resumed his journey at sunset after the sabbath was over, he would reach Bethany by an easy walk of one or two miles in time for supper, which Greswell proves was an hour later and of a more liberal character after the sabbath than on other days (*Dissertations*, vol. iii., *Diss.* i., pp. 14, 15). (3.) After describing the anointing of Jesus by Mary at the supper, St. John states (xii. 9—12): "Now much people of the Jews knew that he was there, and came; not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead. But the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death, because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus. On the next day (τῇ ἐπαύριον),"—then follows the account of Christ's public entry into Jerusalem, and his first expulsion of the traders out of the temple. Now Greswell thinks that this resort of the Jews to Bethany took place during the day which followed the supper, that is, during the Sunday; and he cannot conceive that any stranger would have been so rude as to intrude uninvited into a private house at supper time, merely to gratify curiosity; he then takes τῇ ἐπαύριον to mean the next day after the resort, or the fifth day before the Passover, *i. e.*, the Monday; thus postponing the public entry into Jerusalem till the Monday, in spite of the ancient tradition of the Christian Church which assigns it to the Sunday, calling the day of commemoration in after ages "Palm Sunday." But I am convinced that the tradition is correct, and that Greswell quite mistakes the matter. The fact is, that for several months past, but especially since the recent proclamation of the Sanhedrin (John xi. 57), Jesus had been in constant danger of being seized and put to death clandestinely: to guard himself against this danger he was compelled to use "the wisdom of the serpent;" and when he emerged from his place of retirement at Ephraim, he seems to have surrounded himself as much as possible with company. In pursuance of this policy, the supper at Bethany was preconcerted between him and his friends, both for his personal safety, and to create an extensive impression in his favour by means of Lazarus before the authorities should be aware of his arrival. The supper was not a private meal, but a kind of open reception, μεγάλη δοχή: the phrase ἐποίησαν οὖν αὐτῷ δείπνον ἐκεῖ, compared with similar phrases at Mark vi. 21; Luke v. 29; xiv. 12, 13, 16, implies as much; and the resort of visitors, so far from being deemed an intrusion, was an essential part of the plan; the disciples resident in the city were let into the secret beforehand, and at sunset

invited divers of their country friends to walk over with them to Bethany: the sight of Lazarus seated beside his great Benefactor produced the desired effect—many were at once converted; but the tidings of what was going forward soon reached the ears of the rulers, who were thrown into a perfect consternation. (4.) Τῇ ἐπαύριον, *the very next morning*, but on the same Jewish *νυχθήμερον* with the foregoing events, our Lord, taking advantage of the impression created in his favour, makes his public entry into Jerusalem, directs the lamb to be “taken up” for himself and his apostles to use on the following Thursday, and going to the temple discovers and expels the profane intruders. Let us pause a little on this word *ἐπαύριον*. *Ἀύριον* means simply “morrow,” and like the English word originally meant “morning.” In the compound *ἐπαύριον* the preposition has the force of sequence in time (Liddell and Scott); it occurs seventeen times in the New Testament according to the Greek concordance, and is rendered in the A. V. “the morrow,” “the next day,” “the day following,” and “the next day after.” In one of these instances it is applied to “the sixth hour” or noon (Acts x. 9); in another, to the “tenth hour” (John i. 35, 39), but I agree with Dr. Townson that that means 10 a.m. and not 4 p.m. In John vi. 22; Acts xx. 7; and xxiii. 32, the word is clearly used of *early morning*, and in immediate sequence to events which had happened *over-night*, but on the same Jewish *νυχθήμερον*; and this I believe to be its use in the case under consideration—it clearly means the Sunday *αὔριον*, the *morning after*, but the same Jewish day with, the supper and the resort. If St. John had understood the resort to have occupied the Sunday *αὔριον*, he would have introduced it by this same note of time—τῇ ἐπαύριον, *i. e.*, “on the next day after” the supper; as it is, the τῇ ἐπαύριον not being introduced till ver. 12 implies that all the events embraced in xii. (1—11) had happened *over-night*, *i. e.*, on the evening of the first arrival; and so St. John makes the public entry, and consequently the first expulsion, take place on the Sunday. (5.) We are driven to the same conclusion by tracing backward the course of days in St. Mark’s narrative, the only one which gives the full complement of the days of Passion week. At xiv. 1 he synchronizes with Matt. xxvi. 1, 2, just after the Jewish Wednesday had commenced, as I shall presently shew; if we trace back from thence we find his Tuesday commence at xi. 27, and his Monday at xi. 12; and, consequently, the public entry into Jerusalem on the day previous is assigned by St. Mark to the Sunday.

III. Having thus proved (I trust), both from the terms and the course of the narrative, that the public entry and the first expulsion happened on the Sunday, and consequently the second on the Monday, I will now briefly trace the subsequent course of events.

(1.) The cursing of the fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18—22; Mark xi. 12—14) happened on the Monday morning: according to Mark the tree was μακρόθεν, A.V. “afar off,” which I take to mean “at some distance from the road;” nor is this inconsistent with Matthew’s ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, which only means “on the public high-way,” as distinguished from a private orchard. Matthew represents the tree as withering *ῥαπα-*

χρῆμα "immediately," and adds the comment of the disciples on the observed fact,—“how immediately (πῶς παραχρῆμα) is the fig-tree withered away;” with our Lord’s reply. Mark says, that at the time the disciples “heard” the malediction; and that next morning (Tuesday) Peter, seeing the tree “dried up from the roots,” “calling to remembrance, saith, Master, the fig-tree which thou cursedst is withered away;” and adds a similar but more expanded reply of our Lord. I agree with those who think that there was an immediate effect of the curse in the sudden drooping of the leaves, visible however only to those who were close to the tree at the time, who accordingly noticed the fact *among themselves*, exclaiming πῶς παραχρῆμα, etc.; Peter, and perhaps others of the party, did not witness the effect till next morning, when it was unmistakeably evident, even μακρόθεν, and he *called our Lord’s attention* to the circumstance. Our Lord replied as stated by both Evangelists; but according to Mark added something about mutual forgiveness; which suggests the idea, that there had been a somewhat angry dispute between the two parties, as to the fact of the instantaneous effect of the malediction. I believe that our Lord replied only on the second morning, and that Matthew has anticipated. We have a similar *prolepsis* in the account of the institution of the Lord’s Supper: the three evangelists alike mention the institution of the wine *immediately* after that of the bread, Luke alone intimating that there was an interval, “likewise *after supper* he took the cup.” So here Matthew, in the spirit of his Master’s “forgive and forget,” and writing for *harmony* rather than *the harmonists*, forbears to expose Peter’s want of observation on the first morning, and goes on straight to our Lord’s reply. In so doing he precluded himself from noticing the change of day which had occurred in the meantime, for it would have been positively inaccurate to introduce any such notice between the reply and the ensuing entrance into the temple (Matt. xx. 23): and it is this omission by Matthew to notice the change of day which convinces me, that, though the Passion Week is remarkable for the re-production of like events on duplicate days, the reply in Matthew is only an anticipation of the reply in Mark. (2.) From the ensuing entrance into the temple on the Tuesday morning (Matt. xx. 23), the three synoptic gospels proceed *pari passu* to Matt. xxiv. 2; Mark xiii. 2; Luke xxi. 6: after which Jesus quitted the city for Bethany at the close of the Tuesday, and on his way over Mount Olivet delivered his prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem, and the ensuing parables. (3.) This brings us to Matt. xxvi. 1, and Mark xiv. 1; where Jesus says, evidently after sunset, and so after the Jewish Wednesday had commenced, Οἴδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι. What is meant by μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, is manifest from another phrase: Jesus told his disciples (Mark viii. 31), that he was ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι, which we know meant τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, or “the next day but one;” and the Jews represented Jesus to Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 63) as having said μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγείρομαι, which they themselves in the next verse expound by τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας: so that by μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, uttered by Jesus at the commencement of the Wednesday, he means

"on the next day to this," i. e., on the Thursday: he could not have said *ἀύριον*, because two nights were to intervene. Jesus, therefore, here distinctly refers to the Thursday as his Passover day; and this is the only day which the three synoptic evangelists mean by "the Passover." (4.) It would seem that our Lord remained in retirement during the Wednesday, and until the Thursday morning, when he sent Peter and John to prepare the Paschal Lamb for being eaten that evening. It was during this interval that the traitor made his bargain with the Jewish authorities, his resolution having been formed after our Lord's rebuke of him at the supper on the night of arrival; and that is the reason why Matthew and Mark introduce here the account of that supper.

On the whole, I cannot but think that the hypothesis of double feast-days derives strong confirmation from the fact, that it enables us clearly to make out the chronology of the entire Passion Week; and perfectly to harmonize the four accounts, not only without straining a single word of the original from its obvious meaning, but actually imparting a new and unexpected force to several passages.

The present case also seems to be one, in which the divine and human elements in Scripture are both strongly developed. We see how the double market-day, and the double passover-day, and the two stages in the fig-tree transaction, have introduced some apparent contradictions into the Gospel narratives. To this cause, I suspect, we are to ascribe it, that when Luke the Gentile, not very intimately acquainted perhaps with the Jewish customs, comes after some years to collect the testimonies of the "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word," and to publish the result in his Gospel, he seems to have some difficulty in arriving at absolute certainty about the chronology of the Passion Week. He assigns positively and without hesitation the first expulsion of the traders to the day of the public entry (xix. 45, 46); but he is never again precise in defining the days: at ver. 47 he says, "And he taught *daily* in the temple;" at xx. 1, "And it came to pass on *one of those days*;" and at the close of the Tuesday, taking a general view of our Lord's proceedings, he says (xxi. 37, 38), "And *during the days* (τὰς ἡμέρας) he was teaching in the temple, and *for the nights* (τὰς νύκτας) he went out," etc.; and at xxii. 1, "The passover *drew nigh*," where Matthew and Mark say precisely μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας. This cautious mode of speaking, while it proves Luke's integrity and accuracy, amounts to a confession of some uncertainty as to the chronology, and betrays the *human* element. But the *Superintending Mind* took care that what was wanting in one should be supplied by others: Mark is inspired to make out the full complement of the days; John to define the day of arrival, and by viewing the Passover from the standpoint of the Jewish authorities, to reveal the fact of the double passover in that year. By a careful comparison of the four, we are now able to make out a consistent whole; and the very fact of double days, which led to some perplexity, supplies us with a clue to the true arrangement of their fragmentary materials.

St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,  
Sept. 1st, 1863.

JOSIAH PRATT.

## THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THE account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, contained in 1 Cor. xi. 23—25, shews that the whole action, and not the bread and wine, is to the communicant the body and blood of our Lord; and is equally opposed to the transubstantiation of the Romanist, and to the consubstantiation of the Lutheran, on the one side; and to the mere memorial of the Dissenter, on the other.

First observe the order—"The Lord Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat;" then, after the taking and eating of the bread by the disciples, he adds, "This is my body, which is broken for you." These latter words, therefore, refer not to bread, but to our Lord's taking bread, giving thanks, breaking it, and saying to his disciples, "Take, eat," and to the disciples taking and eating of it; and then he adds, "This whole action is my body, which is broken for you." And this explanation is confirmed in a remarkable manner in Mark xiv. 23, 24, where, in relation to the cup, it is written that "he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them." Now mark the order—"and they all drank of it;" then, after their drinking of it, "he said unto them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many." The word "this," therefore, refers not to wine, but to our Lord's taking the cup, giving thanks, and giving it to them, and their all drinking of it; that is, to the whole action.

Again, in the two adjoining phrases, "This is my body, which is broken for you;" and "This do in remembrance of me;" the word "this" evidently signifies the same thing; and as in the latter it signifies the whole action, it does also in the former.

That the word "this" agrees with something going before it, appears from the construction of the following part of the institution. For as in the second part the word "this" agrees with cup, which goes before it, so, in the first part, it must, by analogy, agree with something going before it; but it does not agree with bread, which is masculine, and therefore it must agree with the preceding action.

"After the same manner, also, the cup, after he had supped:" "After the same manner," that is, the same action was used with the cup as before with the bread (see Mark xiv. 23, before quoted), as far as applicable (omitting the words "he took," which limit the meaning to the taking only, and are added by the translators), "saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood." "This cup;" not this wine, but "this cup," having contained wine, now drunk—the instrument of the action, and therefore fitly expressing the action itself, "is the New Testament," or new covenant, "in my blood," the only appointed means of partaking of my blood: and the only appointed means of taking hold of the new Christian covenant. "This do ye, as oft as ye drink"—as oft as ye celebrate this ordinance—"in remembrance of me."

*Anstey, Herts.*

G. S. PORTER.

## REMARKS ON HEBREWS IX. 16, 17.

HAVING already stated my views on this passage in No. XV. of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* (Vol. VIII., p. 187), I beg permission to submit to your readers some additional arguments, by which, on farther consideration, I have found that the interpretation there proposed admits of being confirmed: The importance of the bearings of this difficult and much discussed passage, justifies any effort that may be made to get at its true meaning. Before proceeding to the new arguments, it will be necessary to recapitulate briefly those before adduced. The Greek of the two verses is, *σπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου· διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος.* The translation I gave was the following:—“For where there is a testament, of necessity the death of the testator is implied: for a testament is valid at decease, seeing that it is not at any time in force when the testator is living.” The original presents no difficulty in regard to its syntax, and the above translation cannot be contested if the right meanings have been given to *διαθήκη*, *φέρεσθαι*, and *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*. With respect to the first word, arguments will be presently adduced in defence of the signification “testament.” At present it may suffice to remark that the translation “covenant” is contradicted by common experience; for it cannot be asserted to be matter of fact that where there is a covenant the death of the covenanter is implied, or to be inferred. Neither is it true that a covenant is not valid while the covenanter is living. The word *φέρεσθαι* is employed here in a sense unusual in Greek, but yet in the very same sense that the verb *fero* bears in such compounds as inference, reference, etc. Perhaps “inferred” would have been a better translation than “implied.” The rendering *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*, “at decease,” is justified by the use of *οἱ νεκροὶ* to signify death or mortality; the principle of such usage being that dead bodies are the objects by which death is most sensibly and visibly represented in its effects. Thus *ἀνάστασις ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* is not “resurrection from the dead,” these terms having no objective signification, but “resurrection from mortality,” i.e., resurrection after death, and is accordingly equivalent to *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*, “resurrection of the dead.” So in Rom. vi. 13, *ὡς ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας* is, “as those that are alive after death;” and in the much contested passage, 1 Cor. xv. 29, *οἱ βαπτίζομενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* should analogously be translated, “they who are baptized relatively to mortality;” the doctrine of the relation of baptism to death being clearly taught by St. Paul in Rom. vi. Also if for the reasons above given *διαθήκη* cannot here be translated “covenant,” there is no reason for taking *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς* to refer to sacrifices. Such, for the most part, were the arguments contained in my former communication. I proceed now to a more particular consideration of the meaning of *διαθήκη*.

It may be laid down as a general rule that when the same word has different senses, some relation exists in *rerum naturā* between them. Thus *πίστις* means fidelity, faithfulness, and also faith, trust; because there cannot be trust on one side, unless there be faithfulness on another.

Heathen writers do not use this word in the scriptural sense of faith, because they were unacquainted with the divine promises that make faith possible. Righteousness, whether manifested in God's dealings with us, or in our obedience to his laws, is *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*, because all righteousness is God's, or comes from God. The love of God towards us, and our love of him, are both expressed by *ἀγάπη Θεοῦ*, for "we love him because he first loved us." In like manner *χάρις*, gratia, grace, each signify favour as well as beauty, and we speak of a beautiful person as "well-favoured;" the original idea apparently being that beauty was a mark of divine favour, as seems to be indicated by the expression *ἀστειὸς τῷ Θεῷ* applied to Moses (Acts vii. 20). Now, according to this rule, if *διαθήκη* be used in Scripture both in the sense of a covenant and in that of a will or testament, some connexion between the two senses ought to be derivable from Scripture and common experience. And that such connexion exists, may, I think, be shewn as follows.

In whatever senses a covenant is said in Scripture to be made by God, they are all subordinate to, and comprehended in, the one sense thus expressed in the prophet Jeremiah (xxxi. 33), as quoted in Heb. viii. 10; "This is the covenant that I will make (*διαθήσομαι*) with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them on their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people." This same covenant was made with Abraham, and in him with all that believe, whether Jews or Gentiles, he being accounted their father (Rom. iv. 11); and although the covenant, as expressed in the book of Genesis, and renewed previous to the exodus from Egypt (Exod. vi. 2—8), seems to have relation only to the possession of Canaan by Abraham's posterity, it must not be supposed that the patriarch restricted his regards to that event, but that he also looked at it as significant of his actual entrance after death into "a heavenly country," inhabited by a righteous people,—his covenantal posterity. This, at least, is the view taken by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xi.), and certainly it is the only one consistent with a reasonable faith; for how could Abraham have any interest personally in the possession by his remote descendants of a certain territory? In the passage from Jeremiah above quoted, the expression "after those days" is equivalent to the more usual expression "in that day," which in Scripture always refers to a new order of things, commencing after the termination of this age of the world, and of which no one has experience till after his death. Accordingly that which in Scripture is called *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the covenant of God, is not completely fulfilled till after death. And more than this, it is fulfilled *through* death. This doctrine may be established by the following argument.

In the first place, it is evident that the heavenly country can only be inhabited by a righteous people. But since all the sons of Adam inherit a sinful nature from their father, what is the process by which any are made righteous? To make known and give effect to a process proper for this purpose, is the object of the Scriptures from beginning



to end. They tell us that being sinful, and continually breaking the commands of our Maker and Ruler, we are made to feel the consequences of his anger in sorrow, pain, and death. But these very consequences are the means of forming righteousness in us; as is taught by the texts, "he that is dead is justified from sin" (Rom. vi. 7), "he that has suffered in the flesh, has ceased from sin" (1 Peter iv. 1). This truth, it being one necessary to be understood and believed for salvation, was completely unfolded and attested by the life and death of the Son of God, who, "although he was a Son," learnt obedience by the things that he suffered. By the sacrifice of himself he not only manifested the process by which alone man can be made righteous, but proved also that that process of punishment, although for a time it be indicative of God's anger on account of sin, must needs be followed by *reconciliation*, he having in his own person effected the reconciliation for us. It cannot be affirmed of Adam that he was made righteous, for he sinned; whereas those whom God makes righteous sin no more, for all the works of God are perfect. One might with as much reason say that a tree could be such as to live without water, as say that the principle of a righteous and immortal life could be implanted in man in any other way than that way of suffering and death which the Son of God consecrated. It is foolish to speculate upon what might have been the world's history under conditions that have never been realized: it is our part, rather, to regard in the light of Scripture what is actually before us and matter of experience; and in accordance with the exhortation of the apostle Peter, "when suffering according to the will of God, to commit our souls to him in well-doing as to a *faithful Creator*" (1 Peter iv. 19).

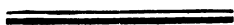
These considerations will serve to explain what significance the sacrifice of animals had relatively to man's mortality, and the promise and covenant of "an endless life." First, and chiefly, the sacrificial death signified that mortality was an antecedent condition of the fulfilment of the promise and of the enjoyment of the inheritance, and that through death effect was given to the covenant. In this view sacrifice is essentially a *religious* ordinance, as giving expression to an interest and expectation relative to the experience of the life to come. It may, perhaps, be affirmed, on the principles of Scripture symbolism, that the selection for sacrifice of clean animals fit for food, might signify that there must be *understanding* of this way to the holy inheritance before entering upon the possession of it. My present concern, however, is only with the first-mentioned indication which sacrifice gives of the nature of the covenant; that is, that death intervenes between the making and the fulfilling of it. And here, I think, the analogy between the covenant of Scripture and a will or testament will be at once seen, and a sufficient reason be given why the same word *διαθήκη* expresses both. For in each there is a disposal, or arrangement, by which an inheritance is received *after death*. In each death separates between the expectation and the enjoyment of the inheritance. This one essential particular relative to the divine covenant is pointed out by St. Paul, by reference to what is essential in a will, and all the more dis-

tinctly because to make a will was a well-known transaction of common life. Jews as well as Greeks were acquainted with it. For these reasons, in addition to those previously urged, I feel entitled to conclude that the translation of the passage under discussion, given at the beginning of this letter (which is nearly that of the Authorized Version), is correct, and that the interpretation of it which has been based on that translation is well founded.

It would be reasoning in a vicious circle to draw any inference respecting the Scriptural meaning of *διαθήκη* from the heathen practice of ratifying a covenant between man and man by sacrifices. There is no apparent reason, so far as regards any human transaction, why the sacrifice of animals should be a ratifying act. If any one in these days killed a sheep or an ox to make an agreement binding, he would be thought to be not in his right mind. So far from the practice among the heathen accounting for or elucidating any statements of Scripture respecting covenantal sacrifice, it requires itself to be accounted for by reference to Scripture. The most reasonable explanation of the heathen practice seems to be, that it was a relic of the most ancient form of true religious worship, and that when the origin and real significance of the ordinance had been lost sight of, the custom was retained either in unmeaning offerings to idols, or as a conventional mode of confirming agreements between individuals. In later times both the Jewish and the Christian religions presented instances of the retention for secular purposes of religious ordinances, the true and original import of which had either been overlooked or gradually ceased to be known.

Cambridge, 8th September, 1863.

J. CHALLIS.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*The New Testament for English Readers: containing the Authorized Version, with marginal Corrections of readings and renderings, marginal References, and a critical and explanatory Commentary.* By HENRY ALFORD, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. In Two Volumes. Vol. I., Part I.—The Three First Gospels. London: Rivingtons. 1863.

"THIS edition of the New Testament is undertaken with a view to put the English reader, whose knowledge is confined to our own language, in possession of some of the principal results of the labours of critics and scholars on the sacred text." Such is the object of the work of which the first portion is now before us,—a work, whose preparation must have required a large amount of thought and labour, but the successful execution of which, will place a great boon within the reach of ordinary readers. The author of the commentary assumes that the Authorized Version is capable of elucidation and improvement; and that there are materials in the hands of scholars, from which a selection may be made by which common readers may be profited. Dean Alford names two points in particular, and, while commending our version for its general excellence, observes that "it is derived very often from readings of the Greek which are not based on the authority of our best ancient witnesses, and it frequently gives an inadequate rendering of the text which it professes to translate." What follows it seems desirable that we should not omit:—

"5. The principal instances of both these imperfections it is the object of the present edition to enable the English reader to correct for himself. Words and passages, which in our Authorized Version are wrongly read or inadequately rendered, are printed in italics in the text, the true reading or rendering being pointed out in the margin below, in the same type as the rest of the text. Besides this, in cases where the principal ancient authorities differ about the reading of the text, the variation is stated in the margin.

"6. Marginal notices are also appended in some cases, where antiquated terms, or expressions generally misunderstood, are used in the Authorized Version.

"7. The notes are mainly an adaptation and abridgment of those in my edition of the Greek Testament. Additions are sometimes made to those notes where further explanations, of a nature suitable to the English reader, seemed to be required.

"8. The marginal references are adapted and abridged from those found in our ordinary English Bibles. I found, on examination, that many of these were either irrelevant or superfluous, and that sometimes passages the most important for elucidation were not adduced at all. It may be well to mention that the parallel places in the gospels are not cited on the margin, being systematically given at the head of each paragraph in the notes.

"9. It is necessary at a time when there is so much unsettled opinion respecting the authority of Scripture, to state plainly, in the outset, the belief of the editor on that point, and the principles on which his work has been undertaken.

"10. I regard the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments to have been given by inspiration of Almighty God, and in this respect to differ from all other books in the world. I rest this my belief on the consent of Christ's holy Catholic Church, and on evidence furnished by those books themselves!

"11. I find that it has pleased God to deliver his revelation of himself to man, which is contained in those books, by the vehicles of *human testimony*, *human speech*, and *human writing*. All the phenomena necessarily incident to these human vehicles I consequently expect, and find, in our sacred books as we have them.

"12. Their writers testified that which was true. The Spirit of Truth dwelt in them specially for this purpose. But he did not divest their *testimony* of its *human character*. Their peculiar styles and manners of writing were not taken away, nor their disposition to record peculiar facts, and to note different aspects of the truth. Each holy man set down that which he had seen or heard, or which he found in trustworthy record, or heard from competent witnesses; and in this remembrance or selection he was guided specially by the Holy Spirit. But each man reported, and each man selected, according to his own personal characteristics of thought and feeling. Any one who can read the gospel and epistles of St. John, and doubt this, would seem to me to read to little purpose indeed.

"13. A very important result of this may be thus stated:—The two, three, or four, gospel records of the same event are each of them separately true: written by men divinely guided into truth, and relating facts which happened, and as they happened. If we could now see the whole details of the event, we should also see that each narrative is true, and *how* it is true; but, not seeing the whole details of the event, and having only these two, three, or four, independent accounts, we must be prepared sometimes to find that they appear to be discrepant the one from the other: and we must not expect that we can reconcile such apparent discrepancies. It is a case where we must walk by faith, not by appearance. One day we may, and one day I firmly believe we shall, see the event with all its details as it happened, and shall be permitted to glorify God for the truth of his holy Word in every particular; but that day is not yet come.

"14. This is the belief, and these are the principles, on which I have recognized and dealt with what appear to me the undeniable apparent discrepancies, in detail between some of the gospel narratives. I have never attempted to force them into accordance. I shrink from doing so, and I see no end gained by doing so. On the other hand, I believe the confirmation of the faith, gained by the testimony which these discrepancies furnish to the absolute independence of the narratives, to be of infinitely more importance than would be the most complete piecing together of them into one apparently harmonious whole."

Various other weighty observations will be found in the preliminary chapter, where Dr. Alford presents us with a condensed statement of his views and principles in general. This chapter should, we think, be read carefully at the outset by all who use the volume. The succeeding chapters of the introduction are four: chap. i., on the three first gospels generally; chap. ii., of the gospel according to Matthew; chap. iii., of the Gospel according to Mark; chap. iv., of the Gospel according to Luke. Each of these chapters is divided into sections. Thus chapter i. treats in section 1. of the general characteristics of the three first gospels; in section 2, of their independence of one another; in section 3, of their origin; in section 4, of their discrepancies, apparent and real; in section 5, of their fragmentary nature; in section 6, of the inspiration of the evangelists and other New Testament writers; in section 7, of the impracticability of constructing a

formal harmony of the three gospels. The chapter on St. Matthew forms a brief introduction to the gospel, and treats of its authorship; its original language; for what readers, and with what object it was written; where written; its style and character. In a somewhat similar form, in chapter iii. on St. Mark's gospel, we have considered—its authorship; its origin; for what readers, and with what object written; at what time, in what place, and in what language written; its genuineness, its style, and character. The chapter on St. Luke is the same in arrangement except that the genuineness of the first and second chapters is investigated.

As we are not professing so much to review this volume, as to inform general readers of its contents, we shall not dwell at present upon any of the points raised in the introduction, but finish our brief description of the book. Dean Alford prints his English text in paragraphs; places in the margin at the side the parallel passages referred to; introduces at the foot of the text the alterations of reading and rendering which are proposed; and below these arranges the commentary or notes. Everything is expressed in the most condensed and compact form, clearly indicating that as the volume is a selection from the stores of a ripe Christian student, it is meant for students, or at least for those who are willing to think as well as to read. Occasionally the brevity is such that more than ordinary attention is required to catch the precise thought of the author. Although to so large an extent expository, or, perhaps more correctly, explanatory, the notes are everywhere pervaded by a religious atmosphere, which refreshes us and cheers us, and is in striking contrast with the "godless criticism" which we are growing too familiar with. We want such a combination of qualities as we find here,—sound scholarship, judicious criticism, candour, transparency, and spirituality. We have not read all the notes, but we have read a large number of them, and, without saying that we always see our way to the precise conclusions of our author, the preceding sentence embodies our views of the qualities which distinguish the book.

On some great questions Dr. Alford's views will be canvassed by the readers of this work, as they have been canvassed by the readers of his larger work upon the Greek Testament. For example, his ideas of inspiration will not satisfy those who of late years have asserted the principle of verbal inspiration: he is prepared to accept, and thankfully avows his acceptance of the doctrine of truly plenary inspiration, but he argues strongly against the extreme view which many have taken. Nor will this work satisfy some of those Bible readers who find everywhere symbols, types, allegories, and prophecies. Dean Alford cannot go so far as they do, although he is quite willing to adopt the natural interpretation of any text,—if typical to accept it as typical, if prophetic to receive it as prophetic, if historic to take it as a history. Neither will some agree with the author's convictions respecting harmonies of the gospels. He does not think a formal "harmony" is possible, but he believes in, and everywhere recognizes the harmony

which lies deeper, and commends itself less to the eyes than to the conscience and heart. We think he is very much in the right, and that there are many portions of the gospels the arrangement of which in any "harmony" is purely arbitrary. Besides which, there are verbal and incidental differences, differences in the form and position of facts, and a thousand other matters which sorely perplex those who, like ourselves, have tried to construct a harmony. The mere placing of passages in juxta-position has in some cases made us despair of developing and shewing the concord in which we believed.

In general then, on those very points where difference of opinion will be most strongly expressed, we should side with Dr. Alford. In general, we say, for there are details to which we should not be prepared to assent. We believe the new work well calculated to increase our understanding of the Holy Gospels, and by increasing our understanding, fitted to deepen our reverence for them and our faith in them, because an intelligent perception of their true meaning is essential to this. We think the careful and serious readers of the volume before us, will often be better able to realize the truths which Christ revealed, and more distinctly to apprehend the facts connected with his life and work on earth. But without prolonging observations of our own, we will add an extract illustrative of the form and style of the book. For this purpose we select the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, in Matthew xxv. 1—13. The text itself we need not copy, but it requires an observation or two. On verse 2, we are told that "wise" and "foolish" are transposed in the ancient authorities. Verse 3, "They that were foolish took their lamps," with the note, "read, For the foolish when they took their lamps." Verse 5, "tarried," with the note "render, delayed." Verse 6, the word "cometh" is bracketed for omission. Verse 8, "gone out," "render, going out." Verse 9, "not so" is bracketed for omission as not in the original. Verse 10, "they that were ready," "render for perspicuity (the pronoun is feminine), the virgins." Verse 10, for "the marriage" we are told to render "the marriage feast." Verse 13, omit "wherein the Son of Man cometh." The portions thus noted, are put in italics and bracketed when to be omitted. A glance at the book will enable the reader to see these things. The expository notes upon the parable are as follows:—

"Parable of the virgins. Peculiar to Matthew.

"1. Then, *at the period spoken of at the end of the last chapter, viz., the coming of the Lord to his personal reign, not his final coming to judgment. Ten virgins.*—The subject of this parable is not, as of the last, the distinction between the faithful and unfaithful servants; no *outward* distinction here exists—all are virgins—all companions of the bride—all furnished with brightly-burning lamps—all, up to a certain time, fully ready to meet the Bridegroom. The difference consists in *some having made a provision* for feeding the lamps in case of delay, and *the others none*—and the moral of the parable is *the blessedness of endurance unto the end.*

"The point of the parable consists,' as Calvin remarks, in this, 'that it is not enough to have been *once* girt and prepared for duty, unless we endure even to the end.' There is no question here of apostasy, or unfaithfulness—but of the want of *provision* to keep the light bright against the coming of the bridegroom,

however delayed. *Ten* was a favourite number with the Jews; *ten* men formed a congregation in a synagogue. In a passage from Rabbi Salomo, cited by Wetstein, he mentions ten lamps or torches as the usual number in marriage processions: see also Luke xix. 13.—[To meet the bridegroom.] It would appear that these virgins had left their own homes, and were waiting somewhere for the bridegroom to come,—probably at the house of the bride; for the object of the marriage procession was to *fetch the bride to the bridegroom's house*. Meyer, however, supposes that in this case the wedding was to be held in the bride's house, on account of the thing signified—the coming of the Lord to his Church; but it is better to take the ordinary custom, and interpret accordingly, where we can. In both the wedding parables (see chap. xxii.) the *bride* does not appear, for she, being the Church, is in fact the aggregate of the guests in the one case, and of the companions in the other. We may perhaps say that she is here, in the strict interpretation, the Jewish Church; and these ten virgins, Gentile congregations accompanying her. This 'went forth' is *not their final going out*, in verse 6, for only half of them did so,—but *their leaving their own homes*: compare 'took,' in verses 3, 4. The interpretation is—these are souls come out from the world into the Church, and there waiting for the coming of the Lord—not hypocrites, but *faithful souls, bearing their lamps* (their own lamps; so, literally: compare 1 Thess. iv. 4)—the inner spiritual life fed with the oil of God's Spirit (see Zech. iv. 2—12; Acts x. 38; Heb. i. 9). All views of this parable, which represent the foolish virgins as having only a *dead faith*, only the lamp without the light, the body without the spirit, etc., are *quite beside the purpose*;—the lamps (see verse 8) were *all burning* at first, and for a certain time. Whether the *equal partition* of wise and foolish have any deep meaning we cannot say; it *may* be so.—3, 4.] These were not torches, nor wicks fastened on staves, as some have supposed, but properly *lamps*: and the oil vessels (which is most important to the parable) were *separate from* the lamps. The lamps being the hearts lit with the flame of heavenly love and patience, supplied with the oil of the Spirit,—now comes in the difference between the wise and foolish:—the one *made no provision for the supply of this*—the others *did*. How so? The wise ones *gave all diligence to make their calling and election sure* (2 Peter i. 10, and v. 8), making their bodies, souls, and spirits (their vessels, 2 Cor. iv. 7), a means of supplying spiritual food for the light within, by seeking, in the appointed means of grace, more and more of God's Holy Spirit. The others *did not this*, but, trusting that the light 'once burning' would ever burn, made no provision for the strengthening of the inner man by watchfulness and prayer.—5—7.] Delayed: compare chap. xxiv. 48, where the Greek verb rendered *delayeth*, is the same. The same English rendering ought to have been kept here. But the thought of the foolish virgins is very different from that of the wicked servant; his,—'there will be plenty of time, my Lord tarrieth':—theirs, 'surely he will soon be here, there is no need of a store of oil.' This may serve to shew how altogether diverse is the ground of the two parables.—[They all slumbered and slept.] I believe no more is meant here than that all, being weak by nature, gave way to drowsiness: as indeed the wakefulness of the holiest Christian, compared with what it should be, is a sort of slumber: but, the while, how much difference was there between them! Some understand this verse of sleep in death. But not to mention that this will not fit the machinery of the parable (see below on verse 8), it would assume (they all) that none of the faithful would be living on earth when the Lord comes.—[A cry made.] See Isa. lxii. 5—7: and the porter's duty, Mark xiii. 34. This warning cry is *before* the coming: see verse 10. The exact rendering is *present*, graphically setting the reality before us: 'there ariseth a cry.'—All.] *All* now seem alike—all wanted their lamps trimmed—but for the neglectful there is not wherewith. It is not enough to *have burnt*, but to *be burning* when he comes. Raise the wick as they will, what avails it if the oil is spent?—Trimmed.] 'By pouring on fresh oil, and removing the fungi about the wick: for the latter purpose a sharp-pointed wire was attached to the lamp, which is still seen in the bronze lamps found in sepulchres.' Webst. and Wilk. 8, 9.]—Are going out; not as Authorized Version, '*are gone out*.' and there is deep meaning in this: the lamps of the

foolish virgins are *not extinguished altogether*.—Lest there be not enough.] See Psalm xlix. 7; Rom. xiv. 12. No man can have more of this provision than will supply his own wants.—Go ye rather.] This is not said in mockery, as some suppose, but in earnest.—Them that sell.] These are the ordinary dispensers of the means of grace—*ultimately* of course God himself, who alone can give his Spirit. The counsel was good, and well followed, but the time was past. Observe that those who sell are a *particular class* of persons—no mean argument for a *set and appointed* ministry; and moreover for a *paid* ministry. If they *sell* they *receive* for the thing sold: compare our Lord's saying, Luke x. 7. This *selling* bears no analogy with the crime of Simon Magus in Acts viii.: compare our Lord's other saying, Matt. x. 8.—10—12.] We are *not told that they could not buy*—that the shops were shut—but simply that it was *too late—for that time*. For it is *not the final coming of the Lord to judgment when the day of grace will be past* that is spoken of,—except in so far as it is hinted at in the background, and in the individual application of the parable (virtually, not actually,) coincides to each man, with the day of his death. *This feast is the marriage supper* of Rev. xix. 7—9; see also *ibid.*, xxi. 2), *after which* these improvident ones gone to buy their oil, shall be *judged in common with the rest of the dead*, *ibid.*, verses 12, 13. Observe here; 'I know you not' is very different, as the whole circumstances are different from, 'I never knew you,' in chap. vii. 23, where the 'Depart from me' binds it to our verse 41, and to the time of the *final judgment*, spoken of in that parable [see the note at the end of the chapter]."

There is at p. 29 a twofold note, relating partly to *Essays and Reviews*, and partly to the Colenso publications. We wish this note had not been introduced, for firmly as we believe in the hollowness of many principles advocated in those books, and *because* we so believe, we would not inscribe a permanent record of them in pages so generally free from controversy, and where one feels that these passing storms may well remain unnoticed.

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*A Commentary, Critical, Experimental, and Practical, on the Old and New Testaments.* By the Rev. ROBERT JAMIESON, D.D., Rev. A. R. FAUSSET, A.M., and the Rev. DAVID BROWN, D.D. Vol. V. Matthew—John, by the Rev. DAVID BROWN, D.D. Glasgow: William Collins. 1863.

RESPECTING this work the publishers inform us that in consequence of numerous applications from those who have known the value of the pocket edition of the critical and explanatory commentary, they "have arranged with the respective authors to prepare a commentary—critical, experimental, and practical—on the basis of the original work, but so thoroughly revised, extended, and in some portions re-written, as to give it the character of an entirely new work, suited at once to the requirements of the scholar, and adapted also to the wants of the general student of Scripture." The whole will form six volumes in medium octavo, and be issued at a very low price. The New Testament portion is prepared with continual reference to the critical Greek Testaments of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, to the critical commentaries of Bengel, De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, Alford, Webster, and Wilkinson, and to other works. The Old Testament is to embody the results of recent criticism, and the whole is to be accompanied with prefaces to the respective books, tables, and maps. If



these conditions are carried out, the commentary will be one of real utility, but at present our remarks must be confined to the volume before us.

Dr. Brown is of opinion, and so are we, that our old commentaries are getting next to useless, and are certainly unsuited either to the great majority of the clergy, or to educated and studious private Christians. While these have neither leisure nor material for critical research, the times in which we live require them to be put in possession of what will keep them abreast of current research and thought, on sound, yet liberal principles. To meet this want, he has kept constantly in view the state of the text, giving his own judgment only in cases of less importance, but stating the evidence on both sides in the more important cases, to facilitate the understanding of which he has given a list of the principal MSS., versions, etc., to accustom the unpractised to the methods of textual criticism, and to help to stimulate the younger students to prosecute what promises to engage increasing study. In the critical exposition of the text, the author has gone as far only as the generality of the clergy are likely to care for it in detail, but it has been so arranged that the unlearned can avail themselves of its results. In this department the exegesis is generally careful and accurate, and certainly it is so theologically. We quite approve of the manner in which the text has been permitted to proclaim its own truths, instead of having traditional forms of thinking imposed upon it; that is to say, the author has endeavoured to avoid as far as possible the articulated technicalities of system. Apologetically, in the "remarks" at the close of each section (in which he expatiates on all sorts of topics suggested by the text), Dr. Brown has tried to shew how the text must be accepted or rejected in its entirety, in its historic accuracy, with reference to that mean device of stealing the substance and spirit of a narrative (as it is called), while eliminating all its supernatural elements; though for the life of us we cannot see how the substance and spirit of the gospels can remain when the supernatural is cast out. There is another feature in Dr. Brown's volume which should be noticed in these general remarks; we allude to its tone, which the author has sought to elevate more than is usual in such works, believing that only when men criticise in a worshipping yet manly spirit, they can extract the very juice and essence of the sacred text, and breathe its serene and heavenly air. No doubt the labour of preparing this volume must have been severe and heavy, but the writer maintains his buoyancy and elasticity to the close, and he winds up his task with a right jubilant note. Here it is:—

"Thus end these peerless histories—this fourfold gospel. And who that has walked with us through this garden of the Lord, these 'beds of spices,' has not often said with Peter on the mount of transfiguration, 'It is good to be here!' Who that has reverentially and lovingly bent over the sacred text has not found himself in the presence of the Word made flesh—has not beheld the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth—has not felt his warm, tender hand upon him, and heard that voice saying to himself, as so often to the disciples of old, 'Fear not!' Well, dear reader, 'abide in him,' and let 'his

words,—as here recorded,—‘abide in thee.’ This fourfold gospel is the sun of the Scripture, from which all the rest derives its light. It is, as observed in the introduction, the serenest spot in the paradise of God; it is the four rivers of the water of life, the streams whereof make glad the city of God. Into it, as a reservoir, all the foregoing revelations pour their full tide, and out of it, as a fountain, flow all subsequent revelations. Till the day dawn, then, and the shadows flee away, I will get me to this mountain of myrrh, this hill of frankincense! (Song iv. 6).”

We like to weigh the last words of a book, because they often indicate the impression which the subject has eventually left upon its author’s mind. The reader has Dr. Brown’s final utterances, and as M. Renan’s *Life of Jesus* happens to lie at our elbow, the reader shall have his last paragraph. Perhaps the free and joyous movements of Dr. Brown’s faith, contrasted with the restrained and struggling movements of the other, may be instructive:—

“As for ourselves, eternal children, condemned to imbecility (*impuissance*, impotence), we who labour without reaping, and shall never see the fruit of what we have sown, let us bow before these demi-gods.\* They knew what we are ignorant of; how to create, to affirm, and to act. Will great originality rise again, or will the world henceforth be contented to follow the paths opened up by the bold creators of the old ages? We do not know. But whatever may be the unexpected phenomena of the future, Jesus will not be surpassed. His worship will flourish (*se rajourira*) without ceasing; his legend will provoke tears without end; his sufferings will soften the better hearts; all ages will proclaim, that among the sons of men there has been no one born greater than Jesus.”

This is all; but it is all we need to shew us how true the Lord’s saying, “To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath no shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have.” Infinitely rather would we follow a believing criticism which seldom startles us, and sometimes stumbles, than a criticism without faith, which looks out for surprises, and ever and anon plunges into some fearful gulf. Simon Magus astounded the people of Samaria by means of his magic tricks perhaps even more than Simon Peter by real miracles, but the Galilean fisherman with the Gospel was better than a host of accomplished thaumaturgists without it.

The preceding observations are not meant to disparage the volume of Dr. Brown from a critical point of view. There is in it, on the contrary, very much criticism of a superior order, and even when we cannot draw the same conclusions, we find in it all the evidences of sincere and painstaking research. It is not our intention to compare it with any other of the commentaries which now justly claim the attention of the public. There are respects in which it is at least not inferior to the best of them, and on the score of practical utility and fitness for a wide range of readers it is equal to any of them. Occasional or frequent paragraphs for Greek scholars do not deprive the pages of their popular aspect and fitness for Christians generally.

In Matt. vi. 13 the evidence for the doxology is weighed, and the rejection of it decided upon. In Mark xvi. 19—20 the retention of

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\* Jesus, and Sakya Muni the chief founder of Buddhism!

the whole paragraph is advocated. In Luke xviii. 18 the received text is well and strongly insisted upon. In John v. 1—9 the arguments for and against the common reading are sifted, and a decision in its favour come to. John vii. 53, to viii. 11, is another place which is similarly treated; the difficulties in the way of its acceptance are fairly put, but on the whole the critic believes it to occupy its true place in the Gospel history. Numerous other examples occur in the course of the volume, and the conclusion we have come to is that the author is decidedly conservative, but at the same time anxious to give due importance to critical evidence. It is quite certain that he will not abandon his own judgment merely to follow the leading of great names. We should not always agree with him, but we quite approve of his spirit, and especially like the independence with which he judges, and the anxiety he shews to give due weight to all the considerations which may be urged for and against a particular reading. If he has erred, it has not been on the side of exclusion, and we prefer this to the trenchant criticism which is so ready to lop off all that it cannot at once approve.

The expository and practical and miscellaneous notes and remarks are often excellent, and everywhere shew that the author is a devout Christian as well as a scholar and a divine. A host of passages present themselves to our view in connexion with this observation, but we can only refer to a few. See, in particular, the remarks at the close of Matth xi., and xxviii. 15; Mark v. 20; vi. 56; xii. 28—44; Luke i. 17; xvi. 31; xix 44; xxii. 38—46; xxiv. 53; John i. 18; iii. 21; iv. 42; and the whole exposition of xiv.—xvii. The deep-toned reverential piety of the remarks upon the seventeenth chapter of John especially presents a striking contrast with the way in which M. Renan speaks of it in his *Life of Jesus*. This writer, in speaking of the fourth gospel, says, "*On sent le procédé factice, la rhétorique, l'apprêt*" (introd., p. xxxiv, where the only reference is to John xvii.), manifesting an utter incapacity to understand this sublime prayer. Dr. Brown has reason for observing in reference to a similar opinion:—

"Were it not almost profane even to advert to it, we might ask the reader to listen to the character given of this prayer by the first critic bearing a Christian name, who in modern times has questioned, though he afterwards admitted, the genuineness and authenticity of the fourth gospel (Bretschneider—with whom, as might be expected, Strauss agrees): he calls it 'frigid, dogmatic, metaphysical.' What a commentary on those apostolic words, 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.' Happily the universal instinct of Christendom recoils from such language, and feels itself, while standing within the precincts of this chapter, to be on holy ground, yea, in the very holy of holies. We may add, with Bengel, that this chapter is, in the words of it, the most simple, but in sense the most profound, in all the Bible; or, as Luther said long before, that plain and simple as it sounds, it is so deep, rich, and broad, that no man can fathom it."

A few points remain to which we must direct attention before we conclude our description of this volume. The introduction is designed for general readers. It contains a summary of the evidences for the

genuineness of the four gospels, as supplied by ancient versions and writers, the last including Christian and pagan. The external evidences are followed by the internal evidences, remarks upon miracles and inspiration. The general evidences for the gospels are succeeded by special introductions to each. In the next place, we have a condensed account of the sources of authority for the text of the gospels; and then a list of the principal works quoted in the volume. The text of the Authorized Version is printed in paragraphs with parallel passages in the margin, and the notes at the foot. A map of Palestine comes at the end. The whole is legibly printed, and altogether makes more than five hundred pages.

We have thus endeavoured to inform our readers of the character and contents of this effort to combine the critical with the experimental and the practical in a popular commentary upon the gospels. The volume is far in advance of those with which the people generally are acquainted. It will perhaps be long before the public abandon their reverence for the old religious expositors whom they and their fathers have read so long. It is probably undesirable that those expositors should be wholly thrown aside. But at the same time there is not one aspect except that of religiousness, in which they suffice for the times in which we live. We have witnessed the advent of an inquiring generation, a vast amount of knowledge is abroad, and new perils beset the path of the common people. Therefore we must provide for them what will satisfy inquiring intellect, what is not behind in point of information, and what will furnish trusty weapons against the perils of the times. This is what Dean Alford does in an excellent publication elsewhere noticed; this is what others are endeavouring to do; and this is the prominent aim of Dr. Brown. Men of faith,—a living faith, are wanted as well as men of thought and learning, and happily they are rising up around us. With volumes like the one of Dr. Alford and this, different as they are in many details, the Christian public of England will be truly privileged. If the former is calculated to promote the more intelligent perusal of the gospels, and throws new light from the standpoint of faith upon many of their pages; the latter is also calculated to promote the same end, and by its wider range and larger compass is enabled to assist more abundantly in devout meditation and sanctified communion with the Word of life. Dr. Brown merits our congratulation for his great success in effecting a coalition between what we may call the old-fashioned theology and experimental religion and modern scholarship. It was perhaps a bold attempt, but it was highly meritorious and deserved to succeed. We could easily say more, but in the meantime we have pleasure in recommending for general reading, and as worthy of the student's acquisition, this very welcome and ably written book; a book which, if not in all respects perfect—what human work is?—is yet one of much value and utility, and one adapted to every Christian household.

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*Psalterium Messianicum Davidis Regis et Prophetæ. A Revision of the Authorized English Version of the Book of Psalms, with notes original and selected; vindicating, in accordance with the interpretation of the New Testament, and with pre-Reformation authorities, their prophetic manifestation of Messiah, the Alpha and Omega, the Shepherd, Prophet, Priest, and King, the Pattern and Exemplar of all the blood-bought sheep of Immanuel, of every age and of every clime.* By the REV. JOHN NOBLE COLEMAN, M.A. London: James Nisbet and Co.

WE read the above title with considerable misgivings. Its form seems to indicate a writer whose piety is deep and fervent, but whose discrimination and critical acquirements are at fault. Religious feeling can neither justify nor sanctify the errors of a religious man. If it could, those who have thrown themselves away in deserts, monasteries, and nunneries have done right because religious feeling prompted them to do so. Be that as it may, we do not like the parade which follows the word "Messiah" in Mr. Coleman's title, and we yet repudiate all want of reverence towards the Redeemer, and all want of goodwill towards his people. All we mean is, that there is room for matters of taste in religion, and that taste is not exemplified in the mere accumulation of words, however holy and venerable those words may be. There is always reason for excluding from a title-page such methodistical conventionalisms as, "blood-bought sheep of Immanuel," which is not in the Bible certainly, however true and even Scriptural the idea may be. For be it remembered, that ideas may be truthful and holy when phraseology is beneath contempt.

Let us not, however, prejudice the volume, but, as we have touched upon a question of style, let us see what impression the work itself produces in that respect. The preface is a singular specimen of composition. Many of its sentences are long, and very much made up of words of unusual occurrence, difficult of pronunciation, and ranging between five and eight syllables. There were men in our youthful days who wrote and spoke in this fashion, but we never expected in 1863 to meet with sentences of which the following from the second paragraph of the preface is an example:—"Thus, in exuberant diversity of phraseology, composition, melody, rhythm, and subject matter, eucharistic, minatory, precatory, didactic, oracular, and predictive, the Psalter infinitely surpasses all human writings, and all other inspired Scriptures." And again on the next page our author says,—

"To render the Psalms generally intelligible to the great mass of Christian congregations is an utter impossibility, unless the inspired principle of Messianic interpretation adopted in the New Testament be applied to the whole Psalter. Hence another object designed by this publication is to prove that Messiah is the primary theme of these Divine compositions of the sweet Psalmist of Israel, in accordance with the inspired quotations therefrom in the New Testament and with pre-Reformation authorities, and that all the moral and spiritual excellencies and perfections delineated in the Psalms have their perfect concentration, completion, and fulfilment in the Man Christ Jesus, our Pattern and Exemplar, 'who hath set us an example that we should follow his steps,' David's Son and

David's Lord. Even the Psalms, which predict the future destinies of Israel, foreshadow the second advent of Messiah; for these two events are so intimately blended together in the sure word of prophecy, that whenever inspiration foretells the former event, it necessarily gives premonition of the latter. And this fact well merits consideration, that the future destinies of Israel occupy a larger space in the predictions of the evangelical prophet than either the first or the second advent of Messiah.'

We do not know whether this is what is called "fine writing," but to us it seems neither elevated nor commendable. The version of the Psalms exhibits traces of similar tendencies. Thus verse 5 of Psalm i. is rendered :—

"Therefore the ungodly shall not arise amidst the judicature,  
Nor sinners amidst the assembled consociation, of the righteous."

From the second extract our readers will learn the principles of interpretation adopted in this book, and they will hardly require us to say that we believe them radically unsound. In the opinion of Mr. Coleman the Psalms are all in some sense Messianic, and all, except perhaps the 137th, the composition of David. Here he is, of course, utterly wrong, but we shall not undertake to prove the contrary.

In preparing his work the author merits commendation for the labour which he has bestowed upon the collation of manuscripts, editions, and versions, and for his industry in collecting passages from many authors of all periods. On these accounts the volume will be useful to the critic and the expositor, who will find in it much curious matter worthy of attention.

The translation is arranged in parallelisms, but it is of very unequal merit, and will therefore not render any considerable aid to the student. A good deal of it is so fanciful that we cannot reconcile it with the principles accepted by modern scholars.

It is with regret that we speak thus of a publication upon the preparation of which so much labour has been expended, and which is the production of a man of deep religious feeling. The printers and publishers have done their part admirably, and given us a volume beautifully printed on good paper, and every way excellent to look upon. We are almost disheartened sometimes by this constant succession of works by pious well-meaning men, but works in which the fundamental laws of language and reason are disobeyed, in which every possible form of liberty is taken with Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and in which some predominating theological dogma is allowed to control every other consideration. Far be it from us to deny the Messianic character of some of the Psalms, but it is equally repugnant to our common sense to give that character to them all. That better times for Israel are predicted, anticipated, or prayed for, is equally certain, but we can find nothing to justify the opinions which form and accompany the modern Millenarian scheme. A vast amount of rubbish has been written on this subject, and we fear the days of rubbish will not soon be over; but it is our duty as candid critics, and men who fear God and love the truth, to set ourselves against all perversions of Holy

Scripture, whether they come from the orthodox and godly, or from the heterodox and worldly. If our faith cannot be established by the wisdom of men, certainly it cannot by their folly, nor by a mixture of them both.

The following paragraphs may serve to illustrate our remarks. The first passage forms the introduction to Psalm cxxxvii. :—

“ Lamentation of captive Israel over the destruction of the temple, and the cessation of temple-services.

“ Precatory malediction upon Edom.

“ Predictive malediction upon Apocalyptic Babylon, foreshowing the conflagration of Rome, and the destruction of the inhabitants, even the young children.

“ Israel’s plaintive lament in Babylonia of deprivation of country and religious privileges should recall to our recollection the two sins which caused this primitive infliction, SABBATH DESECRATION and IDOLATRY. Seeing that these sins brought down God’s righteous judgment upon Judea, can England hope to escape if England pertinaciously persist in the same course? Is not Great Britain guilty of Sunday traffic, Sunday travelling swelled by pleasure excursion trains, postal conveyance and delivery on the Lord’s-day (out of London) of letters and newspapers, unnecessary absence from all means of grace of above five millions of persons in England and Wales, who every Sunday neglect religious ordinances of their own free choice, and are not compelled to be absent on account of any deficiency of accommodation? (See Census of Great Britain, 1851, by authority of the Registrar-General.) Does not Great Britain educate at Maynooth, and enrol as recognized chaplains in her army those who practise and inculcate upon others adoration of the host, prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, purgatorial purification, denial to the laity of the cup, of which Christ hath said, ‘Drink ye ALL of this,’ idolatrous prostration before lifeless images, fictitious relics, and dead men’s bones? Does not Great Britain maintain a gigantic scheme of godless education in India and Ireland, from which is systematically excluded the Book of God, wherein God himself has four times authoritatively declared that no idolater shall inherit the kingdom of heaven? Although England is the predestined messenger-nation to bring back the Jews as a present to the Lord of hosts, even to Mount Zion,—although England is not one of the ten doomed kingdoms of Daniel’s fourth universal monarchy, nevertheless do not her national sins deserve national punishments? There is no day of judgment for nations. From Sabbath desecration and idolatry, good Lord, deliver England.”

The next extract is the last of the notes upon the same Psalm :—

“ Ver. 9. *Against the craggy rock.* That *צור* signifies a rock, is indubitable, from the concurrent testimony of all the best Hebrew lexicographers. Hence it follows, because there is no rock, nor mountain, nor bill, either in the city or in the province of ancient Babylonia, that the locality against which the malediction of this Psalm is hurled, cannot be the metropolis of the ancient Assyrian empire, but must be Apocalyptic Babylon or papal Rome, built upon seven hills, one of which is the celebrated Tarpeian Rock. But the eighth verse emphatically declares that the retributive justice of God will visit upon Apocalyptic Babylon the same infliction which Assyrian Babylon, and also pagan Rome, inflicted upon Jerusalem. As therefore Nebuchadnezzar, as well as Titus, ‘burnt the house of the Lord, and the king’s house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man’s house burnt he with fire’ (2 Kings xxv. 9), so ‘the ten horns shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire; and she shall be utterly burned with fire’ (Rev. xvii. 16; xviii. 8). When the Canaanites had filled up the measure of their iniquity, Israel received a Divine commission to exterminate the guilty nation. When papal Rome shall have filled up the measure of her iniquity, then ‘a mighty angel will take up a stone, like a great millstone, and will cast it into

the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down: 'For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works; in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double' (Rev. xviii. 5, 6). Then shall issue the Divine proclamation, 'Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her' (Rev. xviii. 20)."

We know not which most to deprecate in this last citation,—the illogical and unscholarly criticism, or the complacency (more Mohammedan than Evangelical) with which the horrible ruin of Rome is anticipated. There is abundance of these things in the volume before us, and we are therefore not quoting exceptional passages as fair specimens.

Of the translation we have already said it is of unequal merit. This is not enough, for, while some portions are well executed, others are distortions of the Hebrew text, which justify us in telling Mr. Coleman that he, while calling the Bible so emphatically the Word of God, is not seldom publishing his own fancies for that Word of God. "I arise from the sleep of death, and my futurity is with thee," is not the Word of God, nor is it a paraphrase even of Psalm cxxxix. 18, where it stands for the short Hebrew phrase, "I awake, still am I with thee," very well represented by the Authorized Version, "When I awake, I am still with thee." The word "death" is not in the text at all, and we are justified in asking Mr. Coleman how he can reconcile with his avowed reverence for Holy Scripture, the introduction of his own unauthorized additions? Yet with such additions and perversions the "translation" abounds. This is the more inexcusable and reprehensible when additions and perversions serve to bolster up a theory or a dogma, whether true or false, and when they make the Old Testament utter in marvellously transparent language the things which were only brought to light in the gospels and epistles. The reason for the rendering of Psalm xlix. 9 is apparent enough:—

"He shall cease for a duration, yet shall he live for ever.

He shall not see corruption to all eternity, though he shall see it."

The turn given to these words, and their application to Christ, may deceive unlearned readers, as they misrepresent the original Hebrew, which, though obscure, cannot give this sense. So in verse 14 of the same Psalm, last clause:—

"For their rock shall come from his habitation to abolish Sheol."

Mr. Coleman would never have thought of such a rendering if he had not been familiar with passages of the New Testament resembling what he makes this say. Again the Hebrew is obscure, but it cannot mean this, and had better been left as in the defective English Version, "And their beauty shall consume in the grave from their dwelling."

The best thing in the volume, and almost the only thing upon which we could venture to rely, is the extracts at the close of many Psalms, putting us in possession of the curious opinions which have been expressed by distinguished men (and some not distinguished) in all ages. The critical notes are of very different values, but the only



use to which we should put them would be to get references to authorities, and notes of readings. It is a great pity that so excellently got up a book should not correspond in its internal merits to the attractiveness of its outward appearance.

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*The Holy Gospels: translated from the original Greek: the spurious passages expunged; the doubtful bracketed; and the whole revised after the texts of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Alford, and Tregelles.* With notes and a critical appendix. By G. WILLIAM BRAMELD, M.A. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green. 1863.

MR. BRAMELD tells us that "the object of this work is twofold: to bring before the general public the conclusions at which the greatest modern critics have arrived with reference to the texts of the Holy Gospels; and to attempt a translation which shall be free from some of the more obvious errors of the common version." These objects are in perfect accordance with principles long advocated in this Journal, and we are therefore prepared to welcome any well meant and intelligent effort for their attainment. The author calls attention in his preface to the errors in the received text, and in the Authorized Version; and describes the method which he has pursued in his work. As stated in the title, passages which are regarded as spurious, have been left out, those which are considered doubtful are bracketed, and those which ought to be admitted have been restored. As far as possible the rendering of words is uniform, and regard has been had to the use of the article and the tenses of the verb. Some technical terms of measure and value are left untranslated, and official designations are translated by their proper English equivalents. The verses have been disregarded, but chapters are indicated, and paragraphs have been retained. The translation is accompanied by marginal and foot notes, in which a considerable amount of information is incorporated. In all this there is nothing to object to, except perhaps the rejection of the verses which, with all their defects, facilitate reference more than any other method we are aware of, and on this account alone we would have made room for their indication. Mr. Brameld himself finds it convenient to employ them when he wants a specific allusion.

The editions selected as a basis are all important though not of equal value, and the notes are based for the most part on good authorities. We only wonder to encounter a reference to Ornsby's edition of Mai's Vatican text, as exhibiting in the notes "proofs of elegant scholarship and much general reading." This is partly true, but the work has deservedly fallen to the ground, and may be picked up for a trifle at the second-hand book shops. It is in fact a very unequal performance, and its denominational and exclusive spirit is often very offensive.

The replies of Mr. Brameld to objections to such a work as his need not be discussed here, but our readers may find them useful, as they

will be pleased with their enlightened and independent tone, and the proofs they furnish that the author has well considered the task which he has undertaken.

We naturally ask what plan has been followed in determining the choice of readings. Five editions are specified in the title-page, but they often differ from each other. We find the information in a note at p. 7. "Where L. J. Tr. A. (in some particular instances where three only) agree that a passage is spurious, or where they consent to a different reading from that of the common text, we adopt their suggestion without comment. Where one or more omit and others retain, we bracket the word or passage. We regard G.'s text rather as matter for reference than of authority." Generally speaking then, the English reader has here the text of the Gospels so far as it is agreed upon by the four chief authorities employed. Sometimes he has the reading agreed upon by three, and he finds in brackets, or otherwise indicated, the readings accepted by some, but not by all of them. Hence it is apparent that Mr. Brameld goes with the school that relies upon "ancient authority," and allows the vast pre-eminence of antiquity over numbers. For ourselves we have never felt at liberty to go so far in this direction as some; and the more we see the system exemplified the more convinced are we that we are right in our reserve.

The translation is well executed as a whole, and represents the peculiarities of the Greek original with a great measure of fidelity. This very quality, however, deprives it of some of the charms of the Authorized Version, which *reads* better than any modern translation we either know or expect to see. And yet Mr. Brameld has not acted like those pedantic souls, who, to exhibit their learning, avoid as far as possible the phraseology and vocabulary of the common version. The measure of boldness and roughness which appears upon the surface of some parts of Mr. Brameld's translation will inevitably attach to every attempt at a very correct version. Thoughtful English readers, however, and all whose aim is truth, will not be influenced unfavourably by what, if a defect from one point of view, is a recommendation from another. The retention of the terms applicable to money and measures, in any version involves the necessity for notes; not that we are much averse from this, because we greatly doubt whether popular editions of the Bible should ever appear without explanatory notes of some sort. In the case of Mr. Brameld's book, ordinary readers must have notes or a glossary to explain such words as "tetrarch," "drachma," "stater," "denar," "stadia," etc.; although we confess that Hebrew designations of such things in the Old Testament, are seldom either objected to by readers, or explained in their Bibles.

We are quite disposed to pronounce Mr. Brameld's experiment upon the whole successful. Not that we should have rejected all the readings he has left out, nor that we would accept every rendering he gives. But we generally approve the book, and like many things in it very much. It is a book which every minister and teacher of religion would not do amiss to look into, because it will acquaint him at a glance with

the opinions of leading modern critics and editors upon all the more important various readings of the Gospels. So satisfied are we of its utility, that we wish Mr. Brameld may be induced to complete the New Testament on a similar plan.

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*An Interpreting Concordance of the New Testament, shewing the Greek original of every word, with a glossary, explaining all the Greek words of the New Testament, and giving their varied renderings in the Authorized Version.* By the Rev. JAMES GALL. Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis. 1863.

THE plan of this volume will be easily understood. It comprises an alphabetical arrangement of the English words in the New Testament, and shews us what Greek word is represented in individual cases. Thus, at p. 1, we have "*abide-eth-ing, abode;*" first come the passages where it represents the Greek *menō*, and then in succession those in which it stands for *diatribō*, *epimenō*, *paramenō*, *katamenō*, *hupomenō*, *aulizomai*, *hestēka*, *poieō*, *anastrephō*, *prosmenō*, and *agrauleō*. Of course these words in English characters have a somewhat barbarous appearance to Greek scholars, but we must remember that the book is not primarily meant for such, although they may find it very convenient. A concordance of proper names in the New Testament on the same plan is added; and this is followed by a glossary of the Greek words, a somewhat meagre affair in appearance, but calculated for unlearned readers. To these are added a table of characteristic terminations, and a few other minor matters. The volume is one which many will find useful, and we hope it will stimulate some to the study of the Greek Testament. Perhaps, after all, it will be more valuable to those who understand Greek than to those who do not. We have observed a few errata, but the compiler deserves praise for the pains and care with which he has accomplished his task.

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*Anmerkungen zur Griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien.* ("Remarks upon the Greek translation of the Proverbs.") By PAUL DELAGARDE. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1863.

THIS little book contains at the outset some conjectural emendations of a few passages in the Old Testament, and some other minor matters. After this comes an examination of the Septuagint version of Proverbs, introduced by preliminary remarks. The notes proceed in regular order through the whole of the Proverbs, and involve a multitude of verbal criticisms both upon the Greek and the Hebrew. Dr. Delagarde is given to minute criticism, and is especially ingenious in philological conjectures. He has enumerated the various readings of many manuscripts, and, in general, has accumulated a considerable amount of critical materials for the revision of the text. In certain respects the book will be useful to that small class of readers among us who take delight in such pursuits. Occasionally he introduces little matters from his note-book, without any particular necessity for them. Thus

at pp. 71, 72 he gives us an extract from Hippolytus in a Syriac fragment obtained from the British Museum (add. MSS. 12173). The extract is sufficiently interesting, but somewhat apocryphal. It is about a certain virgin and one Megastrenus, who for her sake fought with wild beasts; and said to be from an ancient book upon the subject by Hippolytus, who was known to the apostles. The woman was free-born and beautiful, and belonged to Corinth, and was a virgin. She was accused before a pagan judge in a time of persecution, and eventually condemned to death; but Megastrenus contrived to substitute himself for her one night, and was in consequence thrown to the wild beasts. Another Syriac extract occurs at pp. 94, 95. It is from Titus of Bostra, and also acquired at the British Museum (add. MSS. 12156); but has been omitted by mistake from Delagarde's edition of Titus.

Our editor has a keen scent for the curiosities of Christian literature, and he has a wonderful faculty for collecting odds and ends of criticism from all quarters. He has no editorial faculty, and although always publishing books, has not learnt the rudiments of the art of book-making. All we have seen from him has a fragmentary and incomplete appearance. He is no lion, but rather a lion's provider. At one time he gives us texts without notes, and at another notes without texts. In the present case he would have consulted his own and his reader's advantage if he had given us his text of the Greek Proverbs. As it is, we have to make use of such editions as we happen to have, and we get along as best we can. We are quite aware that Dr. Delagarde is a diligent student, and has accumulated an enormous heap of crudities; but we wish he could digest them better, and be less sensitive and dogmatical. Then he would not have to tell us in all his books that few or none will read them.

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*Grammatische Untersuchungen über die Biblische Gräcität.* ("Grammatical Investigations into Biblical Greek.") By Dr. K. H. A. LIPSIVS. Edited by Dr. R. A. LIPSIVS. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 1863.

THIS is the first division of a work which many will be glad to possess who feel tempted to the study of ancient MSS. of the Greek Scriptures, or who wish to have some information regarding the clerical peculiarities of such MSS., or who desire to be better acquainted with the language in which those Scriptures are written. We cannot undertake to give an adequate idea of the first division, for the very title of which we have no word in English—*Ueber die Lesezeichen*, although that title may be intelligible to every German scholar. "Reading signs," or "signs of reading," conveys no clear idea to an Englishman, who naturally thinks only of the letters of the alphabet. To make the matter plain, it is desirable that we give the table of contents as a whole. We find ten sections: 1, on "reading-signs" (*Lesezeichen*) in general, and the iota subscript in particular; 2, of the breathings and accents in Biblical manuscripts; 3, of breathings in particular;

4, of accents in particular; 5, enclitics; 6, interpunction in MSS.; 7, fundamentals of interpunction; 8, the connexion and separation of words, and the signs used for that purpose (in Old and New Testaments); 9, the apostrophe, Coronis (as sign of crasis; thus, *καίμε*) and diæresis; 10, occasional signs in Biblical MSS. From this list it will appear that the author has entered upon a useful and interesting field of research. A casual examination of his pages will prove that he has devoted a large amount of labour to the collection of his facts. We do not suppose he has consulted many original manuscripts; but he seems to have passed in review all the leading critical editions, fac-similes, prolegomena, and other genuine sources of information. In this way he has accumulated a mass of facts which does him much credit, and he has arranged and put them together "in a workmanlike manner." Some men's pages are frightful, they present to the eye one mass of diversified forms of type and inexplicable contractions. Dr. K. H. A. Lepsius has been compelled of course to use Greek type and various contractions, but persons at all conversant with critical subjects will find not much that is obscure in the contractions; and the rest will be all plain sailing. We are pleased with the book, which we have some reason to believe will not be found inaccurate, and which we are quite sure will supply just the kind of information that is very hard to get at. The editing of the book by Dr. R. A. Lipsius, now professor at Vienna, is an additional guarantee for the respectability of the compilation. It is our hope that the plan thus inaugurated will be successfully completed, and that in the interests of critical researches, somebody will be found to translate this first instalment for English readers, or to give them the pith and substance of it.

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*Les Evangiles.* Par GUSTAVE D'EICHTHAL. Première partie. Examen critique et comparatif des trois premiers Evangiles. Tomes I., II. Paris: L. Hachette et Cie. 1863.

IF the present course of things continues, it is difficult to say what will be made of the four gospels. At the outset, two or three conceited and captious heretics, as men called them, and rightly so, expunged from them what they did not like, or exemplified the spirit of eclecticism in some other way. But the Christian consciousness triumphed over these expurgated editions of the gospels, and they are now utterly lost, and have been made known to later ages only by their opponents or rejectors. In later times the gospels have been generally accepted or rejected in their entirety; but a new era has dawned upon the earth, and now another course is pursued. The evangelical histories are accepted as a fact, but by means of critical and literary legerdemain they are pruned, excoriated, and sapped, till they can scarcely be recognized. By processes unknown and unthought-of in former days, the four gospels are hacked and mangled by our new critics, who redistribute and re-arrange the *disjecta membra*, and offer them to us as something infinitely preferable to what we have been accustomed to.

We have no doubt as to the result. The Christian consciousness will triumph again, and the four evangelists will be received and honoured in the world as they have been for so many ages. We accept and rejoice in fair criticism, and long to see done all that can be done to restore the gospels to their primitive purity, but we most earnestly protest against the unfair dealing which is now, alas, but too common. The idea has wormed itself into the heads of some clever men, abroad and at home, that long-standing theories of the Gospels are all wrong, that traditional evidence, historical evidence, the evidence of manuscripts, and the evidence of versions, however universal in their consent, may be and often are of no value whatever. It is supposed that the Gospels are a compilation, or rather, four separate compilations, each of which is the work of different times and authors; embodies legendary, traditional, mythical, or other fictitious matter; is not only uninspired in the ordinary sense of the word, but is positively undeserving of credit as we have it. The garden must be weeded, the corn must be sifted, the building must be taken down and set up again. True there is some danger of mistake, and even great danger, but no matter, the work must be done in some form or another;—and it is done. Not only is it done, but it is done in many ways by many hands. The result is, that no two do the work alike. Starting from one common idea that something must be altered, alterations are made; but while this man at a swoop blots out page after page, or mixes up his minced morsels in defiance of all precedent, that man timidly follows at a respectful distance, anxious to do something, but retaining some lingering affection for the old Gospels.

When we consider the marvellously diverse applications of the principle of destructive criticism in the case of the Evangelists, we see no prospect of harmony among the critics, no possibility of *their* agreeing as to what is gospel, no danger of their abolishing or setting aside what we have. In very deed, so far as results shew, the principle practically amounts to this, that every man has the right to compile his own Gospel,—that he will make a better Gospel for himself than the Church has preserved for him is not yet proved.

We are growing weary of discussions and treatises intended to prove that the gospels are not what we believe them. There is in them a constant recurrence of the same assumptions, the same allegations, the same criticisms, and the same inferences; or, if not the same, those which are very similar in form, spirit, and aim. The chief differences are in the grouping. The true harmony is in the determination to lower the supernatural, to diminish confidence, and to give us the very quintessence of truth. Whether Jesus be a myth or a real person, does not much affect the general style and course of the authors we have in view: the main thing is that the gospels are wrong, and that criticism can set them right.

A very short notice of the volumes mentioned at the head of this paper is all that at present can follow these observations. M. d'Eichthal casts in his lot with the modern free school, and if he does not cut

away so much as M. Renan, he uses the knife very liberally. He says that "historical criticism," by which we suppose he means his own, places the composition of John's gospel *eighty years* later than that of Matthew, and that during that period Christianity itself had been essentially altered. This alteration was imperative, because the original gospel could not have been preached to the Gentile world with any hope of success. M. d'Eichthal is in accord with the new-raised clamour against St. John's gospel, and sympathizes generally with every attempt to break through present restraints, and to win what is called perfect freedom. He favourably notices the labours of Lessing, Strauss, F. C. Baur, and the Tübingen school, of Hilgenfeld, etc. The views of Hilgenfeld are very much adopted as the basis of the work, but they have been modified, and supplemented, by the author's own researches and those of others.

The first volume comprises a preface of over sixty pages, an introduction of two hundred and twenty-four more, what are called "comparative texts" of Matthew and Mark, a supplement containing notes and forty-five passages which have been rejected from the text of Matthew, and a shorter series eliminated from the text of Mark.

The second volume is chiefly occupied with St. Luke's gospel, and comprises:—The comparative text of the gospel, with the corresponding passages from Matthew and Mark; the interpolated passages collected and noticed in supplemental sections; an examination of St. Luke's gospel in its relations to Matthew and Mark; notes to the comparative text; table shewing the correspondence of Mark and Luke; table of the dogmatic section *decomposed* into its sundry elements.

It is superfluous for us to remark that in our eyes much of this is, if not profane, at least elaborate and learned trifling. It is processes of the most intricate character, with no positive results. What M. d'Eichthal sets up to-day, he may pull down to-morrow, or somebody else may pull it down for him. Everything done, every scheme propounded by such men, is provisional, and not trusted and believed in by its own authors. M. d'Eichthal is no exception: between the printing and publishing of his volumes he gets many new ideas, the phantasmagoria changes, and at the end of vol. i. he gives us four or five pages of "corrections, changes, and additions;" at the end of vol. ii. we have the like quantity of the same things.

Men's minds and theories may fluctuate in eternal doubt: but happily this will not be true of all men. These very doubts and theories are foreshadowed in the old gospels, and help to feed our faith. As we consider them we say, "The grass withereth and the flower fadeth, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever:" *Verbum domini manet in eternum!*

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*Histoire du Canon des Ecritures Saintes dans l'Eglise Chretienne.*  
("History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church.") Par EDOUARD REUSS. *Extrait de la "Revue de Théologie."* Strasbourg: Treuttel et Wurtz. 1863.

IN this volume Dr. Reuss undertakes to present us with a summary of the history of the canon. His object is not to furnish an apology for the canon as received among us, but to ascertain the state of opinion in regard to it at successive periods. We have looked somewhat carefully at the entire work, and we have found in it much that is instructive and approvable, at the same time we must confess that the learned author is not sufficiently conservative for us; in other words, that he allows himself to be too much influenced by the "go-ahead" school, which would leave almost everything behind in its madness of zeal for what it would call progress. Our feeling is, that M. Reuss has laboured under an impression that the Christian canon was by no means generally settled and fixed for several centuries. Now whatever circumstantial differences of detail we find reaching over those centuries, we find substantial agreements. Those differences very much concern certain Apocryphal books in the Old Testament: it is by no means conceded nor to be taken for granted that any other books in that division of Holy Scripture caused any general misgivings, for all the Hebrew Scriptures were implicitly acknowledged after the example and on the authority of Christ and his apostles. As for the New Testament, the case was somewhat different: several books were in a manner voted for and put on trial, but eventually excluded: several other books, under the name of antilegomena, were challenged, and in some cases put in abeyance for a longer or a shorter period, but eventually took their place in the catholic canon. Thus step by step, and with the caution and reserve which became the keeper of Holy Writ, the collection was completed. In later ages, when corruption had set in, some of the Old Testament Apocrypha found admission, but, as has been shewn by Gaussen and other writers, they were never universally acquiesced in.

Apart from sundry exceptions which we take to Dr. Reuss's readings of the evidence, we have no difficulty in commending his book as a useful one. We should not recommend it as a manual always to be relied upon, but as a volume which contains much valuable information, and which should be consulted by those who wish to see how the facts relating to the canon may be viewed in different lights. The chief part of it is devoted to the first four centuries. The mediæval period is rapidly surveyed, and some notice is given of the changes which took place at and after the time of the Reformation. At present, we think with the author that the anxieties of men are less directed to the collection than to questions connected with the foundation and substance of Scripture. In other words, the controversy turns upon the inspiration, authority, and credit of the Bible. Still, the history of the canon is very important, and should be carefully studied.

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1. *The Study of the Bible ; a series of chapters.* With an Introduction on Biblical Interpretation, and an Appendix on the Great Want of the Age. (Interpreter Series.) London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
2. *The Destiny of the Human Race: a Scriptural Inquiry.* By the Author of the "Study of the Bible." Two Vols. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

1. THE thirty-nine articles or chapters of which this book is composed, deal with many questions of importance, and are themselves on various accounts worthy of attentive perusal. It is not always that we coincide with the author in his views, but we see clearly enough that he has embodied in his pages a great number of truths, not a few of which are too generally overlooked. He proceeds on the assumption that the Bible is of divine authority and inspiration, and regards it as a volume designed for the personal perusal and profit of Christian men. But he believes that it is not always understood, nor rightly used; that in fact there are many obstacles to the proper and beneficial use of it. These obstacles are mainly due to the errors into which men fall as to the qualifications and modes of interpretation required by the readers of Holy Scripture. Two things especially are needed to the comprehension of the Bible,—moral sympathy and common sense. Among the preventives to the right use of the Bible the author treats of undue reverence for great or good men; personal and ecclesiastical interests; the habit of reading for what is called edification merely; accommodations of texts; typical and allegorical interpretations; popular hymns and poetry; church authority, etc. No small amount of wholesome truth is contained under some of these heads, but we will only mention as an illustration the one referring to hymns and poetry. It is beyond all contradiction, that with myriads of our countrymen, verses of popular hymns are of the same authority as verses of the Bible itself; and yet in the estimation of many of our soundest critics these very hymns are simple perversions of Scripture truth.

Upon some topics the author's views are peculiar, but he is always in earnest, and manifests not merely ability, but an excellent spirit; so that in cases where we cannot agree with him, we are scarcely disposed to be angry with him. He is a religious, studious man, with talent, and remarkably familiar with the Bible. He does not appear to write in the interest of any particular Church, although he seems to be very well acquainted with ecclesiastical denominations; in fact, he seems to look for the real living Church in real living Christians, wherever he can find them. In our judgment, one of the chief merits of the volume is, that it calls attention to matters which demand our serious attention, but which are evaded or neglected by most of us. Of course *non omnes omnia possumus*, but we might and ought to do more than we do to rectify the abuses which stand in the way of the profitable reading of the Bible by the public or by ourselves. Not that we think all the counsels of the volume before us of equal value; we do

not; we differ from some of them : but the author deserves our sincere thanks for the many wise and good thoughts which he gives us, and for generally inviting us to consider the matters of which he treats in so commendable a spirit and intelligent a style.

2. "The destiny of the human race" is a subject which, in these pages, must be cautiously touched upon. If there are matters in the author's work upon the study of the Bible which we have passed over without a remark, because we do not wish to exceed our province, there are matters in this work the discussion of which belongs to journals of a different class from ours. The two volumes contain many valuable arguments and suggestions, and frequently texts of Scripture are set out in a clear and true light. Our author is manifestly resolved to think for himself, and he has the faculty of recording his thoughts in good readable English. He tells us that his object in this volume is not to uphold "universalism," nor to deny the doctrine of election, but to ascertain the teachings of the Bible as it concerns the human race as a whole. The book then bears very much, mainly, upon the future, and whatever in the past or present is discussed, is discussed in relation to the final destination of men. To some this may seem to be merely an object of curious inquiry or speculation; while others will think it has a distinct and emphatic practical bearing. Our own opinion is that while such investigations have a practical bearing, they present strong inducements to speculation, and that it is difficult to avoid theorizing in connexion with them. Nor do we think that, with all his wishes to the contrary, the writer of the work in our hands has escaped from all the temptations in his way. He has taken a great many Scripture passages into consideration, he has assigned its value to each, or in other words has attached a meaning to each of them, and he has generalized upon them. Our impressions of the meaning of individual texts by no means always coincide with his, and our inferences from whole classes of texts are often different.

So far, then, he has failed to carry conviction to our minds; and just so far we do not think him right. We should be disposed to adopt some of his views, even though not exactly in accordance with vulgar notions; and we cannot but feel thorough respect for one who in these days of nominal freedom, asserts his real liberty to examine and to think for himself, in obedience always to the law of Christ. There is no reason why we should undervalue the labours of the stated ministers of the Gospel, we know its worth too well to do this; but at the same time, we are always glad when educated laymen (of whom we assume our author is one) come forward to display their zeal and energy in the interests of this world and of God's eternal truth. There are men at home and abroad, laymen even, who are plying all their powers to undermine the authority of Scripture; and we must welcome those who come forward as earnest and faithful men, whose high aim is to promote the right understanding and profitable reading of God's gift-book to our race. Be it that we and they often differ; still, the collisions of holy and reverent thoughts are not wholly evil either in

fact or in result. Here is the subject of the destiny of our race, a subject undoubtedly involved in many Biblical passages, and therefore one of supreme importance; but it is a subject beset with difficulties in its details, and therefore one about which there will always be differences of opinion: but these very differences keep alive our interest, and stimulate us in our endeavours to know better what will become of us, and what will be the lot of our fellow man. They may lead to greater efforts to secure our own salvation, and to help our brethren in attaining the highest happiness of which they are capable hereafter.

We have preferred not going into detail respecting these works, which we have, however, carefully examined, and which we strongly commend to the serious attention of our readers.

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*The Christian Annotator; or, Notes and Queries on Scriptural subjects.*

A medium of intercommunication between Christians on points of Biblical Criticism, Theological Science, Christian History, Biography, and Antiquarian research. Three Vols. London: Nisbets.

THIS work is of the same size and general appearance as our old friend, *Notes and Queries*, of which it is in fact an *alter ego* in a religious domain. The first volume, in 374 pages, contains twenty-eight numbers published in the course of 1854. The second volume, in 416 pages, contains thirty-one numbers published in the course of 1855. The third volume also comprises thirty-one numbers, extends to 518 pages, and appeared in 1856. A portion of vol. iv. is appended, containing the seven numbers which came out in 1857, and abruptly terminated the series in consequence of the unlooked-for decease of the excellent editor, Mr. L. H. J. Tonna. So far as quantity is concerned, we have here 1420 pages of small quarto in double columns, including the admirable indexes to vols. i.—iii.; and all this, strongly bound in cloth, is offered for one guinea. Although a serial, it is one of permanent value, and the editor's widow has by its reproduction merited the thanks of Biblical students, and conferred a boon upon the large number of clergy and others whose means or time do not permit them to consult many books of reference. The volumes are highly instructive and suggestive. They contain a statement of the difficulties which are felt by numbers in regard to numerous passages of Holy Scripture. From this department we can infer what sort of perplexities, and what perplexities, are encountered by multitudes of Bible readers. But it is not only as a mere index of Scripture difficulties, real and imagined, that we recommend this work; we would also call attention to the solution of those difficulties emanating from men of various shades of opinion, and some of them of deserved eminence as critics, scholars, or theologians. Naturally enough, we think the solutions of very unequal value, but among them will be found not a few choice morsels of criticism, such as we should seek for in vain in any commentary we know. The diversity is instructive, and in other respects an advantage; it shews how different minds view the same subject, and even

the same evidence. The comprehensive principle upon which the work is based permits the representatives of almost every school of interpretation to appear in its pages. For once they seem to have met on common ground, and agreed to express themselves without anger or malice, courteously and Christianly, under the benignant authority of Mr. Tonna. It is most gratifying, amid so much difference of opinion, to discover an all-pervading spirit of unanimity, teaching us that the writers are brethren, after all, and that though their thoughts differ their hearts are one.

There are many other aspects under which we could view these valuable and interesting volumes, but the one point in which we are above all concerned is the real excellence of many of the articles. Very often, in a few lines or short paragraphs, we have in a condensed form the essence of all that has been or can be said regarding obscure and difficult texts of importance. Very frequently these comments are as conspicuous for their elevated Christian spirit as for acumen and scholarship. We have but to turn to the ample indexes of the volumes to ascertain the wide and varied range of the publication, and the well-known and honoured names of many of the contributors. We believe that the anonymous designations very frequently disguise the personality of some of our best Biblical critics. As we have said, the articles are by no means of equal value, but this intermixture was necessary, and unsatisfactory replies often doubtless provoked answers from more able pens. The editor accomplished his task with courtesy, discretion, and ability, and his sudden removal (too soon for us, but not for him) caused many regrets, and the cessation of a work which filled a vacant niche in our literature, and was of real utility to the Church.

It only remains that we should earnestly commend these volumes to the notice of those, especially among clergy, who do not possess them. Their value is not to be measured by their price, although that is a consideration, and we are sure that nothing but a large sale can indemnify the zealous lady who has reprinted the work edited by her departed husband. We hope our recommendation will be taken, and that many of our readers will purchase and recommend this useful and interesting book.

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*Sin; its causes and consequences. An attempt to investigate the origin, nature, extent, and results of Moral Evil.* A series of Lent Lectures. By the Rev. HENRY CHRISTMAS, M.A., F.R.S. London: William H. Allen and Co.

THIS book is dedicated by Mr. Christmas to the author of the *Limits of Religious Thought*, and it is somewhat difficult to understand why, on the grounds of Mr. Mansel's philosophy, it should ever have been written. For it is more than a mere exposition of Scripture texts: it professes to furnish us with some of the reasons, explanations, reconciliations, and the like, of which our faith is so deeply in need. Yet

surely all such reasons must be either superfluous or mischievous: superfluous, because whatever is affirmed in the Bible, is by that very fact proved to be true; and even mischievous, because any other proof of its truth introduces a rival authority, to which the corrupt human nature may find it much more agreeable to submit. It is pleasant, however, to observe that no human being can ever confine his religious thought within those limits where the destructive philosophy of Mr. Mansel would imprison it. Mr. Christmas indeed does the worst which his intelligence and piety will allow him to do in this direction; and his book is best where it is most inconsistent with the dedication by which it is prefaced, and the philosophy upon which it is founded.

We cannot know what is good, except by discovering that it is the will of God. We cannot know what the will of God is, except by a special revelation of it, which is contained so far as we need it in the Bible; the philosophy, therefore, of Mr. Christmas can never rise higher than the Scriptures, and can never even venture outside of them. But the difficulties which perplex those for whom his lectures seem intended, are difficulties which the Scriptures cannot possibly remove. The questions which men are asking most earnestly now-a-days are such as these:—What really is the “Bible?” Why is one book to be considered inspired rather than another? Why are we to believe that account of Almighty God, which is given to us in the canonical books, rather than that which might be obtained from other sources? In a word, the Bible itself is questioned, and not simply the various doctrines which it contains.

Moreover, those for whom Mr. Christmas writes would by no means admit what he seems to think they would admit. “One thing,” he says, “is certain, that our experience ratifies the words of the Psalmist, ‘Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.’ . . . By the testimony of inspiration, the experience of our own hearts is confirmed . . . that we are *all* corrupt, and *wholly* corrupt.” It is difficult to ascertain how we can know other people by experience; we know them, if at all, by inference from what we have observed in their conduct, and in making that inference we are much oftener deceived than not. But at any rate, those for whom Mr. Christmas writes, would deny wholly that they are themselves utterly corrupt; and if it be affirmed that all the good they have comes from God, they would reply that all the good of the angels, and of Adam before the fall, was from him also, and that apart from him, even Gabriel himself was “totally depraved.” Of course anybody who denies *total* depravity will care nothing for Mr. Christmas’s reconciliations, explanations, justifications, and the like, and will not in the least need them.

The sermon on the “divine will” contains “this grand yet abstruse doctrine . . . that to God *everything* is *known*, but *nothing* is *foreknown*.” This doctrine will appear to most minds, at least for the purposes of Mr. Christmas’s arguments, much more abstruse than grand. If God knows what a man’s future life may be, such knowledge involves all the difficulties, if there be any, which would have been involved in fore-

knowledge. The real question that people want to have answered is this, Does God will whatever he desires, and is he able to accomplish whatever he wills? This question Mr. Christmas approaches, though he scarcely seems to us to touch it in his sermon on the "great conflict," which we regard as entirely unsatisfactory. It does not appear fairly to represent the belief of those who hope that a time is coming when God will "eradicate all evil from the universe."

Still though the remarks we have ventured to make may seem only disparaging, we have much pleasure in acknowledging that Mr. Christmas's sermons are very far above the average, and are very likely to provoke wholesome thought, even though at the same time they may provoke opposition to the author's own theories.

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*Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity, with their influence on the opinions of modern Christendom.* By SAMUEL SHARPE.  
London: J. R. Smith.

MR. SHARPE is well known for his knowledge and skill in relation to Egyptian history and antiquities, which he has studied with remarkable diligence and success. In the present work we think he has given a fanciful interpretation to many of his facts, and we are quite sure his application of his facts to Christianity is often at fault. The mere circumstance that analogies can be traced between the religions of Egypt and Christianity as we find it in the New Testament, or as it has been made in later times, does not prove the origin of the latter from the former, nor even shew that the latter must always be wrong when it at all resembles Egyptian religious objects, rites, and opinions. Yet this is what we suppose Mr. Sharpe generally infers. We do not think he is wrong in every case, because some of the corruptions of Christianity look very much indeed like imitations of Paganism. To a certain point then we admit that our author has reason, but we cannot follow him to his extreme conclusions,—conclusions affected in no small degree by his rejection of the Trinitarian theology and his adhesion to pure Unitarianism. He reckons among the doctrines common to Egyptian mythology, and modern orthodoxy as distinguished from the religion of Jesus,—“The Trinity, the two natures of Christ, and the atonement by vicarious sufferings.” From Egypt too, he derives some lesser things, as the marriage ring, Christmas lots, twelfth cakes, Candlemas, the tonsure, the Virgin Mary standing upon a crescent, etc.

On several accounts this book has its value as a view of the religions of Egypt. It comprises several sections:—The religions of Upper Egypt and of Lower Egypt; religion under the Persian conquerors, the Ptolemies and the Romans; Christianity under the Roman and Byzantine emperors. The account of Upper and Lower Egypt is a well told and very interesting summary of facts, and only objectionable when the author leaves his proper sphere; as at p. 11, where we read that Osiris was born at Mount Sinai, called Nissa by the Egyptians; hence the Greek name Dio-nysus, “which is the same

as Jehovah-nissi. This name Moses gave to the Almighty when he set up an altar to him at the foot of the holy mountain, a spot sacred alike with Jews and Egyptians." The first objection to this is, that it has no basis but an imaginary one. "Jehovah-nissi" is good Hebrew and makes good English, "the Lord my banner." Moses set up his altar in Rephidim, which was far enough from the foot of the holy mountain (Exod. xvii. 8—15, compared with xix. 1, 2). Again (p. 19), "we have historical assurance that the chapters in Matthew's Gospel which contain the miraculous birth of Jesus are an after addition not in the earliest manuscripts." We are not aware of any perfect manuscripts without them, nor of any "historical assurance" that they ever were omitted from any manuscripts except for doctrinal reasons by a sect of ancient heretics. Not content with this, Mr. Sharpe "supposes a supposition," that the two first chapters in Luke may also be unhistorical, and borrowed from Egyptian accounts of the miraculous birth of their kings. We are at equal liberty to suppose the contrary. Things of this kind disfigure a book, where imagination and fancy should be kept under restraint.

Apart from the objections we have named, we have been instructed and entertained by the book before us, which we can safely recommend to such as read with their eyes open. The illustrations are numerous and good.

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1. *Moses ; or, The Zulu. A detailed reply to the objections contained in Parts I. and II. of Bishop Colenso's work.* By the Rev. W. WICKES, M.A. With a Preface by Rev. J. C. RYLE, B.A. London : Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt.
  2. *The Confessions of a Missionary : being a defence of Bishop Colenso.* By EDMOND SCHERER. With a Preface in reply to the Letters of the Rev. F. D. Maurice. By PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS. London : Longmans.
  3. *A French Pastor's estimate of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, Parts I. and II.* By Rev. THEOPHILUS BOST. London : Longmans.
  4. *Notes by the Bishop of Natal on an Examination of Part I. of his work on the Pentateuch by the Rev. Dr. M'Caul.* London : Longmans.

1. THIS book is better than its title, which is not sufficiently dignified for such a controversy, and we do not see what is gained by the preface of Mr. Ryle, who is better known as a writer of religious tracts than as a critical disputant. He is probably only introduced to shew how Bishop Colenso's work is regarded by the more religious part of the community. The principal value of this volume will be to inform the general public of the leading difficulties of Dr. Colenso, and of the replies or solutions of which they are susceptible, without any very minute criticism or profound research.

2. M. Schèrer is well known for his ability in advocating opinions contrary to those of orthodoxy, and we are not surprised to find him coming forward in defence of Dr. Colenso. We hope his essay will be read if only to learn what can be said in favour of the position which the Bishop of Natal has taken. The preface by "Presbyter Anglicanus" is in reply to Mr. Maurice, whom we do not regard as the most successful opponent of the views of Dr. Colenso. It is rather interesting and very well written, but beyond this we have nothing to say.

3. The essay of M. Bost is translated from a French periodical, and is a friendly review of Bishop Colenso's work, and a defence of the course which he has pursued. Of course, like M. Schèrer, he is not reckoned among the orthodox party, not one of whom has thus far we believe ventured to become the apologist of the Natal Bishop. Even those who advocate the fullest liberty of discussion cannot justify his retaining his official position.

4. Dr. Colenso himself gives us his notes upon one of the best known replies to his first volume. He writes as usual with energy and clearness, and seeks to remove some of the wrong impressions which it seems his work has produced—to point out some of the mistakes into which Dr. M'Caul has fallen in regard to his work. The Bishop displays some learning and much ingenuity in meeting several of the learned Doctor's arguments. We have no particular inclination to review the details of this controversy, and for the present prefer to wait the development of events. Meanwhile, we wish to recommend the perusal of Bishop Colenso's pamphlet as a supplement to his first volume, and one which should be attached to it for the sake of the explanations and additional considerations which it furnishes. The Bishop is an undaunted man, and seems resolved to maintain his ground against all comers. We have no objection to this now that the question is fairly launched, and we hope that the discussion will not end till the Pentateuch is better understood than it seems to have been.

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*Principia Hebraica ; or, An easy Introduction to the Hebrew Language, exhibiting in twenty-four Tables the interpretation of all the Hebrew and Chaldee words, both primitives and derivatives, contained in the Old Testament Scriptures.* By HENRY CRAIK. London : Bagster and Sons. Bristol : W. Mack.

THIS is a thin folio, and is a good specimen of careful and complicated printing. It was originally published in a fuller form, as to the grammatical part, in 1831, and is now reissued after revision and some condensation by Mr. E. R. Hodges, of Bristol, a friend of the author's. A preface explains the plan and method of using the book. Each of the tables of radicals occupies two pages, and is so constructed that the meaning of each radical can be seen at a glance, and the degree of frequency with which it occurs. The grammatical portion exhibits the principal rules of the grammar in a very condensed form. It may serve as an introduction to the language, but is not sufficiently full for



the purposes of those who wish to go thoroughly into the subject. We observe that the rare converse is rejected. There is a table of servile letters and their uses, including certain pronominal suffixes, etc. This is followed by tables of Hebrew forms, irregular verbs, and multiliteral roots. A considerable amount of labour has been bestowed upon the execution of the work, which is ingenious in its plan, and accurately printed. As we have suggested, it will be useful to those who are entering upon the study of Hebrew, and by careful attention to what is here printed they will acquire the knowledge of many important facts. We do not think, however, and perhaps it is not expected, that it will supersede the necessity for close application to ordinary grammars and lexicons. The minutiae of the Hebrew language are such that they cannot be all exhibited in the space which this work occupies.

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*Improved Monotessaron: a complete authentic Gospel life of Christ; combining the words of the four Gospels, in a revised version, and an orderly Chronological arrangement.* By FRANCIS BARHAM. London: Rivingtons.

MR. BARHAM has evidently taken great pains with this small volume, and been very anxious to exhibit the real sense of the original in his translation. At the same time it is not quite clear that he has succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties inherent in every attempt to construct a Harmony of the Gospels. After all our efforts, there are passages in the Gospels the historical position of which cannot be certainly determined. Our readers may compare the work of Mr. Barham with others of the class, and they will probably think with us that it does not lose by the comparison. The translation is peculiar in many respects, and its peculiarities do not always commend themselves to our taste. Thus: "The beginning of the Evangel (*Gospel, or good message*) of Jesuoh Messiah, or Jesus Christ (*the Saviour consecrated or anointed*) who is the son of Alah, Theos, or God." The explanation of this sentence is, that "the terms of the Syriac and Greek are combined and translated." It may be so, but we question whether anything is gained by it. In all works for popular instruction, every appearance of eccentricity and affectation should be avoided to the utmost. This has not always been done in the volume before us, and we fear that uninstructed persons will not seldom find the renderings adopted obscure and hard to understand. Sometimes we cannot justify the renderings adopted.

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*The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes, D.D.* Edited with Memoir by Rev. A. B. GROSART. Vol. V., Expositions and Treatises on portions of several Epistles of St. Paul. Edinburgh: J. Nichol.

WE are glad to see the series of Sibbes's works progressing towards completion. We can assure our readers that these volumes are a real mine of sanctified thought and eloquence, and that to avoid them on the suspicion that they are Puritan ravings, modern novelties, or what

not, is a mistake. Dr. Sibbes was Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and preacher of Gray's Inn, and was considered to be one of the most eloquent, learned, and talented clergymen of his day. His teaching is cast in the Biblical rather than in the ecclesiastical mould, it is true; but if that is a disadvantage, it is one which is not peculiar to him, but attaches to some of the greatest writers and teachers of the Church. His antipathy to Popery was common to his day, and not so unreasonable perhaps as some would have us think. At the same time he was a good churchman, and a hearty Christian. Mr. Grosart edits these works with much skill and manifest diligence. He frequently introduces notes of various kinds in elucidation of his author and otherwise. Occasionally we think the glossarial conjectures doubtful or inaccurate, but so far as they are correct, they will be useful to plain readers. As an example of what we mean by doubtful notes, we find at p. 261, "groom porter" queried "grim?" but we imagine "groom" to be right; so further, "warfaring" is queried "wayfaring," but it is unnecessary to alter it.

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*Manly Strength.* A Sermon addressed especially to Young Men. By Rev. W. KIRKUS, LL.B. London: Longmans.

THE freshness, vigour, and energy which Mr. Kirkus threw into his volume of miscellaneous essays, reappears in this sermon; the ability displayed in which will be admitted even by such as cannot accept it altogether. The preacher will not be regarded as "sound" on every point, especially by those whose "soundness" consists in the utterance of a certain number of common-places. But, after all, the soundness of a verbal profession and of mere conventionalities, is not usually better than the independence and originality of free and earnest spiritual life. As for ourselves, we less often feel a difficulty with the fundamental ideas of Mr. Kirkus, and men of that class, than with the forms in which they sometimes see fit to clothe them. Some liberty must be conceded to clever men who fear God, but clever men are in much danger of being misunderstood. We have pleasure in recommending the sermon to the perusal of our readers, whether they approve or not of its distinctive teachings; for we are convinced that there must be infused into the pulpit more fire and heat, more power and action. The pulpit is often transparent as "terrible crystal," but it is the transparency of the freezing mountain top. We want warmth as well as light.

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*The Divine Mystery of Peace.* By JAMES BALDWIN BROWN, B.A. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

FIVE sermons from various texts in the Gospel of St. John. Like Mr. Kirkus, Mr. Brown is a preacher of considerable originality and power; but like most men of genius, he is not so popular as he is well known. To be popular a man must use the current religious dialect, which we have heard called "the language of Canaan." To be well

known, and even to be generally respected, a preacher will find independence of utterance, and power and courage to think, generally sufficient. With regard to the sermons before us, they are not altogether after the recognized evangelical type of thought and expression, but they display talent, a quiet eloquence, "manly strength," and an experimental acquaintance with the themes of which they treat. To those who like Christian discourses with something new in them, we commend Mr. Brown's excellent volume, as well fitted to make them think as well as feel. The book is got up in a very superior style.

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1. *For Ever ; or, The final State of the Redeemed considered as to its gradations of rank and blessedness, on Scriptural grounds, etc.* London : J. F. Shaw and Co.

2. *Die Grade der Seligkeit. Ein Beitrag zur Eschatologie.* ("Degrees of blessedness. A contribution to Eschatology.") By Dr. E. NOLDECHEN. Berlin : Wiegand and Grieben.

1. THE anonymous author of this book writes with considerable ability, proceeding on an evangelical basis, and in a devout spirit, to establish the future equality of the redeemed. There is a good deal of interesting matter in the volume which may be profitably read, although on some grounds differing from popular opinions.

2. An essay in which many passages from Scripture and ecclesiastical writers are adduced and discussed upon a question which, although very much speculative, has its practical bearings. The writer argues in favour of specific differences among the saved.

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*The Creed of Christendom ; its Foundations and Superstructure.* By WILLIAM RATHBONE GREG. Second Edition. London : Trübner and Co.

SOME of our readers may recollect the impression which this book made on its first appearance, twelve or thirteen years ago. They now have a new edition, which seems to be an exact reprint. A certain interest still attaches to this clever work, because it contains and enunciates, more or less fully developed, many of those heterodox principles of criticism and doctrine which have been revived among us lately, with all the show and effect of new discoveries. Mr. Greg's volume should be read by all who take an interest in passing controversies.

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*Messiah : the Hope of Israel and the Desire of all nations, as set forth in the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament.* By the Rev. P. E. GOTTHEIL. Translated by JOHN GILL. London : Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

IN this work the Old Testament texts are printed in Hebrew as well as in English. It is dedicated by the author to his Jewish brethren, and is clearly designed to establish the fact that Jesus is the Messiah. The

writer brings to his task a good share of critical sagacity and an extensive knowledge of Scripture, and Mr. Gill has done well to give us a version of a work which we believe calculated to be useful.

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*Ausgewählte Psalmen im Anschluss an die Evangelien des Kirchenjahres.* Ausgelegt von F. SCHAUBACH. Halle: R. Mühlmann.

SIXTY Psalms or parts of Psalms are expounded in this volume. Each of these "exercises" is appropriated to a Sunday or other sacred season, and is associated with the Gospel for the day. The idea is not a bad one, and we beg to commend it to the notice of our readers. Texts and suggestions for at least sixty services may be gathered from Prof. Schaubach's book. A table of the Psalms, with the Sundays and Gospels, will be found at the end, and useful for reference.

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*Lyra Eucharistica: Hymns and Verses on the Holy Communion, ancient and modern; with other Poems.* Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Longmans.

THIS elegantly got up book scarcely comes within our province, but we wish to call attention to it, as containing a number of very beautiful pieces upon the subject to which it is consecrated. Some of the translations are original, and not a few among them are admirable. Some of the modern pieces are also very good. The prevailing doctrine of the volume is sacramental.

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*S. Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Cur Deus Homo? Libri duo.* London: Williams and Norgate.

EVERY man who has not read this famous production of Anselm's pen, ought to read it. Now that it can be obtained for eighteen-pence in a convenient and portable form, accurately printed in a bold clear type, and with various readings, we hope every one who has it not will get it. Our advice is that to St. Augustine, "Tolle, lege; tolle, lege!"

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*Holy Women of Old.* By MARY ANNE PARROTT. London: W. Macintosh.

THE authoress of this simple volume says she has written it first of all for those who conduct mothers' meetings. It comprises a selection of Scripture female biographical sketches, plain, practical, and pious. We have pleasure in recommending it as a suitable book for Christian ladies.

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*The Evangelical Theory; or, Christianity—not Theism—most in accordance with Moral Development.* A popular appeal adapted to the times. London: H. J. Tresidder.

THIS lecture, for such it seems to be, emanates from a layman, and merits attention for its earnest and believing tone, as well as for the originality of some of its ideas.

*Trois Jours de la Vie d'un Père.* Quelques pages intimes par FELIX BUNGENER. Paris: J. Cherbuliez; Meyrueis.

THE three days are those which follow the decease of a loved child; and the book is in the form of meditations, thoughts, etc., etc., put down as they occurred at brief intervals. M. Bungener is a writer of much vivacity and freshness, and a man of real piety.

*Words of Peace; or, The Blessings and Trials of Sickness, with Meditations, Prayers, and Hymns.* By Rev. A. OXENDEN. London: W. Macintosh.

A DEVOUTLY written little book, fitted for the sick chamber. The clergy, and others who visit the sick, may find it a convenient volume to lend or give to the afflicted.

*The Nullity of Metaphysics as a Science among the Sciences.* Set forth in six brief dialogues. London: Longmans.

A LITTLE book, but written with considerable thought and ability. Its object is sufficiently shewn by its title.

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\*\*\* We have also received the following:—

The Spiritual Wants of the Metropolis and its Suburbs. A Letter to the Laity of the Diocese of London. By the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Archibald Campbell, Lord Bishop of London. With a Statement by the Executive Committee of "The Bishop of London's Fund." London: Rivingtons.

Who Discovered the Sources of the Nile? A Letter to Sir Roderick T. Murchison, K.C.B., etc., President of the Royal Geographical Society. With an Appendix, containing a Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Ashburton, when President of the Society. By Charles T. Beke, Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., etc., Author of "Origines Biblicæ," "Sources of the Nile," etc. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

Hints on Classical Tuition; being a reprint of Hints to Tutors (1846). By Dr. Thomas Cox, Late Head-Master of the College Grammar School, Dulwich; now of London House, St. John's Wood. London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt.

A Glance at the Sacred Canon as a Consistent Whole. By the Rev. George Hargreave Parker, Incumbent of St. Andrew's, Bethnal Green. London: J. S. Forsaith.

Index to the Book of Common Prayer, designed to promote an acquaintance with its Doctrinal Teaching and Devotional Language, and suitable for use in Sunday Schools. By H. N. Champney, Author of an Index to "Scripture Readings," and Texts of Scripture for Family Worship. Second Thousand. London: Wertheim and Macintosh, and W. Allan.

Texts for Family Worship and for Special Occasions. By H. N. Champney. Second Edition. Second Thousand. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.

## MISCELLANIES.

*The Inscriptions at Baalbek.*—December, 1862.—Every archæologist who has read the second part of vol. vii. of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* will feel grateful for the learning and research shewn by Mr. Hogg, in his paper “On Baalbek, its Name and Principal Inscriptions”; but, as all the copies taken of the well-known dedications on two of the pedestals of the façade do not exactly agree, I take the liberty of subjoining those I made of them in the spring of 1844. Having vainly endeavoured to read them by means of a telescope, I caused myself to be let down by a rope from the wall,\* and was thus enabled to ascertain some letters of which I was doubtful; and, though unsuccessful in deciphering the whole, I have sufficiently cleared up the principal question, respecting the decoration of the capitals of the two columns, on whose bases the inscriptions are carved. In the copies given by Mr. Hogg from Krafft, one inscription reads thus :—

M(agnis) Diis Heli(o)upolitanis pro Sa(l)ut(e)  
D(omini) Antonini Pii Aug(usti) et Jul(ie) Aug(ustæ) Matris  
D(omini) N(ostri) Castr(orum) Senat(ūs) Antonin(i)  
Cap(ita) columnarum dum aëre auro inflata (pecuniâ) suâ regum devota.

The other :—

M(agnis) Diis Heli(o)up(olit)anis  
Aur(iti) D(omini) Antonini Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et Jul(ie) Aug(ustæ) Matris  
D(omini) N(ostri) Cas(trorum) Se(natūs)  
Antonini capita columnarum dum (aëre a)uro in(flata) (n)umin(i)bus (pecun)â suâ  
f(ieri) cur(avit).

According to Wood (in 1751)—the abbreviations being filled up as given by Dr. Robinson—one is :—

Magnis Diis Heliupolitanis pro Salute  
Antonini Pii Felicis Augusti et Jul(ie) Augustæ Matris  
Domini Nostri Castrorum Senatus P(ri)oris  
..... columnarum dum erant in muro i luminata sua pecunia ex voto libenti  
animo olvit.

The other :—

Magnis Diis Heliupolitanis .....  
..... oriis Domini Nostri Antonini Pii Felicis Augusti et Jul(ie) Augustæ  
Matris Domini Nostri Castrorum .....  
..... ntonianæ capita columuarum dum erant in muro inluminata sua  
pecunia .....

But, according to my own copy, one inscription is :—

M(agnis) Diis Heliupol(itanis) pro Sal(ute)  
D(omini) N(ostri) Antonini Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et Jul(ie) Aug(ustæ) Matris  
D(omini) N(ostri) Castr(orum) Senat(ūs) Patr(ie) Aur(?) Antioncinus (?)  
seicunhi (?)  
..... nae capita columnarum dua aerea auro inluminata suâ pecuniâ ex voto  
l(ibens) m(erito) s(olvit).

\* It is not so low a wall as represented by Wood, in his Plate IV., nor are the inscriptions on the two end pedestals. In both these statements I am confirmed by the opinion and a drawing of Mr. David Roberts.

And that on the northern pedestal :—

M(agnis) Diis Heliup(olitanis) . . . .  
 uritoriis (?) D(omini) N(ostri) Antonini Pii Fel(icia) Aug(usti) et Juliae Aug(ustae)  
 Matris D(omini) N(ostri) Cast(rorum Sena)t(ūs) Patr(iæ) . . . .  
 (An)toniniana(e) capita columnarum dua aere(a au)ro inluminata suâ pecun(iâ ex voto  
 l. m. s.).

From which it is evident<sup>b</sup> that the two capitals of the columns here mentioned were of bronze gilt, put up at the expense of an individual whose name occurs in the first of the two lines, though now scarcely legible. The inscriptions are each in two lines, prefaced by a dedicatory formula "To the Great Gods of Heliopolis, for the welfare"; and from the expression that follows "of our Lord Antoninus," it is evident that they were put up in honour of Caracalla, *after* the death of his brother Geta; the usual formula during his lifetime being DD.NN.—"dominorum nostrorum."

With regard to the name of the individual, it seems to read *Aur. Antioncinus* [a doubtful name], or *Aur.* (or *Auf.*) *Ant. Longinus*, the next word being illegible; and though the sentence "dua ærea auro inluminata" might be read "dua ærea muro inluminata," the sense confirms the accuracy of the former, and leaves no doubt respecting the manner in which those capitals were decorated. If the capitals themselves are no longer in existence, it can excite no surprise, as the Saracens, doubtless, found a more useful employment for such objects of metal than building them into the wall with the stone fragments they used so freely in strengthening their defences on this side of the building; and the pedestals are the only portions of the columns, throughout the façade, remaining in their original position. And when Mr. Hogg observes (p. 287) that no travellers "have attempted to trace any *vestiges* of *gilding* upon the Corinthian *capitals* themselves of the columns still remaining in the Great Temple," and concludes that "this fact would evidently negative" the reading "that the capitals of the portico had been gilt," he will excuse me if I do not perceive the force of his objection. Even the remaining ten capitals of the columns in this portico may not have been of bronze gilt, but this would not negative the assertion of the inscriptions, that two were so ornamented; and we have instances of single shafts of granite, or of other materials, in buildings where the rest of the columns are of ordinary stone. This façade once consisted of the open colonnade of a portico, to which you ascended by a broad flight of steps, long since removed; and flush with the line of this colonnade were the two quadrangular wings which still form each end of the façade; ornamented with pilasters, whose Corinthian capitals proclaim that the twelve columns in the centre belonged to the same order. The present wall, which has been substituted for the open colonnade, is said to be of Turkish times, and therefore of later date than the rest of the defences added by the Saracens, who converted the whole of the sacred inclosure into a keep or citadel; and the records of these repairs and additional works are notified by several

<sup>b</sup> Since writing the above, Mr. David Roberts has kindly sent me a copy of the second inscription, made by an American clergyman, who reads the first word in the first line "aciorhg"; and in the second line, ". . . . ninianai capita c . . . mnarum dua ai. . . . ro," etc.

Arabic inscriptions on the walls of the sacred inclosure, as well as on those of the town—presenting the names of the Sultans in whose reigns they were put up, and who were principally of the Eyoobite and Baharite dynasties, which reigned in Egypt, and had possession of Syria during the Crusades.

At the corner near a tower, south-west of the lesser temple, is a fallen block, bearing apparently the name of the Melek el Ashraf Saláh e'deen Khaleel (1290 A.D.) and of his predecessor, El Munsoor (Kalaóon); and the tower itself has one inscription with the date of 611 A.H. (1215 A.D.), put up during the reign of the Melek el Aadel, brother of Yusef Saláh e'deen (Saladin),<sup>c</sup> and another below it of 676 A.H. (1278 A.D.), in the reign of the Melek el Aadel Bedr e'deen Salámish, the last of the Eyoobite Sultans, which mentions the opening, or renewal, of the "*handek*," or ditch, round the works. On another tower, added at the N.W. corner of this western wall, above the three great stones (which gave the name *trilithon* to the ruins of Baalbek), is an inscription of the same Melek el Aadel Salámish, with the date 676 (?) (1278 A.D.) Over the gate, on the S.W. side of the town, an inscription bears the date 641 A.H. (1244 A.D.), of the time of the Melek e' Sáleh Eyoob; and another over a small doorway on the southern wall of the sacred inclosure, to the east of the lesser temple, appears to have the date 740 A.H. (1340 A.D.). In the court of a ruined mosque in the old town is an inscription with the name Melek e' Sáleh (Eyoob), and the date 636 or 638 A.H. (1239 A.D.); another on the same wall has the date 897 A.H. (1492 A.D.), which, therefore, belongs to the reign of Kaitbay; and in a third may be read a date apparently 891 A.H. (1487 A.D.); but the minaret, bears the name of an earlier king, probably the Melek e' Sáleh Ismael, who "ordered its erection."

The so-called Tomb of Saladin, outside the north-west angle of the town wall, is merely the last resting-place of a Moslem shekh; and though I could not ascertain the exact date in the inscription over its door, we may feel certain that it is not the tomb of the great Eyoobite Soltan, and that his name has been ascribed to it from the remarkable and well-built Roman gate of the old town near which it stands being called *Bab e' Salatin*, "the gate of the Kings."

Baalbek was first captured by the Saracens in 635 A.D.; but I could find no names of the early Caliphs on its walls. William of Tyre says, that in 1177 A.D., the Franks, under the Count of Tripoli, made an incursion into the plain of the Bekaa, and went on to Baalbek, which he mistakes for Palmyra; and in 1202 it was ruined by the great earthquake which did so much damage to Tyre and Acre and other places. The effects of it are clearly demonstrated by the ruinous state of the temples, increased by later depredations of the Turks. The names of the kings I before mentioned claim unusual interest from being connected with the history of the Crusades; as may be seen by comparing the dates with the following outline of events about that period. In the reign of the famous

<sup>c</sup> I have heard of an inscription with the name of Saladin in one of the staircases (at the N.E. corner) of the lesser temple.



Saláh e'deen (Saladin), the third Crusade took place under Richard Cœur de Lion, Frederic the First (Barbarossa) and Philippe-Auguste. His eldest son, the Melek Afdal, succeeded him in Syria, but was supplanted by his younger brother, at whose death (1200 A.D.) his uncle, Melek el Aadel, usurped the throne, and continued to hold the same conspicuous position in the wars with the Crusaders as during the lifetime of his brother; when he received from our Richard the offer of his sister's hand in marriage, and the renown of his martial deeds more than once excited the jealousy of Saladin. But a short time after his accession to the throne he was destined to suffer defeat and mortification at the hands of the Christians; Damietta was besieged, and grief at this disaster caused his death, he being then in Syria (1218 A.D.) On the capture of Damietta, the Crusaders advanced towards Cairo; but becoming entangled on their march by the canals of the Nile, near the site of the present Mansoorah, and opposed by the Melek el Kamel, they were defeated, and forced to abandon Damietta and Egypt by treaty, A.D. 1221. An alliance between El Kamel and the Emperor Frederic the Second led to the fifth Crusade, and to the restoration of Jerusalem to the Franks, together with Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tyre and Sidon, A.D. 1228; but the year following (1239), when the inscription bearing the name of the Melek e' Sáléh Eyoob was put up, witnessed the accession of this noted founder of the Baharite dynasty, in whose reign the sixth Crusade took place; when Louis the Ninth landed in Egypt and took Damietta (A.D. 1249). A similar misfortune attended the Crusaders on this as on the previous invasion of Egypt; and at a short distance from Mansoorah the Franks were defeated, and Louis the Ninth was taken prisoner. The next date (1278 A.D.) was followed by a year of great disasters to the Crusaders in Syria; and in 1290, when the Melek el Ashraf Saláh e'deen Khaleel set up the inscription (now fallen) near the lesser temple at Baalbek, Acre was taken from the Crusaders. This led to the cession of Tyre, and the few other cities they possessed in Syria; and in the reign of his second son they were forced to abandon the country altogether. The latest inscription (1492 A.D.) is coeval with the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. Among the Latin inscriptions over the doorways of the arched vaults beneath the platform of the great court of the sacred inclosure, given by Mr. Hogg from M. De Saulcy, is one "Divis. Moso.," which I read "Divis. Mosc.," and this is confirmed by another I there copied, "Divis. Mosch.," accompanied by a figure of Hercules bearing his club and the lion's skin—probably the emblem of the corps (or "divisio") to which this portion of the building was assigned.

It has been observed that no image of Baal has been discovered at Heliopolis; and it is remarkable that few statues, either large or small, have there been met with: I therefore considered myself fortunate in purchasing one from the Bishop of Baalbek, which had been found there a short time before my visit. It is a nude figure in bronze, of small size, under seven inches in height, but of excellent workmanship, representing Jupiter, or a Roman emperor with the attributes of that god, crowned with a wreath and wearing sandals, and is probably of the age of the Antonines.

In the *lacunaria* of the ceilings in the peristyle of the lesser temple

are many busts, mostly of deities: one of Jupiter-Seraphis; another crowned with a nimbus or disk, and having two small horns rising from the forehead (perhaps a form of Astarte): and another, the Maternal Principle holding a child to her breast; though I observed no one corresponding to the figure of Jove or the Sun, mentioned by Macrobius (Saturn, i. 30). But a description of Baalbek and its temples would extend my remarks beyond their proper limits, intending, as I did, to confine them to the principal inscriptions; and I will only add, that another instance of the word "*bek*" used for "city" is found in the name of Atarbechis, "the City of *Athor*," the Egyptian Venus (Herodot., ii. 41).—GARDNER WILKINSON.—*Athenæum*.

*Norton House, Stockton-on-Tees, January 6, 1863.*

Having left London more than three weeks, I have only just seen the *Athenæum* of December 20th, containing Sir Gardner Wilkinson's kind remarks on my memoir *On Baalbec*, its chief inscriptions, temples, etc. I am much obliged to him for the favourable opinion which he has there expressed of my researches on those subjects. I am also obliged to him for his own copies of the two long Latin inscriptions. I have, moreover, seen other and more recent copies, which differ again from them. The height from the ground at which they are placed, and the greatly decayed letters, render the true reading of them extremely difficult at the present time.

Wood having in 1751 seen these inscriptions in a more perfect condition, I considered that his copies were consequently more likely to be accurate. And Herr Krafft, an intelligent and careful German traveller, again copied them in 1845, the year after Sir Gardner Wilkinson had done so. Krafft's copies I found upon the whole to be confirmatory of the general correctness of Wood's transcripts; I therefore only made use of Wood's and Krafft's copies. The word *dua*, which is given in Sir Gardner's copies, I can scarcely consider correct; for *duo* at that period, in the third century after Christ, was most generally used. M. De Saulcy suggested that "*two* of the capitals" of the columns had been of "gilt bronze:" it is to this reading that I objected, and not that the capitals of stone had been gilt—"auro inflata." Sir G. Wilkinson has, therefore, mistaken my meaning where he writes, "Mr. Hogg observes (p. 287) that no travellers 'have attempted to trace any vestiges of gilding upon the Corinthian capitals themselves of the columns still remaining in the Great Temple,' and concludes that 'this fact would evidently negative' the reading 'that the capitals of the portico had been gilt.'" Now, what I have written is the following:—"De Saulcy has proposed to read the words in the last lines, 'capita columnarum *duo*? ærea auro inluminata,' and to translate them '*two*? capitals in gilt bronze,' or rather '*two*? bronze capitals illumined with gold:' but, since none of the capitals still extant in or about the temples of marble or compact limestone are made of brass or bronze, this fact would evidently negative such a reading,—namely, that '*two* capitals were of gilt bronze.'" I maintained, in my restoration of the inscriptions, that the (stone) capitals of the columns (not *two* only), "when erected in the air had been embossed with gold:"

also, towards some confirmation of this fact, I cited M. Mariette's statement in 1758 (only seven years after Wood's visit), that in his "opinion the capitals of the porch (portico) had been gilt."

Again, Sir G. Wilkinson, mentioning one of the short Latin inscriptions from De Sauley, of which that French traveller could not find a meaning, has mis-copied it. De Sauley's, as well as my copy, is this (page 281),—"Divisio Moso," and not "Divis Moso." Indeed, M. De Sauley had previously mentioned a representation of Hercules,—a truly proper hero-god for soldiers!

Sir Gardner Wilkinson has added an interesting *historical* notice of Baalbec in the days of the Sultans, or Arab and Saracenic rulers, and during the Crusades: but, as I did not intend to dwell upon this period of history, or to give any of the *Arabic* inscriptions still visible in Baalbec, I omitted this (to me) irrelevant matter. Besides, Dr. Robinson of America had, in his later *Biblical Researches*, given an outline of its history since A.D. 636, when it fell under the rule of the victorious followers of Mahomet, and after its ancient appellations of *Baalath*, *On* or *Aven*, and *Heliopolis* had given way to the semi-Egyptian name of Baalbec. This last is subsequently seen in two or three of the Frank writers in a corrupted form—*Maubech* or *Malbec*. I am, nevertheless, obliged to our distinguished Egyptian traveller for pointing out "another instance of the word 'bek' used for 'city' in the name of Atarbechis, the city of *Athor*, the Egyptian *Venus*." This word (Atarbech, Ἀτάρβηχ, or) Ἀτάρβηχis occurs in Herodotus, lib. ii., cap. 41.

And, finally, the obtaining from the Bishop of Baalbec of the bronze figure of *Baal*, or of *Jupiter*, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, is an acceptable as well as an important statement.—JOHN HOGG.—*Athenæum*.

January 14, 1863.

I thank Mr. Hogg for his obliging answer, in the *Athenæum* of January the 10th, to my letter on the inscriptions of Baalbek, and for explaining the reason of his supposing that the two capitals of the columns in the portico were not of "gilt bronze." I am sorry for my mistake respecting his meaning, when I said he considered the absence of gilding on the capitals of the columns in the Great Temple negatived the reading "that the capitals of the portico had been gilt," whereas he really alluded to the absence of any bronze or brass capitals "in or about the temples;" but in neither case do I see the force of his objection.

It is true, as he says, that "none of the capitals still extant in or about the temples of marble or compact limestone are made of brass or bronze:" but this fact would not prove that two capitals of the colonnade of the portico of the sacred inclosure surrounding the temples could not have been of "gilt bronze." I may also observe, that this portico is distant more than five hundred feet from those temples, and that all its columns have long since been removed. It is not the portico of either temple, but of the inclosure in which they stand; and as I said before, the Saracens would have found better use for bronze capitals than building them into walls, where they might have been seen by us at the present day. The absence of any made of brass or bronze "in or about the

temples" would not certainly prove that none were originally put up in the portico, and would scarcely, as it seems to me, negative the reading that two of the capitals of its columns were of "gilt bronze." I think it highly probable that the capitals of the other columns in this portico were of stone, or marble, gilt; while *two*, as we are informed by the inscriptions, were of *bronze gilt*. It was a custom, both of the Romans and the Greeks, to colour their architecture, and parts were often gilt. In so splendid a building as this at Baalbek we may therefore suppose they adopted the same custom; and the superiority of the two capitals, above alluded to, consisted in their being of bronze gilt; but there is no *authority*, from the remains themselves, for conjecturing that the stone capitals were gilt; and "M. Mariette's statement in 1758 (only seven years after Wood's visit), that in his opinions the capitals of the porch (portico) had been gilt," could neither confirm, nor disprove, any hypothesis respecting them. If he had supposed they had been originally gilt, or painted of any particular colour, this would have been a *mere suggestion*; since the columns of the portico and their capitals had long disappeared before he visited Baalbek, and nothing remained of them except the pedestals, which are in the same position at the present day.

If the word "*dua*" was *never* used at the time the inscriptions were put up, we might not expect it to occur at Baalbek; but since so great a classical authority as Mr. Hogg admits that "*duo*" was only "*most generally* used in the third century after Christ," there is reason to suppose that "*dua*" might be met with at the commencement of the century, especially in monumental inscriptions, some of which shew that those who cut them were not always careful to adopt classical words. Indeed, it is hazardous to determine what form of a word may, or may not, be found in an inscription, merely from its use by ancient writers at a particular period; and words sometimes occur on monuments which would not be met with in classical books.

I am sure that Mr. Hogg's object, in this inquiry, is to arrive at the truth, whatever it may be, and I trust he will give me credit for the same desire; and this is often arrived at by difference of opinion; but I do not know whether he has visited Baalbek, and has copied or carefully examined the inscriptions *in situ*, and can speak from his own knowledge of the appearance and position of the letters, or whether he depends solely on the copies given by others. With regard to those of Wood and Krafft, on which he relies so much, they differ greatly from each other; and I can safely affirm that Krafft's "*inflata (pecunia) sua regum Ævota*" in the first inscription, and "*in(flata n)muin(i)bus*" in the second are inaccurate; and that "*inluminata sua pecunia ex voto*" in the first, as given by Wood and by me, may be depended upon as correct. Those words within brackets are (as I suppose) supplied by Mr. Hogg, and therefore omitted by Krafft. On the probability of the Greek *Delta* in "*Ævota*" I need make no remark. Herr Krafft is also incorrect in the first inscription, when he gives "*Antonini Pii Auge-e Juliæ. . . . Senat Antonin(i),*" which Wood and I read "*Antonini Pii Fel. Aug. et Juliæ. . . . Senat Patr(iæ),*" followed apparently (according to my copy) by "*Aur. Ant.,*" and some letters not easily deciphered; and I leave it to others to decide

whether Herr Kraft's copy is likely to be so very accurate, though he is, no doubt, "an intelligent and careful German traveller." And now let us examine the space occupied by the letters in the part relating to the "capitals of the columns,"<sup>d</sup> which as I read them are,—

CAPITA COLVMNARVM DVA AEREA AVRO INLVMINATA,  
and according to Kraft,—

CAP COLVMNARVM DVM AERI AVRO IN FLATA,  
without any spaces between "cap" and "col," or "in" and "flata." The double A of "DVAA" may easily be mistaken for "DVM;" but how account for the extra length occupied by "capita" and "inluminata?" "Aeri," again, is clearly "aere" (a). The other double A might also be taken for M; and indeed Wood reads "dum" and "muro," but there is not sufficient space for "dum erant in muro." If M. De Saulcy has proposed to read "capita columnarum duo ærea auro inluminata,"—and to translate the sentence "two capitals" (of columns) "in gilt bronze," as Mr. Hogg states, I am glad to be supported by his opinion, though I depend in reality on the copy I made, and only differ from him in reading "dua," for "duo." Though I have had some experience in taking copies of inscriptions from the monuments, I am far from pretending that any of my own are in every part more correct than those made by some other person: much must depend on the manner in which they are copied, especially when in a difficult position like these at Baalbek; but unless the transcriber of these brought his eye to their level, as I did at two different times of the day, and therefore under different lights, he would not have had so good a chance of copying them accurately; and I am inclined to consider my reading correct: according to which "two of the capitals of the columns were of bronze illumined with gold." Mr. Hogg takes no notice of my statement that I was let down to the inscriptions by a rope from the top of the parapet wall (which has taken the place of the lower part of the colonnade), as if this was of no importance; while he admits that "the height from the ground at which they are placed, and the greatly decayed letters, render the true reading of them extremely difficult at the present time;" that is, when seen from below. He also says he has "seen other and more recent copies which differ again from" mine; but he does not give any of them, nor state *in which letters they differ* from mine, nor how they were copied. It would be satisfactory to know these particulars. I feel sure the omission was unintentional.

I must offer my apologies to Mr. Hogg for having misquoted the inscription "Divisio Moso," given by him from M. De Saulcy. It was purely an oversight. Besides, the correction I intended to offer was not in the *first*, but in the *second* word, which I read "Mosch" instead of "Moso." There are at Baalbek two of these short inscriptions, one "Divis Moso," the other "Divisio Mosch."

With regard to Bek, the word is common in Coptic: as in "*Dios-t-baki*," "*Diospolis*;" "*On-t-baki*," "*Heliopolis*," and others: and this part of the name may have been given to Baalbek from the Egyptian

<sup>d</sup> The whole of the inscriptions may be seen in the *Athenæum* of December 20, 1862.

"baki," "city," as it received the name *Aven*, or *On*, from the same language—(see Amos i. 5, and the Septuagint translation of that passage). Respecting the connexion between this Heliopolis and the Heliopolis of Egypt, from which Macrobius says the statue of the God was taken, by the aid of the Egyptian priests—see Macrobius, *Saturn.*, i., c. 30; but when Mr. Hogg asks (*Tr. R. S. Lit.*, vii., p. 259), "may not this Egyptian terminal word" (Beki) "have been introduced in the tenth or eleventh century by the Egyptian Caliphs who governed Baalbek?" I hope he will excuse me if I doubt the Moslem Caliphs having introduced a word from the Egyptian, or Coptic, which they neither used, nor (perhaps, it may be said) even understood, and compounded a name of a Syrian town with that word and the title of a heathen deity. I cannot, however, conclude without expressing my thanks to Mr Hogg for his valuable paper on Baalbek.—GARDNER WILKINSON.

*Assyrian History.*—11 Great Stuart Street, Edinburgh, Jan. 10, 1863.—I read with great interest an account which appeared in the *Athenæum* of December 20th of some antiquities recently discovered near the source of the Tigris. It is there said that at the last meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, "Sir H. Rawlinson communicated to the meeting the results of certain researches in the hill country north of ancient Assyria, carried on during the present year by J. Taylor, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul at Diarbekr, and which are to be resumed by that gentleman next spring. In a cave from which the principal stream of the Tigris rises a large river, two cuneiform inscriptions were discovered and casts taken by Mr. Taylor. One of these is already in London, and proves to be a record of Tiglath-Pileser I. The other, not yet received, is surmised to belong to Sardanapalus.

Now, this discovery is valuable, not only from the interest attaching to sculptures preserved to us from such a remote age, but also from the testimony which it bears from the truth of the modern interpretations of cuneiform writing. Your readers are well aware, no doubt, that although Sir H. Rawlinson and others have laboured for many years in the decipherment of the curious and complicated Assyrian records, usually agreeing with one another in their interpretation whenever the inscriptions contain a simple narrative of historical facts, yet a large proportion of the learned world, including many distinguished Orientalists, still remain incredulous; some even doubting the fact whether any true decipherment has yet been obtained. It is difficult to account for this continued incredulity; but the only way to overcome it seems to be to continue to accumulate proofs of the general correctness and trustworthiness of the translations.

An opportunity of doing so appears to me to offer itself on the present occasion, and I will proceed to explain in what manner.

The volume of cuneiform inscriptions recently published by the British Museum contains a long inscription, which fills ten sheets, of the Annals of Sardanapalus I., recovered from the pavement slabs of the temple of Ninev, the Assyrian Hercules. He was the god of war, and also the traditional founder of Nineveh, as is expressly stated in the inscription in these words: "Ninev, who laid the foundation of this city, in ancient days

now long past." This deity had likewise the name of Bar, which is used indifferently and interchanged with that of Ninev in the same inscription.

Sardanapalus I. (whose name I prefer to read as *Ashurakhbal*) was a great conqueror, the son of Kutī-Bar, whose name means "the arrows of Bar," or rather "the armed service of Bar." He was therefore, doubtless, a zealous worshipper of that deity.

Now, in the third sheet of these Annals, line 101, there occurs a statement which appears to me to throw light upon the fact now announced of the discovery of inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser and Sardanapalus at the source of the Tigris. The following is the translation of this part of the record:—"In that same year, while I was staying at Nineveh, they brought me the news that those Assyrians whom Divanurish, King of Assyria, my ancestor, had located in the cities of Zilukha, had revolted together with Kuliah their chief, and had marched against Damdamusa, one of my royal cities, and attacked it. In the name of Ashur, the Sun and the Sky, my protecting deities, I assembled my chariots and my army; and at the source of the waters of the river Supnat, in the same place with the statues which Tiglath-Pileser and Kutī-Bar, kings of Assyria, my ancestors, had erected, *there* I erected a statue of myself, and I placed it by the side of theirs."

Such is the statement contained in the Annals, and I thought at first that our explorers had now discovered the very sculptures which that ancient records speaks of; so that, in fact, their discovery might have been *predicted* with some probability. But whether or not the same sculptures are spoken of, at any rate the Annals record a remarkably similar event. I may add, that there are other inscriptions in which Divanubar, the Obelisk King, speaks of having set up sculptures or tablets at the actual source of the Tigris, but he does not speak of having seen those already placed there by Tiglath-Pileser; so that the coincidence is again imperfect. But these inscriptions shew the veneration with which the sources of great rivers were anciently regarded. And so in the present day, the source of the Ganges, at Gangootri, in the Himalaya mountains, is accounted a sacred spot and visited by numerous pilgrims. The reason why an army, or at any rate its principal chiefs, assembled at the sacred source of a large river before commencing a campaign, would perhaps not be divined if the inscriptions did not expressly inform us. It was for the purpose of dipping their weapons in the sacred fountain. This kind of baptism was in all probability thought to render them irresistible. So the Greeks fabled that Achilles was made invulnerable by being dipped when an infant in a sacred stream. But to return to the passage in the Annals (iii. 101), the question remains, in what district was the source of the Supnat? I believe the Supnat was an affluent of the Tigris. The Assyrian colony spoken of lay some distance to the north of Nineveh, and near to the mountains of the Nahiri, whose numerous and turbulent tribes were usually at war with the king of Assyria. The Annals of Tiglath-Pileser give a long account of battles with them. And, moreover, from the source of the Supnat, Sardanapalus marched straight to Kinabu, the city of the revolted Assyrian chief Kuliah, which he took and destroyed, and slew all the inhabitants. He particularly says, "not one escaped."

After which he gives an account of a campaign in the mountains of the Nahiri ; whence it seems reasonable to infer that the city of Kinabu, and consequently the source of the Supnat, lay in that district. And the source of the Tigris is also in a mountain district which once formed a part of the land of the Nahiri. I therefore think it probable that if the sources of the other great rivers in that country are carefully examined, other sculptures and tablets will be found there.—H. FOX TALBOT.—*Athenæum*.

*Recent Assyrian Discoveries.*—I had not intended to have published an account of Mr. John Taylor's recent explorations in Northern Mesopotamia and Kurdistan until the arrival in England of all the new cuneiform inscriptions, which he has been the means of bringing to light, had enabled me to do full justice to the importance of his discoveries ; but as a brief notice of one of these discoveries which I communicated at a late meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society has already appeared in print, and as Mr. Fox Talbot, in his letter to the *Athenæum* of the 24th of January, has drawn attention to the subject by comparing a passage in the Annals of Sardanapalus with one of the actual monuments thus found in the country, I now deem it only due to Mr. Taylor's reputation that the nature and full extent of the labours on which he has been engaged for the last two years, should be made generally known.

Mr. J. Taylor, already well known to Assyrian scholars for his successful excavation of the Proto-Chaldæan ruins, was appointed Consul at Diyarbekir at the close of 1860. In the following year he made his first excursion to the eastward, and found an extensive city in ruins, on the right bank of the Tigris, about twenty miles below Diyarbekir. The ruins covered a raised platform at least six miles in circumference, and were crowned, towards the south-east corner of the enclosure, by a lofty mound, about one hundred and eighty feet high, the site of the ancient citadel. On the summit of this mound had stood, until lately, two slabs imbedded in the earth, and exhibiting Assyrian sculptures and inscriptions. These slabs had been thrown down the slope of the mound, and one of them had been broken, a few years back, by some ignorant Turkish officials in search of treasure ; but Mr. Taylor uncovered them at the foot of the slope, and took paper casts of portions of the inscriptions, which he forwarded to me in England. The casts were not sufficiently perfect to admit of the inscriptions being completely restored and deciphered, but still, as I found from such portions as were legible, that the monuments belonged to the most flourishing period of Assyrian history, the reigns of the great Sardanapalus and his son Shalmaneser, and promised to be of much value in affording the means of verifying the annals of those monarchs, I recommended the Trustees of the British Museum to secure the slabs at once, and, further, to expend a small sum of money (£500) in experimental excavations at the same spot, under Mr. Taylor's superintendence. Her Majesty's Government, however, to whom application to this effect was duly made, declined to admit the small sum in question into last year's estimates, and the marbles might thus have been entirely lost to the nation, had not Mr. Taylor, acting on my suggestion, and fortified by a *firman* obtained for him by Sir Henry Bulwer, at Constantinople, removed the slabs before the result of the application to Government was known,



and despatched them, *viâ* Bussorah and round the Cape of Good Hope, to England. They may be expected to arrive in the course of the spring; and, in the meantime, the Trustees of the Museum have consented to indemnify Mr. Taylor for his outlay, and to defray the cost of the transport of the slabs to England out of the fixed sum which is yearly allotted for the purchase of antiquities; so that these curious tablets, set up as memorials of the foreign conquests of the Assyrian kings, will, after all, be added to our national collection.

I have not been able to find, in the portions of the inscriptions which have been sent to me, any notice of the actual erection of the memorial tablets, so as to be able to identify positively the site where they have been discovered; but I judge from many indications of relative geography, which are given in the routes of the great Sardanapalus, that the city which Mr. Taylor has found below Diyarbekir is the *Tuskha* or *Tusshan* of the inscriptions; and, if this be the case, one of the slabs, now on its way to England, will be the actual monument which is described at the commencement of the second column of the Annals of Sardanapalus, in the following passage: "I made an image of my majesty on a carved slab of stone, and I wrote on it the glorious titles of my sovereignty, and a record of the warlike achievements which I had performed in the country of *N'airi*, and I set it up in the city of *Tuskha*, and placed my written tablets in the citadel; and the people of Assyria, who, in consequence of a scarcity of food, had ascended into foreign countries, *i.e.*, the country of *Rura*, I brought them back, and placed them in the city of *Tuskha*." (See Brit. Mus. Series, pl. 20, lines 5—8).

The only portion, it is true, which I have been able to read from the imperfect cast of the slab of Sardanapalus now in my possession refers, not to *Tuskha*, but to the expedition which is narrated in the Annals, pl. 22, l. 86, and which was conducted against the districts around Mount Masius, south of the country of *N'airi* (*Matiyât*, where a memorial tablet was set up during the expedition in question, being *Mediyât*, the modern capital of *Jebel Tur*); but I think it probable that the *N'airi* campaigns are recorded at the back of the slab, and there, also, at the close of the record, I should expect to find a notice of the erection of the monument.

The second slab found by Mr. Taylor, and also on its way to England, belongs to Shalmaneser, the son of Sardanapalus, whose annals are, as it is well known, recorded on the Nimrud Obelisk and Bulls. The portions of the inscription on this slab, which I have read, contain an account of the king's wars in Armenia, Mesopotamia and northern Syria, and add many new names, both of kings and countries, to those already known, besides describing the erection of two memorial tablets which are not otherwise recorded, one upon the sea of *N'airi* (Lake *Van*), and the other at the source of the river *Saluâra*, which issues, it is said, from the foot of Mount Amanus in northern Syria; but I can find nothing which throws a light on the locality where the monument was found, nor do I think that the Annals on the Obelisk contain any allusion to the erection of this particular tablet.

With respect to the identification of the site where these antiquities have been found, in classical geography, though nothing positive can be affirmed, I can offer a very reasonable conjecture. The name of *Tuskha*

—if that, indeed, were the Assyrian title of the city—is not to be recognized under any possible disguise either in ancient or modern authors, and it is probable, therefore, that the designation was lost at a very early period. At present, the ruins are only known in the country by the name of *Kurkh*, and in this title we may trace, I think, a relic of the “Carcathiocerta” of the Greeks; at any rate, the notices which are preserved of that city are sufficiently applicable, for Carcathiocerta was on the Tigris (“Proxima Tigri,” Pliny, lib. vi., p. 9), and it was the capital of Sophene, which extended from the Anti-Taurus to Masius (Strabo, lib. xi., p. 863). Moreover, the name of Carcathiocerta appears to signify “the city of the Carchians,” and *Kirkha* in the cuneiform inscriptions is a country which extends from the frontiers of *Bitân*, or Armenia, on one side, to the *Khetta*, or Hittites, on the other; or from *Betlis* to the east, as far as Edessa to the west; so that *Kurkh* would be nearly in the centre of this long strip of territory. The place, however, would seem to have remained uninhabited since the Parthian era, for there is no trace of the name in Syriac or Armenian or Arabic authors; and so much uncertainty has thus attached to the site of Carcathiocerta that St. Martin and D’Anville have respectively placed it at *Miyaserikin* and at *Diyarbekir*.

A more extensive excursion, which Mr. Taylor made in the same year (1861), led him from *Diyarbekir* by *Miyafarikin* to *Arzen*; thence by *Zoke* to *S’ert*; along the *Bohtan* river to its junction with the Tigris at *Tillee*, where there is also a fine Assyrian ruin, frequently mentioned in the inscriptions; from *Tillee* by *Redhwân* (the Rhadnum of Procopius) to *Him-Keif*; then across the Tigris and by *Kefr-Joze* to *Mediyât*, and so on to *Mardin* and *Diyarbekir*. This route admits of the most copious illustration from the Assyrian inscriptions, and Mr. Taylor came upon many undoubted relics of the time of the Ninevite kings, though he found no sculptures or inscriptions above ground. His most remarkable discovery I consider to have been that of the ruins of *Kefr-Joze*, which he describes as an immense city at the northern foot of Mount Masius, and the great treasure-house from which the larger portion of the Greek and Parthian coins and gems current in northern Mesopotamia are procured: thus leading to the conclusion that we have at last found the site of the famous city of Tigranocerta, which has so long been the despair of modern geographers.

During the last autumn, Mr. Taylor has been again afoot, and has been rewarded by some discoveries of the very highest interest. On leaving *Diyarbekir*, he first visited *Egil*, which is situated to the north, on the right bank of the Tigris, some ten miles above the junction of the eastern branch, now called the *Tsebenek*, and anciently the *Tsupnah*, or river of Sophene. For a description of the place, I now quote his letter to me of August 6th, 1862: “I have no time to give you here a detailed account of *Egil*, although it deserves one. I will only report the existence, on an isolated rock at the western end of the old castle, of a cuneiform inscription and bas-relief of an Assyrian king. Both are unfortunately nearly obliterated, the outline of the figure being alone traceable, together with faint signs of the cuneiform character. However, there is quite enough to prove the origin of the sculpture. The inscription is in a

sunken niche, three inches deep and six long by four broad, and reaches up to the waist of the figure, the upper portion of which is above it, while the feet rest on the lower edge of the inscribed niche, and the letters run across the figure. The whole mountain side is burrowed with grotts, and most of them are finished with much greater care than is usual in these primitive abodes."

Now it is not easy to identify in the cuneiform inscriptions either the town of *Egil*, or the king who must have there sculptured a memorial tablet. The *Egil* sculpture cannot represent either of the tablets of Shalmaneser, which he engraved on the face of the rock, at the sources of the Tigris, in his seventh and fifteenth years respectively; for those works were executed at the spot "where the waters issue forth" (see Layard's *Assyrian Inscriptions*, pl. 90, line 71, and pl. 16, line 47), and must be sought accordingly in the hill to the south of the little *Gokcha* lake, near the high road conducting from *Kharpút* to *Diyarbekir*; nor is there any record in the Annals of Sardanapalus, of a work in this neighbourhood which is at all applicable. The name of *Egil*, although known to the later Greeks (compare the *Ingilene* of Pet. Patricius, Exc. de Legat., p. 30, and perhaps the *Acilesene* of Strabo and Ptolemy), does not certainly date from the Assyrian period; and the only place mentioned in the Annals of Sardanapalus, which appears to suit the locality, is *Damdamsa*, near the *Tsupnat* or *Tsebeneh* river, and midway between *Amida* (or *Diyarbekir*), and *Arkania*, the modern *Arghaneh* (see B.M. Ser., pl. 26, l. 105, sqq.); but there is no account of a memorial tablet in that immediate vicinity.

Mr. Taylor's next discovery was at the village of *Tsebeneh*, probably the old capital of Sophene, where he found a capacious subterranean building, hollowed out of the solid rock, and now used as a church; but there were no inscriptions to attest the age of the work.

Ascending the river to its source, Mr. Taylor now made his crowning discovery, which I will communicate in his own words, copying from his letter to me of October the 2nd, 1862:—"My tour has been unfortunately cut short by a severe fever, which I caught in an unhealthy cave copying two cuneiform inscriptions which I found there. They are small, and one is much defaced; but the site is interesting, and they may prove of some geographical value. The Tigris above *Diyarbekir* is, as you know, formed of two branches,—the *Egil*, or *Gokcha* Lake branch, and the *Tsebeneh Su*, called also in Keippet's map the *Utch-Gul Su*. This latter branch issues out of a cave some twelve miles north of *Sidjer*, close to a village called *Korkhar*. In this cave are the inscriptions. It is a most curious spot, and the river issues forth from it, after an underground course of very considerable length, but not quite so far as the Lake Thospitis of the ancients. I send you herewith a copy of one of the inscriptions; the other is much longer, but, unfortunately, a good deal defaced: however, I send through Constantinople paper casts of both, and I hope they will be acceptable to you. On the top of the cave are the ruins of an old castle, with curious tanks cut into the solid rock, and also a staircase cut through the rock forming the roof of the cave, one end of which is immediately above the water, the element having been, I suppose, drawn up for the use of the garrison by buckets and ropes."

Now, Mr. Fox Talbot is quite right in referring to this spot the account which is given in the annals of Sardanapalus of a memorial tablet executed by him at the sources of the *Tsupnat* in the same locality, with similar monuments executed by his ancestors, Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglath-Bar. (See B.M. Ser., pl. 19, l. 101, *sqq.*) That the river, indeed, which issues from the *Korkhar* cave is the *Tsupnat* of the inscriptions, although mistaken both by the Greek and Arabic geographers for the true Tigris, there cannot be a doubt. The final *t* is a mere feminine termination, as in *Purat* or Euphrates, *Diglat* or Tigris, *Aranta* or Orontes, *Turnat* or Torna, etc. The true name is *Tsupna*, exactly answering to the *Σωφηνή* of the Greeks and the *Tsuphanya* of the Syrians; and the modern title which some travellers write as *Sebeneh*, and others as *Dibeneh*, but which should really be pronounced with a dental sibilant as the initial letter, is a near reproduction of the old designation. The natural phenomena which existed at this spot in the subterranean course of the river, and its exit from a dark and gloomy cave, appear to have given greater prominence to the source of the *Tsupnat* than to the source of the true Tigris, and to have thus caused the one to be taken for the other both by the Greeks and Arabs; for it can hardly be questioned that the remarkable descriptions of Strabo and Pliny, although applied to the Tigris, refer in reality to the cave discovered by Mr. Taylor; and the Arab account also of the dark cave at *Hiluras* (the *Ἰλλύρις* of Procopius, *De Edific.*, iii. 3), from whence the Tigris rose (see *Facut*, *in voce*), is certainly intended for the same place; but the cuneiform notices of the two localities are quite distinct, and the right or western branch of the river, which rises near the *Gokcha* Lake, and thence passes by *Arghaneh* to *Egil* and *Diyarbekir*, is acknowledged in the country to be the true Tigris.

Mr. Fox Talbot's translation of the passage from the *Annals of Sardanapalus* referring to the tablets at the source of the *Tsupnat*, although not, I think, rigidly correct, especially in regard to the names, is sufficiently close to be adopted without cavil. It has long been known to me, and I have no doubt that the monument in the cave of *Korkhar*, of which Mr. Taylor has now furnished me with a sketch and copy, is one of the actual tablets alluded to by Sardanapalus, and that it was executed in the thirteenth century B.C. The tablet contains a figure of the king with his right arm extended, and holding in his left the *Kharuth* or sceptre of dominion, and adjoining him is an inscription to the following effect: "By the grace of *Ashur*, the Sun and *Æther*, the great gods, my lords, I, *Tiglath-Pileser*, king of Assyria, son of *Ashur-ris-elim*, king of Assyria, who was son of *Mutaggil-Nebo*, king of Assyria, marching from the great sea of *Akkiri* (or the West, *i. e.*, the Mediterranean) to the sea of *N'airi* (Lake *Van*) for the third time have invaded the country of *N'airi*." The only imperfect or doubtful word in this inscription is that which I have translated "marching," and the genealogy, which is the same as that on the *Shirgât* cylinders, positively identifies the king as the first Tiglath-Pileser. The cast of the second tablet has not yet reached me, and I am unable, therefore, to say whether it belongs to *Tiglath-Bar*, the father of Sardanapalus, or to Sardanapalus himself; but I expect, if the inscription is at all legible, to find it of the latter king; and think it probable it will

furnish some farther illustrations of the campaign described in the latter part of the first column of the annals. There should, however, according to the passage quoted by Mr. Fox Talbot, be a third tablet at the sources of the *Tsupnat*, and this, perhaps, will still be found in some of the dark recesses of the cave.

Mr. Taylor also discovered a Parthian or Sassanian sculptured tablet at *Boshat*, near *Halda*, in the *Silwan* district, and he had positive intelligence of some more cuneiform inscriptions near *Moosh*, which he hoped to visit in the spring. It is probable, indeed, that what he has already found is but an earnest of future discovery, for there are at least twenty tablets commemorated in the inscriptions as having been executed by the different Assyrian kings in the Kurdish mountains, and Mr. Taylor will hardly give over the search for them until he has thoroughly ransacked the country from the Persian frontier to Syria.

And now a few words on the general question of cuneiform decipherment. Mr. Fox Talbot complains with some bitterness of the continued incredulity of some of our best Orientalists as to the successful interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions; but he does not trace that incredulity to its true source. I believe myself, that with such men as Ewald, and Renan, and Cureton, the tendency to believe in our system of decipherment arises mainly from the importance and magnitude of the subject; for if we are in the right tract the result of our researches threatens to dwarf all other branches of Oriental inquiry, and almost to supersede the hitherto cherished study of Hebrew and Arabic and Syriac literature. Mr. Fox Talbot, however, and M. Oppert are also, in some degree, themselves responsible for the result which they deprecate, owing to their want of care in distinguishing in their translations between what is certain and what is uncertain. No doubt, a very large portion of every Assyrian inscription is now perfectly intelligible. Such portions would be read and explained and translated in the same way by Assyrian scholars, whether in England, or Ireland, or France, or Germany, and an analysis might be given, both etymological and grammatical, which would be entirely satisfactory to Semitic students; but there is also in all the Assyrian inscriptions a certain proportion of archaic forms, consisting of words and phrases borrowed from the Turanian dialects of the Proto-Chaldean empire, which set at defiance all Semitic rules and analogies, but which are, nevertheless, usually read and translated as if they presented no linguistic difficulty. The weak point at present in Assyrian decipherment is the treatment of these archaisms. They are usually spoken of as ideographs, which, however, is a complete misnomer, and their incongruity—so offensive to Semitic scholars as, in their estimation, to discredit the whole system of interpretation—is rarely noticed. I would recommend translators to confess their entire ignorance of this branch of the subject, or to wait at any rate until the copious bilingual and trilingual vocabularies and grammatical tracts which I am now engaged in editing are available for general reference, before they attempt either to read or to explain the so-called Assyrian ideographs.

I will only add, in conclusion, that a new means of verifying our Assyrian readings is now opening out to us, which the most resolute dis-

believers will hardly venture to gainsay. Having had occasion to examine the many hundreds of small "contract" tablets in the British Museum for the purpose of extracting their dates, and thus completing the Eponymous Canon which I discovered last year, I have found that a considerable number of these tablets have a memorandum in the cursive Phœnician character scratched upon their margin, intended, as it would seem, to assist the Nineveh librarian in the arrangement of the documents. These Phœnician legends are rude, and in many cases nearly illegible; but wherever I have been able to read them, I have found them to give the same names as are inscribed in the cuneiform character on the body of the tablet; the much-desired test of bilingual writing being thus at length obtained. I have not yet fully worked out this new mine of information, but I am in hopes of being able to resolve, by means of the Phœnician key, several doubtful points in the phonetic reading of Assyrian proper names, and especially to ascertain the vernacular titles of many of the gods, which are usually expressed by monograms, or which appear under the disguise of mere qualificative epithets.—H. C. RAWLINSON (in *Athenæum*).

*Alexandrian Manuscript.*—In the year 1628, Cyrillus Lucaris, then patriarch of Constantinople, and previously of Alexandria, sent as a present to King Charles I., by Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador in Turkey, a MS. of the Old and New Testaments in Greek, which, as having been brought from Alexandria, has from that time been commonly known as the *Codex Alexandrinus*. Cyrillus sent it to England, as being a treasure too precious to be allowed to remain amongst infidels, and by this step he probably preserved it from destruction; for he himself suffered martyrdom in 1638, having, from his true Christian zeal, incurred the enmity of the corrupt Greek church, as well as of their Moslem rulers. This MS. belonged to the Royal Library until the formation of that of the British Museum in 1753, where from that time it has been deposited. Of all the very ancient MSS. which have come down to us, this is the first that was employed for the criticism of the text of the New Testament; indeed, there was for some time, perhaps, even too earnest a desire amongst scholars to recur to the most ancient Greek texts then accessible—a desire, however, which led to no practical results. There need be but little doubt felt as to its designation, *Alexandrinus*, being correct; although John Rudolph Wetstein, in 1664, wrote that he had been informed by his Greek teacher, Matthæus Muttis of Cyrus, that Cyrillus had obtained the MS. at Mount Athos before he became patriarch of Alexandria. Now, although Muttis had been the deacon of Cyrillus, he does not appear to have been with him at Mount Athos, and his rumour will avail but little in opposition to the proofs of Alexandrian origin. On the back of the first leaf of the MS., an Arabic inscription states that it was written by the pen of Thecla the martyr, and that it was given to the Patriarchal Chamber in the year of the martyrs 814, i. e., A.D. 1098. Another inscription definitely states that it was dedicated to the Patriarchal Chamber at Alexandria; thus, wherever Cyrillus himself obtained it, he was right in speaking of it as having come from Alexandria.

The MS. contains the LXX. version of the Old Testament (defective in part of the Psalms), certain Biblical songs and liturgical hymns subjoined to the Psalms; the Apocryphal books; the New Testament, defective at the beginning as far as Matt. xxv. 6, and with chasms, John vi. 50—viii. 52; 2 Cor. iv. 13—xii. 6; after the Revelation follow the Epistles of Clement, of the second of which (apocryphal) but a fragment remains. From the list of books at the beginning of the MS. it appears that eighteen apocryphal Psalms, bearing the name of Solomon, had once been at the end of all. The Old Testament portion is valuable, as one of the most important documents in which we possess the LXX. version, while the New Testament part has the far higher value of being not a version, but the original text of Holy Scripture. The MS. is at present bound in four volumes, of which the last contains the New Testament. The order of the books is the same as is found in some other copies. The seven which are termed the Catholic Epistles—that is, those of James, Peter, John, and Jude—follow the Acts; then come St. Paul's Epistles, amongst which the Hebrews precedes the Pastoral Epistles. The Apocalypse has been preserved from injury, through the Epistles of Clement, etc., having been subjoined, all the latter leaves of which, by being worn away, have received the damage which would otherwise have fallen on the sacred text itself. The inner corner at the top of the New Testament portion was a good deal injured prior to the time when the MS. was last bound; it was then mutilated by the cutting away of part of the upper margin, but the injury at the inner corner must be anterior.

The form of the MS. is about thirteen inches high by ten broad; the writing is in two columns on a page; the number of lines is about fifty; the letters in each line of each column are twenty or rather more. The writing is in undivided uncial letters, with the contractions which are usual in very ancient MSS., such as ΘC, IC, KC, XC, ΠNA, etc., for Θεός, Ιησοῦς, Χριστός, Πνεῦμα. There are, of course, no accents or breathings; any such marks in a very ancient MS. would be indications of a correction or addition by a later hand. This MS. contains, in the Gospels, the Ammonian Sections, with the references to the Eusebian canons; the headings of the larger sections (or τίτλοι) stand at the top of the pages in the Gospels, and in those of Luke and John their numbers are placed in the margin of each column. The list of these divisions introduces each Gospel; that of Matthew being, of course, defective. In the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, the sections arranged by Euthalius and others are not found; but in the Acts a cross is sometimes introduced as marking a section. Where a new paragraph commences, a large letter is placed in the margin of the column, not necessarily the initial of the section, but the first letter (whatever it may be) that begins a line, even though in the middle of a word. In matters of mere orthography this Codex is in general accordance with other very ancient MSS. as to the confusions both of vowels and consonants.

Few who are competent to form a judgment would doubt that the probable age of this MS. is about the middle of the fifth century. Mr. Scrivener says, "The presence of the canons of Eusebius (A.D. 268—340?), and of the Epistle to Marcellinus by the great Athanasius, patriarch

of Alexandria (300?—373), before the Psalms, place a limit in one direction, while the absence of the Euthalian divisions in the Acts and Epistles, which came into vogue very soon after 458, and the shortness of the *ὑπογραφαι* (i. e., subscriptions to the different books) appear tolerably decisive against a later date than A.D. 450. The insertion of the Epistles of Clement, like those of Barnabas and Hermas in the *Codex Sinaiticus*, recalls us to a period when the canon of Scripture was, in some particulars, a little unsettled, or about the age of the Council of Laodicea, 366. Other arguments have been urged both for an earlier and a later date, but they scarcely deserve discussion" (Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*, p. 83). In thus attributing the MS. to the middle of the fifth century, Tischendorf and Tregelles, who have both examined ancient MSS. very extensively, fully agree on palæographical grounds, as well as on those stated by Scrivener; and so does the latest editor of its text, Mr. B. Harris Cowper.

It was once supposed by some that the origin of the MS. might be at least elucidated from the mention in the Arabic inscription of Thecla the martyr as the scribe. Cyrillus, in his accompanying letter, says that the name of Thecla at the end of the book had been destroyed after the spread of Mahometanism in Egypt. He thus, in some manner, connected the MS. with an Egyptian lady of that name; but he only refers to tradition for his voucher. It is probable, however, that the name of Thecla and its destruction was connected with this codex in a very different manner, and that it had at first to do with the saint's day on which the mutilated New Testament now begins, and that this led to a notion, too hastily adopted, that she was the writer. "Tregelles . . . explains the origin of the Arabic inscription, on which Cyril's statement appears to rest, by remarking that the New Testament in our MS. at present commences with Matt. xxv. 6, this lesson (Matt. xxv. 1—13) *being that appointed by the Greek church for the festival of St. Thecla* (on Sept. 24). The Egyptian, therefore, who wrote this Arabic note, observing the name of Thecla in the now mutilated upper margin of the Codex, where such rubrical notes are commonly placed by later hands, hastily concluded that she wrote the book, and thus has perplexed our Biblical critics. It is hardly too much to say that Tregelles' shrewd conjecture seems to be certain almost to demonstration"—(Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*, p. 82).

Whether the MS. were written by one hand or not, it is at least certain that there is in the form and arrangement of the letters a general resemblance; so that the appearance at least is, that it is the work of one scribe. When it is remembered that, by the handwriting alone, portions of MS. which have come down to us have been identified as belonging to the same document, it will be felt that the proof that a MS. is the work of many hands must be very manifest, in order to overcome the antecedent improbability. Woide supposed that, in the New Testament, a different hand might be noticed as commencing in the page which contains 1 Cor. v.—vii.; but Mr. Scrivener points out that at that page there is a difference in the vellum, which is thinner in the latter portion of that volume; this would be sufficient to account for the difference in the writing. In this part of the MS. the thin vellum is often worn into holes in the parts in which the ink once rested; this is probably produced partly from the



action of the ink, and partly from the furrow made by the style used by the scribe.

Soon after the arrival of this MS. in England, it was collated by Patrick Young, Librarian to King Charles I. A collation both of the Old and New Testaments was given in Walton's Polyglott; the New Testament was afterwards collated again by Mills, and subsequently by Wetstein. Grabe, in 1707-20, made the text of this MS. the basis of his edition of the LXX., and from this have proceeded the Moscow and Athens' editions so generally used in the Greek Church; and also that of Mr. Field (1859) rests especially on this MS. In 1786 Woide published the text of the New Testament portion of this codex in what are called *facsimile* types; that is, in types cast so as to resemble the general character of the writing. In this edition the text of the MS. is represented page for page, and line for line. Although it has been examined with some care, very few misprints have been detected in Woide's work. In his *Prolegomena* there is much valuable information. A similar service was rendered for the Old Testament by Baber, who published that portion of the Codex in four volumes (1816-28). Mr. B. H. Cowper, in 1860, edited the New Testament in ordinary Greek types, introducing punctuation, division of words, accents, and breathings; he thus rendered his text one easy to be read by ordinary scholars. It must, however, be borne in mind that the divisions, breathings, etc., are in this manner a matter of editorial discretion; and at times the evidence of the MS. itself is obscured. Mr. Cowper's edition is a convenient one, and he appears to have taken great pains to insure accuracy. His Introduction contains much information, to which allusion only can be made here. It should be observed that, as Mr. Cowper wished to make his edition a complete Greek Testament, he has added (between brackets) those portions which are now wanting in the MS., taking them out of Küster's edition of Mill (see his Introduction, p. xxxi).

The character of the text of a MS. is of great importance in estimating its value. Though the writer of this MS. was by no means careful, and the corrector by no means accurate, yet the text is one which bears evident marks of antiquity. In the Gospels, indeed, there are many indications of what has been called the transition text; so that at times this Codex, in that part, differs in many features from the readings which are known and proved to be the most ancient. This feature is not nearly so observable in the Epistles. As to the true reading of this MS. in 1 Tim. iii. 16, see Bishop Ellicott on the Pastoral Epistles. He gives a definite demonstration that the original reading really is *ὡς ἐφανερωθήν*, and not (as altered by a later hand) *Θ̅C* (i. e., *θεος*) *ἐφανερωθήν*. Wetstein's statement as to this passage is correct, and Woide's wrong, as Tregelles ascertained by repeated examinations.—Cassell's *Bible Dictionary*.

*The Codex Sinaiticus*.—To the editor of the *Guardian*.—Sir, I take the liberty of sending you the translation of a pamphlet written in Russian on the Sinaitic MS., which I have received from the Rev. G. Williams, of King's College, Cambridge. In the present state of the controversy, which prevents one from feeling entire confidence in either side of it, you

may perhaps think this translation worth publishing. If so, it is quite at your service.

*Broadwindsor.*

S. C. MALAN.

*"Vindication of the Sinaitic MS. of the Bible from the Charges brought against it by F. Archimandrite Porphyry, of the Assumption. By A. NOBOKOFF. St. Petersburg. 1863.*

"While engaged in bringing out my edition of the New Testament in Greek and Slavonic, and in looking for various readings likely to be of use towards the Slavonic translation, I received valuable assistance from the publication of the Sinaitic Bible (fourth century); a copy of which I owe to the emperor's liberality.

"This work, a monument for the time to come, of such deep interest to the Christian world, published under the auspices and high patronage of our emperor, and now completed in splendid style by the Professor of the Leipsig University, C. Tischendorf, is of the greatest importance to Biblical philology.

"After the publication of it, however, I heard of a pamphlet written by F. Archimandrite Porphyry of the Assumption, and bearing for title, *Opinion of the Archimandrite Porphyry of the Assumption, regarding the Sinaitic MS., which contains the Old Testament incomplete, and the whole of the New Testament, with the Epistle of the H. Apostle Barnabas, and the Book of Hermas.* I hastened to procure it, hoping to profit by the researches of the F. Archimandrite, who lived long enough in the east, who is well known for his travels to Mount Sinai, who was the first to give information regarding this MS., and who copied a portion of it. But I was lost in amazement, and deeply grieved to find that the writing of the F. Archimandrite is nothing else than a malicious and personal article, levelled at Mr. Tischendorf in particular, without an atom of learned criticism, and one which ought never to have flowed from the pen of a man holding spiritual rank.

"It is with the greatest regret that I now take the pen, but I find myself constrained so to do. For my object is not to inquire into the personal invectives of the F. Archimandrite against Mr. Tischendorf, and to judge of their merit; but it is to vindicate a sacred relic, snatched from the flames of Omar, treasured up for so many centuries on Mount Sinai, handled by holy fathers and anchorites; a relic that bears on itself traces of having been read, but which is now insulted, under a ban of excommunication, for this reason only (as it appears from the writing of the F. Archimandrite), that Mr. Tischendorf did not employ him who first discovered the MS. in the convent of Mount Sinai. And this insult is offered by one who holds spiritual rank, and who says that his opinion 'is the result of a liberal Biblical criticism, and the firstfruits of the field of our theological literature;' and that 'nobody who looks at it will in future say that among the Russian priesthood there is no knowledge or understanding of the Bible; that there is not even a seed thereof to sow—no, not even a flail to help one to sever the tares from the wheat.'

"This insult, I fear, will make a deep impression on those who are not acquainted with the Greek, and who may not have at hand a copy of this edition of the Sinaitic MS., drawn as it is in a limited number of copies, the price of which, moreover, is not within the reach of very many. Besides, the F. Archimandrite, speaking of the Sinaitic Bible and of other MSS. brought by Mr. Tischendorf, says the following:—'These relics have been exposed to the sight of the whole people of the capital for the space of two weeks; and this people looked affectionately on the relic of Sinaitic antiquity, and kissed it devoutly, knowing nothing of its heretical origin, neither perceiving any foul odour from it. I expect that Tischendorf, knowing well how dangerous this relic is for us, laughed in secret at our blissful ignorance.'

"On me, therefore, devolves the duty of refuting this unpardonable insult offered by the F. Archimandrite to all the brethren of Sinai, in the face of their venerable bishop, who entertains with so much kindness even the poorest Russian worshippers in the wilderness of Sinai, of whose good offices I was myself witness; who watches with holy zeal over the interests of the Church

on Mount Sinai, and who with the greatest kindness and good nature made over this valuable MS. to be published.

"Although the F. Archimandrite said in Constantinople and wherever else he travelled, that 'the text of the Sinaitic Gospel does not accord with the text received by the whole Church Catholic, and that *therefore it contradicts or destroys the teaching respecting the person of Christ (God-Man)*,' and thus raised sundry disputes and strifes of words on this subject, yet he never once shewed proof of it, but rather, may be, created greater perplexity, and left a bad opinion of the learning of our clergy, both in the east and in the west.

"During my recent journey in the East, nowhere did I hear reproaches cast upon the monks of Mount Sinai for their parting with the MS.; for the Russian Government never alienates anywhere anything from any one; and even if the monks of Mount Sinai offered this MS. in present to Russia, yet Russia would not assuredly remain in debt to them, but this very gift would tend to the prosperity of their sainted abode, now on the road to decay; neither did one of the eastern patriarchs offer even to censure the bishop for his conduct; for this reason, that this MS. of the Bible having remained useless in the desert of Mount Sinai, he turned it to the welfare of his Church.

"Let us now examine in detail the points from which the Archimandrite brings forth the heresy of the Sinaitic text.

"Not one of the existing ancient MSS. of Holy Scripture can be called exclusively Catholic; but all those MSS. together are used in order to establish texts adopted by the Church. In the East they make no very great difference between all printed texts, which have not been intentionally falsified. The Church of Rome has received St. Jerome's translation made on the authority of various texts. With us in Russia, the Church receives the Slavonic version, and the texts which agree more or less with it. If the Slavonic text, in which are many errors and a few omissions, but no interpolations, is called heretical, then we ought also to call heretical all other MSS. of whatever class. To begin with these, this one patent fact alone does away with all the attacks of F. Archimandrite Porphyry. The editor of the Sinaitic MS. himself points to the number of mistakes which occur in it, in proof that the caligraph who wrote the MS. was not acquainted with the Greek language, but was employed merely for his skill in caligraphy, as it was often done in copying MSS. But this very defect is amply compensated by the servile copy of the original. The Sinaitic MS. has the closest affinity with the celebrated Vatican MS., and its readings agree with the quotations of the principal fathers of the Church, and with others of the best and oldest MSS. The editor shews this also. He likewise refutes with searching proofs the opinion of F. Archimandrite Porphyry, who ascribes the Sinaitic MS. to the end of the fifth century, giving his proofs in writing. The F. Archimandrite, however, did not do this. In his charges against the Sinaitic MS., etc., he did not also give the refutations of Tischendorf, but he brought forward before the public his own allegations only. Before throwing out complaints against the Sinaitic Bible, however, he ought first to have refuted publicly the proofs brought forward by Tischendorf. Here are the articles of accusation brought against the Sinaitic MS. by F. Archimandrite Porphyry, with our reply to each article.

"1. 'The whole Church Catholic from the earliest centuries, reads thus, in the Gospel of St. Matthew i. 25:—"And he knew her not (Joseph) until she brought forth her first-born son." But in the Sinaitic MS. one reads this shorter passage:—"And he knew her not until she brought forth a son." The words *her first-born* are omitted, as if the writer of this MS. thought that Christ is not the fruit of Mary; that He had borrowed nothing from her most holy body, but had come through her as if through a channel; and therefore they did not call Him her son. Suspicious!"

"But to us, the explanation given by the F. Archimandrite appears at least factious, and it is with difficulty that we have made up our mind to give it in full. Can it be that the F. Archimandrite has not even looked at the editions of the New Testament by Wetstein, Griesbach, Mill, and lastly by Tischendorf, in whose commentaries reference is made to the heretical interpretation of the word

*πρωτότοκον*, *first-born*, by Helvidius? Is it possible that he is not aware of what S. Jerome and others said on this occasion? Even in our time the learned archbishop of Astrakhan, Nicephorus, in the very Greek of his exposition of the Gospels for the week before the birth of Christ, says—'Thus, when you hear the word *first-born*, think not that the holy mother of God gave birth also to other sons, for here the word '*first-born*' does not imply some other son, as if he were only the first and only begotten, but even this, '*the first-born of every creature*.' Col. i. 15" (Russ. ed. of 1847, vol. ii., p. 534). In the oldest MSS. to the words *τὴν υἱὴν αὐτῆς τὴν πρωτότοκον*, *her son, first-born*, is simply substituted the word *υἱόν*, *son*, i. e., *until she brought forth a son*. The word *αὐτῆς*, *her*, would then have been superfluous according to the evident sense of verse 20. The omission in the Sinaitic MS. of the words indicated is, may be, *not an omission*; this very same reading is also found in the celebrated Vatican MS. It deserves the particular attention of Biblical critics; but in no case can it call forth an explanation such as that of F. Porphyry.

"2. 'In the Church Catholic, and from the earliest centuries, St. Mark i. 1 is read thus—"The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." But in the Sinaitic MS. the words *Son of God* are omitted. And thus Christ is not the Son of God! Marvellous!

"Assuredly we, for our part, hardly understand how the F. Archimandrite could draw such an extraordinary conclusion from this evident error of the copyist, corrected in the MS. itself by no modern hand. Not to mention that the existence of the whole Gospel rests on this, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, can it be that the F. Archimandrite did not see in that same place of the Gospel of St. Mark, in col. 2, concerning the baptism of our Saviour—"And there was a voice from heaven: Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." This then is the voice of God himself, and not of the Evangelist. Certainly, if the MS. were heretical, this place especially would have been mutilated before many others. But in chap. ix. 7 of this same Gospel of St. Mark, in the account of our Saviour's transfiguration, again the same voice of the same Lord God says—"This is my beloved Son; hear him." And in chap. xv. 39 of this Gospel of St. Mark, the words of the centurion, 'Surely this man was the Son of God.' We need not multiply quotations; but we cannot but say that the F. Archimandrite's explanation has not the shadow of substance.

"3. 'The whole Church Catholic, from the earliest centuries, reads the last twelve verses of the last chapter of St. Mark, in which, among other things, mention is made of Christ's ascension into heaven. But in the Sinaitic MS. these verses do not exist, and thus Christ is not gone into heaven! Astonishing! They say Eusebius and Jerome (fourth century) saw Gospels in which these verses were left out. But what follows from that? This only follows—that those Gospels were neither of the Church nor authorized. Both those teachers give proof of this, as also of the exception taken at this example, and they themselves read this Gospel of Mark, which supported the orthodox faith in Christ's ascension; otherwise they could not have spoken of the disparity between such a Gospel and others of the same Evangelist left incomplete.'

"The F. Archimandrite himself cannot doubt that Eusebius and Jerome (fourth century) saw Gospels in which these verses were left out; but do they call those MSS. heretical, as F. Porphyry does? They considered the twelve verses complete, as Catholic. The oldest MSS., the Vatican and others, support these twelve verses; yet they do not all have this ending. Still no one calls them heretical, but only incomplete.

"4. 'The whole Church Catholic, from the first centuries, reads in St. Luke xxiv. 51, that Christ, having blessed His disciples near Bethany, was parted from them and *carried up into heaven*. But in the Sinaitic MS. the words "*carried up into heaven*" are omitted. There is, then, no more glad tidings of Christ's ascension. Astounding! For since only the two evangelists Mark and Luke make mention of this event, which the other two do not record, through the omission of these passages in both their Gospels, a precious dogma of the Christian faith is thereby destroyed! Never!

"Here, also, must we repeat what we said on the first point: can it be pos-

sible that the F. Archimandrite has not even glanced at some of the chief critical editions of the holy Gospels, where it is made plain that in many very ancient MSS. those words are omitted? This, however, does not prove that those MSS., as, e.g., the Vatican MS., are therefore heretical; and that the received ending is not Catholic. We do not quote Tischendorf's edition to the F. Archimandrite, but we ask him to cast his look on Wetstein's text, whose edition is to this day quoted as one of the best (*Nov. Test. Græcum. Editionis receptæ. 1751*). But wherefore does the F. Archimandrite not say that in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, the event of our Saviour Christ's ascension is found in all its detail, whence it appears that the writer of this MS. did not omit at all intentionally the words above mentioned?

"5. 'The whole Church Catholic, from the earliest centuries, reads in St. John viii. 3—12, the comforting account of the forgiveness granted by the Lord to a woman taken in adultery. But this account is left out in the Sinaitic MS. Doubtful! The heretic Apollinarius omitted it in his copy of the Gospel. The enemies of the faith—*inimici fidei*—omitted it, on the testimony of Augustine; as did also the Armenians, who said that this narrative might do harm to Christian morals; βλαβερὰν εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκράσιν (Nicon). But Papias of Hierapolis, who was a hearer of John the Theologian, knew this account of the woman taken in adultery. He had read it in those ancient MSS. of the Gospels which belonged to the Church. In the library of the convent of Mount Sinai, I saw a Gospel of St. John of the tenth century, transcribed from the very old copy of Jerusalem. In it the whole of the good news concerning the woman taken in adultery is singled out with red dots divided by a yoke thus, —÷—; and on the margin is inserted the following:—"τὰ ὀβελισμένα ἐν τισὶν ἀντιγράφοις οὐ κεῖται, οὐδὲ Ἀπολλινάρου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔλα κεῖται. Μνημονεύουσι τῆς περικοπῆς ταύτης καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι πάντες, ἐν αἷς ἐξέθεντο διατάξεις εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας"—i. e., in certain copies, and in the copy of Apollinarius, all this is not found which is here singled out by these marks; but in *ancient* (literally in the *original*) MSS., all this is read. Moreover, all the apostles mention this beginning of St. John viii., in the constitutions which they drew up for the edification of the Church. In the library of the monastery on Mount Athos there is a copy of the four Gospels of the tenth century (in octavo, on parchment) that belongs to the class of MSS. used for editions authorized by the Church. At the end of it is inserted the following:—"Ἐόρῃται καὶ ἕτερα ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις, ἅπερ συνελδομεν γράφαι πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ (Ἰωάννου), ὁ ἔστιν τῷδε." (πόρρωθεν ἀναγινώσκεται ὅλη ἡ περικοπή περὶ τῆς μοιχαλίδος)—that is, It is found otherwise even in ancient copies; but we, for conscience' sake, have written this at the end of this Evangelist (John), to wit—(after that follows the whole account of the woman taken in adultery). After such testimony it is impossible not to refer the Sinaitic MS. to the class of heretical MSS.'

"There can be no doubt that the touching Gospel narrative now mentioned is not an interpolation, but that it belongs essentially to the text. The ancient omission in many of the oldest MSS., among others in that of the Vatican, which never was reckoned heretical, is yet the one after which John Chrysostom omitted this narrative in his Homilies on the Gospel of St. John. The very clemency and pity of our Saviour Christ was quoted for evil in the corrupt times of that century. In Gospels of the ninth century, most complete, conferred on me with the blessing of the patriarch of Alexandria, this place alone is omitted.

"6. 'The whole of the Church Catholic, from the earliest centuries, reads in the Gospel of John (xvi. 14)—"He shall glorify me (the Spirit of Truth), for he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you (15). All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I that he shall take of mine and shall shew it unto you." But in the Sinaitic MS. this 15th verse is omitted, as if the editor did not believe that Christ is the Son of God, and that He has all that which His Father has. Remarkable!"

"An evident oversight of the writer of the MS., hardly worth mentioning, and from which assuredly no one can draw the inference that Christ has not all that which his Father has; for the preceding verse tells this very thing, and the

following tends to the same object; therefore those words are repeated in the fifteenth verse which occur in the fourteenth—'Therefore said I that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you.'

"7. 'The whole Church Catholic, from the earliest centuries, reads in the First Epistle to the Corinthians xii. 28, 29—"God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, *governments*, diversities of tongues." But in the Sinaitic MS. the word *diversities* is omitted, may be through carelessness of the writer; yet it may also be owing to this—that the writers of it read together the words *governments of tongues*, and understood that God gives to Christians the power to govern tongues, i.e., peoples or nations. Behold what contradictory meaning this MS. gives!'

"The omission of the word *diversities* is corrected in the text itself by some ancient hand. The explanation given by the F. Archimandrite is so absurd and affected that it requires no refutation.

"We might write at length in order to refute the F. Archimandrite, for his *Opinion* presents a wide field for criticism; but this would require time. We have only hastened to quiet the minds of those who love the Word of God, relatively to the attacks made by the F. Archimandrite Porphyry on one of these ancient relics of the Holy Scriptures, and to shew that this MS. is indeed a treasure for the study of various readings; that Russian money has not been spent in vain; and that it will bring forth fruits to the glory of our Lord.

"We give the F. Archimandrite's conclusion. 'I suppose that after a third examination of the Sinaitic Bible, my opinion may perhaps alter a shade and be rounded off as regards the time at which that MS. saw the light, the originals on which it was written, the heretics by whom it was falsified, those who corrected it, etc. But I affirm that all I have said respecting the worth and merit of the text of the Gospel in that MS. rests on unchangeable and invariable truth; and I hope that this truth shall appear and be defended by the Church Catholic, and that it will triumph over the doubt caused by hot and angry discussions.'

"And we also hope that the orthodox Church Catholic will look upon the Sinaitic MS. of the Bible as one of those foundation-stones that serve for the building up of solid learning and of a clearer knowledge of the text of the Old and New Testaments; and that the theologians of the whole world will abide grateful to the Russian Government for this most precious gift, already appreciated by many of the most learned men in Europe.

"January 6, 1863."

*Chesil*.—This is enumerated among the cities of the Negeb, in Josh. xv. 30. In his new and interesting work on the district, Mr. Wilton says:—"It is not mentioned elsewhere under this name; but there is a general agreement of opinion among critics, that it is the same as the *Bethul* of Josh. xix. 4, and the *Bethuel* of 1 Chron. iv. 30. To these I would add the *Bethel* of 1 Sam. xxx. 27, which is undoubtedly the place we are now considering. It is naturally mentioned first among the cities to which David sent presents, being (as we shall see) the one nearest to Ziklag, where he then was; and it is followed with equal appropriateness by Ramoth of the South (our ninth city, the modern Kurnub), which is the next nearest. This fourth instance, besides helping to determine the locality, is valuable as giving us the clue to the true etymology of the word. It would appear, indeed, from the Septuagint rendering, that *Chesil* was not the original word even in the present catalogue, but that it has been substituted for it since the Greek version was made. This view is confirmed by the fact, that in Josh. xix. 4, *Chesil* is the rendering of one MS. (209 K.) How then are we to explain this unusual procedure? The following is submitted as an easy and natural mode of

solving the difficulty. This place has originally been a spot in which the worship of the true God has been carried on, but, in process of time, it has degenerated into a scene of heathenish revelry, precisely in the same manner that the other Bethel, as well as Dan (both early associated with the worship of Jehovah), sank into the depths of a debasing superstition.

"And as the northern Bethel (the house of God) was punished by being designated Bethaven (the house of nothingness), so here, the same honourable title was either disguised by intentional corruption (Bethuel, Bethul), or altogether supplanted by a word signifying 'folly' (Chesil). But a yet further analogy may be traced between the two Bethels. In the northern one, the same Hebrew letters which form the word *Avon*, become by a slight change of punctuation, *On*, and thus refer to one of the many phases of idolatry—the worship of the Sun. Even so, the word *Chesil*, which literally means 'fool,' also signifies the group of stars known as Orion. This is one of the five constellations known from the earliest ages; the other four being Sirius, the Hyades, the Pleiades, and Arcturus. Orion was supposed by the Orientals to be the star of Nimrod, who, according to their mythology, was chained to heaven. Hence the question of the Divine speaker, 'Canst thou loose the bands of Orion?' It is not surprising that it should have possessed such a hold of the eastern mind, when we find an observant traveller thus speaking of its effects on herself. 'And then there was the rising of Orion. I have said that the constellations were less conspicuous than at home, from the universal brilliancy of the sky: but Orion shone forth, night by night, till the punctual and radiant apparition became almost oppressive to the watching sense.' It is not quite certain, however, that Chesil was applied exclusively to Orion. The Rabbinical writers understood it to refer to Sirius, which is called in Arabic *stultulus*,—thus recognizing the same *paronomasia* as the Hebrew; and we know that it was used in the plural to signify the constellations generally. It will be our safest course, therefore, to consider Chesil as a comprehensive term, descriptive of the star-worship which was once so prevalent among the eastern nations, especially the Arabians. We can the better understand this proneness on the part of the latter to the worship of the heavenly bodies, when we take into consideration the intense purity of the desert sky. Its influence was not unfelt by Dr. Robinson, as he bivouacked on one occasion near 'Ain Hasb, and may be traced in the unwonted eloquence, which for a time relieves the necessarily prosaic character of his narrative. 'Above our heads (he writes) was the deep azure of an Oriental sky, studded with innumerable stars and brilliant constellations, on which we gazed with a higher interest from the bottom of this deep chasm. . . . Ten minutes after midnight we were again upon our camels. The moon had set, and all was dark; the night breeze cool and refreshing. All was still as the grave; nor did the noiseless tread of the camels in the sand break in at all upon the silence. . . . I watched with interest the dawning of the morning star; at length about 3 o'clock it burst at once over the eastern mountains radiant with brightness.' Our next object is to discover a site, not only answering to the other required conditions, but historically

associated with this particular form of idolatry, *originating with a purer worship.*

"Mr. Rowland has suggested *el-Khulasah*, an important ruin a few miles S.W. of Beersheba, (the Elusa of the Greeks and Romans) as representing the ancient Chesil. He does not give his reasons for arriving at this conclusion; we may, however, suppose him to have been influenced by the analogy both of *name* (allowance being made for the interchange of similar letters, and for the use of the Anagram), and of *position* (in relation to Hormah and Ziklag). These are important points of resemblance, but there are others, connected with the religious aspects of the spot, which place its identity with Chesil beyond all reasonable doubt.

"(1.) We have direct scriptural evidence that in this immediate neighbourhood, God's pure worship was solemnly performed, in a place duly set apart for the purpose. Soon after the birth of Isaac,—which we have seen reason to associate with the preceding city (Eltolad),—Abraham entered into covenant relations with Abimelech, king of the Philistines, at Beersheba. The sacred historian then relates that Abraham 'planted a grove (literally, a tamarisk, as the Hebrew imports) in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God. And Abraham sojourned in the Philistines' land many days.' Now I think it will at once strike the reader of these verses, that the religious act here indicated, was of a more significant and permanent character than that recorded in connexion either with Shechem or the northern Bethel.

"And yet we find Shechem regarded by the Israelites as hallowed ground, from this its early association with their great ancestor: nor is it improbable that Jacob's steps were directed to the future Bethel, by the recollection that the place had already been consecrated by the prayers of 'the friend of God;' so that we may well believe that no small portion of its subsequent sanctity, was derived from the fact, that there 'prayer was wont to be made,' long before Jacob's special act of dedication. If, then, the already existing and perhaps desecrated Oak of Shechem, under which Abraham reared his temporary altar, became a sacred tree for long centuries, with how much greater veneration would that Tamarisk, planted in the Southern wilderness by Abraham's own hands, be regarded by Ishmael and his descendants, and how much higher a sanctity would attach to the place where he had worshipped, not for one passing day, but day by day, and sabbath after sabbath through many successive years! The next inquiry is, what was the precise situation of this place of worship, thus solemnly inaugurated by Abraham? Our version represents the patriarch as planting his tamarisk '*in* Beersheba.' Now it appears to me improbable in the extreme, that he would fix upon a spot for devotional purposes—whose greatest recommendation must surely have been its comparative seclusion—close to a public well, and that, too, such as Beersheba, which, from the quality as well as quantity of its water, was an object of envy and contention on the part of the Philistines, in the days both of Abraham and Isaac, and is even now jointly resorted to by two Arab tribes. We are not, however, required to place Abraham's sanctuary or 'house of God,' as he probably called it, in close contiguity to the well of Beersheba.



"The preposition *beth* is often used in the sense of 'near' or 'by,' and is even so translated in the Authorized Version. This undoubted latitude of meaning, enables us to assign such a position to Abraham's Bethel, that while strictly within the *district* of Beersheba, it satisfies all the other requirements to which I have adverted.

"(3.) But the testimony of Scripture does not stop here. The prophet Amos expressly declares, that instead of the pure worship of Jehovah which had formerly prevailed in this place, there was in his time an organized system of star-worship, which was exercising a most corrupting influence on the degenerate Hebrews. 'Thus saith the Lord, Seek ye Me, and ye shall live: but seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, *and pass not to Beersheba*. . . . Seek the Lord, and ye shall live. . . . Seek Him that maketh the seven stars (the Pleiades), *and Orion* (Chesil). . . . But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch (the Sun, or perhaps Saturn) and Chiun (Sirius) your images, the *star* of your god, which ye made to yourselves.' And again: 'They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, Thy god, O Dan, liveth; *and the manner* ("the worship," according to the Sept. and Secker) of Beersheba liveth; even they shall fall, and never rise up again.' The state of things thus recorded by Amos, had probably been of long standing even in his day. There is reason to believe, that during the protracted sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, the Arabians retaining their veneration for the southern Bethel on account of its connexion with Abraham, made it one of the seats of that worship of the heavenly bodies, to which they were so addicted before the Mohammedan era. How natural, therefore, was it that the Jews, after their return from Babylon, cured of their proneness to idolatry, should brand the desecrated spot with the name Chesil. It is curious to trace this worship down to the end of the fourth century. Jerome distinctly testifies to the fact that the great majority of the inhabitants of Elusa, who were connected with the Saracens of the adjacent desert, held an annual festival in the temple of Venus, *whom* they worshipped as the morning star. And Sozomen, a contemporary writer of the Eastern church, speaks of it under its original name, Bethelia, 'a town (he says) belonging to the inhabitants of Gaza, well peopled, and having several temples remarkable for their structure and antiquity; particularly a Pantheon, situated on an eminence made of earth, brought thither for the purpose, which commanded the whole city.'

"I conjecture (continues Sozomen) that this place was named Bethelia, which signifies the house of God, by reason of this temple.' The best commentary on these accounts, is the description given by modern travellers, of the present condition of el-Khulasah:—"These ruins cover an area of fifteen or twenty acres, throughout which the foundations and enclosures of houses are distinctly to be traced, and squared stones are everywhere thinly scattered. Towards the western side are two open places, perhaps open squares of the ancient city. Several large heaps of hewn stones, in various parts, probably mark the sites of public buildings; but they are thrown together in too much confusion to be easily made out. Occasional fragments of columns and entablatures were visible. . . . We judged that here must have been a city, with room enough for a

population of fifteen or twenty thousand souls.' 'The city stood upon an island formed by two wadys, which separate a little above the ancient town, and unite again about a quarter of a mile below it. . . . There are two square ruins near each other, about the centre of the city, which stand isolated from all the rest.' The remains are very extensive; and the stones are of all sizes and shapes,—showing even in their fragments, the carefulness with which they had been hewn and prepared. . . . Hard by (the dry bed of a stream) were the ruins of large buildings, some square, others circular, the stones not rude but well-hewn. . . . The stones of Elusa lie scattered over the valley, with great quantities of pottery of all colours,—white, black, and red."—*The Negeb*.

*The Eshel, or Tamarisk*.—The last mentioned writer has expressed his dissent from the generally received opinion, that the Eshel of Gen. xxi. 33; 1 Sam. xxii. 6; xxxi. 13, signifies the Tarfa or Tamarisk. The following considerations may, however, serve to shew that his arguments are of little avail against the overwhelming preponderance of counter-evidence both external and internal. (1.) Dr. Bonar says, that he "never heard the name Eshel applied to the tamarisk tree, in the desert or in Palestine."

This is readily granted; and yet it does not necessarily follow that others have not been more fortunate in this respect. The best Hebrew and Arabic scholars, are agreed in considering *Eshel* as synonymous with *Athul* (pronounced *Asul*), one of the Arabic words for tamarisk tree: while Sir R. K. Porter tells us, that he found this very name applied by the Arabs to the venerable tamarisk, which is the sole representative of the famous hanging gardens of Babylon. Professor Royle gives similar testimony with regard to India and Egypt; and what is yet more to the point, both he and Burckhardt positively affirm, that this is also the case in Arabia itself.

(2.) He argues that the tamarisk "is not a likely tree to be planted for its shade. Its leaves are so thin and wiry, that they give no shelter either from heat or rain." It may well be doubted whether our author has not in these words, unduly depreciated the tamarisk, without of course, intending to do so; for he himself says elsewhere, "In how many ways did God refresh us in the desert. Sometimes it was the 'shadow of a great rock;' sometimes it was the foliage of the palm, or the tarfa, or the ritt'm, and sometimes it was the genial breeze." And in the same page he adds, "We found ourselves in a wood of tarfa-trees, of considerable extent." In this identical grove, Dr. Stewart's sheekh, foreseeing a coming storm, was anxious, for the sake of his camels, to *avail himself of the shelter of the trees*." There is nothing, indeed, to prevent our understanding *Eshel* in Gen. xxi. 33, (which is without the article) to signify "a grove of tamarisks," which is the rendering of Rosenmüller, Boothroyd, and others. (3.) He further alleges that "in the desert it is a small tree, and even in Egypt and at Sidon, where it is seen to best advantage, it is not a large one." The grove in Wady es-Sheikh, just mentioned, is characterized by Dr. Stewart as "of respectable size," notwithstanding the recklessness of the Arabs, and the destructive agencies constantly

operating against all vegetation in the peninsula. Professor Royle, however, adduces facts which prove that, under favourable circumstances, it attains the size "*magnæ olivæ*," and even "of a large oak." The ancient tamarisk of Babylon, to which I have already referred, although but a wreck of what it once was, shews by the great circumference of its now hollow trunk, that it must have been a tree of stately proportions. It is still more satisfactory to find a similar luxuriance of growth in Arabia Petræa. A French naturalist, M. Bové, saw "some very large (*très gros*) tamarisks" between Suez and Gaza; and the day before reaching the latter place, that is to say, in the very region of Beersheba, he came to a valley, which he calls Lisare, "full of tamarisks, three or four yards in circumference, and from twelve to fifteen yards in height."

(4.) Dr. Bonar's next argument, founded on 1 Sam. xxii. 6, that "no tarfa-tree that we saw or heard of would admit of" Saul and all his servants standing under it,—is at once disposed of by a reference to the precise phraseology of the passage, which only asserts that Saul himself was under the tree.

(5.) The last objection is based on the apparent discrepancy between 1 Sam. xxxi. 13 (which speaks of "the *Eshel*" at Jabesh-Gilead), and 1 Chron. x. 12 (where the same tree is called "the *Elah*"). This, although formidable at first sight, is obviated by a consideration of the primary meaning of Elah. Derived from a root which imports strength, it generally denotes "the tree" or "the strong tree," while it applies specifically to the principal or characteristic tree, of the particular region referred to. Thus, in the desert it is the Palm, as at El-Paran and Elim; in central Canaan it is the Terebinth, and (with a slight modification) the Oak, and in the Ghôr, or valley of the Jordan, it is the Tamarisk; as it is very evident, from the minute observations of Lieutenant Lynch, who navigated its entire extent, and of Dr. Robinson, who, when crossing the Jordan, opposite Wady Zâbis, by a ford over an island, mentions "the many tamarisks upon it," and speaks of two former channels of the river, as "full of tamarisks, *the most common* tree just here." We can now understand why Abraham made choice of the tamarisk on this occasion. It was not because it was superior to the oaks of Moreh and Mamre, or the palms of Jericho and Elim; but because the oak required a richer soil, and a greater elevation than Khulasah (which is only seven hundred and four feet above the sea), while the palm, on the other hand, would have languished without the tropical temperature, and brackish waters, of the Southern Ghôr. The patriarch, therefore, displayed his wisdom in selecting for his new abode, the largest kind of tree, which would flourish in that locality; one, moreover, which attains an enormous age, whose wood is valuable for its hardness and convertibility into charcoal, and its galls for their medicinal properties. And if the Arabs of the present day, regard as sacred the tamarisk which grows among the ruins of Babylon, because it afforded the Caliph Ali, a temporary resting-place after the battle of Hillah; much more would the Ishmaelites of old, be likely to venerate the Tamarisk which shaded the sanctuary, where their great forefather had worshipped during "many days."—*Wilton's Negeb*.

THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
SACRED LITERATURE  
AND  
BIBLICAL RECORD.

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No. VIII.—JANUARY, 1864.  
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THE BOOK OF DANIEL: AS VIEWED BY HIPPOLYTUS,  
PORPHYRY, AND OTHERS.

"It is incorrect to say, as Hengstenberg and many others have done, that the series of opponents to the authenticity of the book [of Daniel] was opened by Porphyry in the third century. Porphyry was certainly a heathen, and wrote against the Christian religion. But he was not the first impugner of Daniel. Hippolytus, a Roman bishop and orthodox Christian writer, also referred the work to the Maccabean period and Antiochus Epiphanes; as we know from his explanations of the book, partly Greek and partly Syriac."<sup>a</sup>

The passage here alluded to is an article by Dr. Ewald.<sup>b</sup> We give the original of the portion referring to Daniel:—

"Man Kann aber aus Hippolytos' Werken oft desto mehr lernen, je sicherer er noch in ein verhältnissmässig frühes Alter zurückgeht. Man nehme z. B. seine Erklärungen des B. Daniel, wie sie hier nun theils syrisch, theils griechisch ziemlich vollständig vorliegen: vieles Einzelne

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<sup>a</sup> See Ewald in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1859; pp. 270, 271.

The preceding note and the above extract are from *An Introduction to the Old Testament, Critical, Historical, and Theological, containing a discussion of the most important questions belonging to the several books*. By Samuel Davidson, D.D., of the University of Halle, and LL.D. London: Williams and Norgate. Vol. iii., p. 200.

<sup>b</sup> Upon "P. Lagardii *Analecta Syriaca*," and "Hippolyti Romani quæ feruntur omnia Græce e recensione Pauli Antenii de Lagarde."

erläutert er ohne tieferer Nachdenken, so dass wir heute viel richtiger darüber urtheilen können; allein in dem er bei manchem im B. Daniel berührten auf die Geschichte der Streitigkeiten zwischen den Ptolemäern und Seleukiden und insbesondere auf die Thaten und das Wesen Königs Antiochos Epiphanes hinweist, leistet er uns damit einen Dienst, der heute sehr zu loben ist. Es ist nämlich bekannt, dass manche Schriftsteller neuester Zeit die bessere Erklärung des B. Daniel, seit dem sie unter uns emporgekommen ist, dadurch völlig verdächtigen und widerlegen wollen, dass sie sagen, der Heide Porphyrios, kurze Zeit vor dem bekannten Eusebios von Cäsaren sei ihr Vater. Nun aber sehen wir, dass schon vor Porphyrios ein so guter römischer Bischof und geachteter Grieche wie Hippolytos wesentlich den Stoff für die selbe Erklärung reicht, wenn auch noch nicht so ausführlich als Porphyrios: desto billiger wird man inskünftige diese Beschuldigung unterlassen."

Of the preceding extract we understand the meaning to be this:—

"We may often learn from the works of Hippolytus all the better in proportion as he goes back to an earlier date. For example, we may take his expositions of the book of Daniel as they here come before us, partly in Syriac, and partly in Greek, and apparently perfect. He explains many individual matters without profound reflection, so that we now can pronounce upon them much more correctly. Nevertheless, inasmuch as in the discussions of many passages of Daniel he alludes to the history of the struggles between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, and especially to the deeds and character of Antiochus Epiphanes, he thereby renders us a service which is now much to be commended. It is, for example, known that many writers of recent times would question and disprove the better exposition of the book of Daniel since the subject has come prominently forward, on this account, that they say the heathen Porphyrius, a little earlier than the well-known Eusebius of Cæsarea, was its originator. But we now see that even before Porphyrius, so good a Roman bishop, and so genuine a Greek as Hippolytus, substantially furnishes the materials for the same exposition, although not so completely as Porphyrius: the more justly shall we henceforth therefore reject this imputation."

Without stopping to determine whether Dr. Ewald really means to say that Hippolytus ascribes the origin of any portion of the book of Daniel to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, we shall endeavour to ascertain whether Hippolytus does this as Dr. Davidson seems to understand, and whether the accusation which has hitherto been laid at the door of Porphyry, ought, as Dr. Ewald suggests, to be transferred to Hippolytus.

Hippolytus, though called a "Roman bishop," was not a bishop of Rome, but of Portus or Portus Romanus, a city in the Campagna, near the western mouth of the Tiber. The bishops of Rome in his time were Zephyrinus and Calixtus (A.D. 199—222), and with them he came into actual collision,

Of his ability, learning, and independence, men doubt no more than of his zeal and sincerity,—he is honoured as a martyr. Those, however, who would know more of his life may refer to Bunsen's great work on *Hippolytus and his Times*.

With regard to Porphyry, who died A.D. 304, or more than eighty years after Hippolytus, he was, as stated by Bleek, a Neo-Platonist, who devoted the twelfth book of his work against Christianity to an attack upon Daniel. He held that this book was forged by some Jew who lived in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that it contained history rather than prophecy; hence it is true in what concerns the times preceding its composition, but it is false in what relates to the times after that. He supported his views by appeals to Syrian history, etc. Fragments of his work appear in Jerome's commentary upon Daniel, where they are refuted; as they also were by other ecclesiastical writers mentioned by Jerome,—Methodius, Apollinaris of Laodicea, and Eusebius of Cæsarea.\*

If Hippolytus denied the authenticity of Daniel, it is very strange that his opinions should have been passed over in silence. The canonicity of Daniel was universally admitted, and on several accounts its authenticity was intimately allied with its canonicity. Ezekiel had said, "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God" (Ezek. xiv. 14). The same prophet utters a similar sentiment in verse 20 of the same chapter; and again (chap. xxviii. 3) exclaims to the prince of Tyre, "Behold thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee." This is not all: in St. Matthew, xxiv. 15 (repeated by St. Mark, xiii. 14), our Lord invests Daniel with all the attributes of a real character and a true prophet: "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place," etc. Again, some things in Daniel find their parallels in the New Testament, as, *e. g.*, comp. Dan. vii. 2, 7, with Rev. xiii. 1, and xvii. 3, etc.; and Dan. xi. 36, with 2 Thess. ii. 4. Scripture references like these had all the force of demonstration in the early Church, and the first Christian writers no more doubted concerning Daniel and his book, than did Josephus and the Jews. Josephus, it is well known, incorporates the history of Daniel into his tenth book;† in his twelfth book he quotes one of the prophecies of Daniel as fulfilled on a particular occasion, and he says, "This desolation came to pass according

\* Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Test.* Berlin, 1860; pp. 583-4.

† *Antiq. Jud.*, x., chap. xi., 12.

\* *Antiq. Jud.*, xiii., chap. vii., 6.

to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given *four hundred and eight years before*, for he declared that the Macedonians would abolish it."

Assuredly Hippolytus would find no more encouragement in Jewish writings generally, than in Josephus and the Scriptures, for doubting the authenticity of Daniel. If he looked into Christian literature, and we have good proof that he was one of the best read men of his day,—worthy to be named along with Origen and his tutor Clement of Alexandria,—we can believe that he had the document now called the epistle of Barnabas; on turning to its fourth section he would find references to several texts in Daniel (Dan. vii. 7, 8; xxiv. 9; xxiv. 26, 27). He very likely had the first epistle of Clement of Rome, and was familiar with its allusions to Daniel in the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth sections (Dan. iii. 20; vi. 16; vii. 10):—

"For the Scripture saith, 'Myriads of myriads stood beside him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto him' (sec. 34).

"Look narrowly into the Scriptures, which are the true oracles of the Holy Spirit. Understand, there is nothing unjust nor perverse written in them. Ye will not find the righteous rejected by pious men. The righteous were persecuted, but by the iniquitous; they were cast into prison, but by the impious; they were stoned by the transgressors; they were slain by the wicked and those who were carried away by unrighteous zeal. When they suffered these things, they bore them praiseworthy. For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel cast into a den of lions by those who fear God? Were Ananias, Azarias, and Mishaël shut up in the furnace of fire by those who followed the excellent and glorious worship of the Most High?" etc.

We should not like to affirm that Hippolytus certainly had the epistle ascribed to Ignatius, and addressed to the Magnesians, but if he had, he would have found the book of Daniel alluded to in it. Writers like Justin Martyr experienced no doubts upon the subject. In the dialogue with Trypho the Jew, Justin quotes an allusion to Daniel by Ezekiel, and from the book of Daniel itself cites several passages. Thus ii. 34 is appealed to; so also are ii. 41; vii. 9—28 (quoted at length); and other passages.

It would involve us in too long a digression to cite or refer to the passages in the Christian literature of the times preceding Hippolytus, which shew the estimation in which the book of Daniel was held. But we may mention Julius Africanus, the illustrious contemporary of Hippolytus. He was, as all know, a diligent investigator into ancient documents, and was as well qualified as any man of his time to form an opinion. This writer, in his epistle to Origen, makes direct allusions to Daniel;

so also in his *Chronicon* on several occasions.<sup>f</sup> Julius Africanus, it may be observed, denied the authenticity of certain apocryphal additions to Daniel,—as the story of Susanna; and it is worth noticing, that he objects to some passages in this story much in the same terms as Porphyry. But there was this difference; Julius brought his objections to prove that what claimed to belong to the book did not belong to it; whereas Porphyry, assuming the same passages to form an integral part of the book, argued from them against the whole.

No one will deny that Hippolytus had all the three classes of authorities for Daniel to which we have referred,—Biblical, Jewish, and Christian; we shall not stop to enquire whether he had any other, but proceed at once to those of his writings which have recently been published in Greek and in Syriac by Dr. De Lagarde.<sup>g</sup> The volumes in question do not contain the treatise “against all heresies,” or *Philosophoumena*, but we imagine they will be quite sufficient for our present purpose. At the close of the Greek text of Hippolytus, Dr. De Lagarde gives a list of texts, and among them we find no fewer than *one hundred and seven* references to the book of Daniel. These references, which could easily be multiplied, consist in part of repeated allusions to the same verses, and partly of allusions to more verses than one. They extend from the first verse of the first chapter to the twelfth verse of the twelfth chapter, and they are found in writings upon a variety of subjects. Our present intention is to enumerate most of these allusions in the order of chapters and verses; but before we do so, we may remind the reader that Hippolytus wrote a special treatise or commentary upon Daniel; so that this book, which we are now told he counted spurious, was his favourite study.

Dan. i. 1. “In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim.” Upon this passage Hippolytus says, that Scripture records this in order to signify that it was the second captivity of the people that had occurred, when Jehoiakim and the three young men who were with him were taken and removed together with Daniel (p. 168).

i. 8. “But Daniel purposed in his heart.” Hippolytus,—“O blessed are they who keep the covenant of their fathers, and do not transgress the law given by Moses, but fear the God who was proclaimed by him. These being captives in a foreign land, were not deceived by varied meats, nor were enslaved by the pleasures of wine, nor were seized and allured by regal glory,

<sup>f</sup> *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, ed. Routh, ii., 112, 113, 174, 185, 187, 190. Oxon., 1814.

<sup>g</sup> *Hippolyti Romani quæ feruntur omnia Græce*. Lipsiæ, 1858. Also, P. Lagardii *Analecta Syriaca*. Lipsiæ, 1858.



but kept their mouth pure and chaste, in order that pure speech might proceed from pure mouths, and praise the heavenly Father thereby" (p. 168).

i. 12. "Prove thy servants." In his remarks upon this, Hippolytus treats it as historical: "Thou seest the immutable faith of the youths, and their unchangeable fear of God. They asked for an interval of time of ten days," etc. (p. 169).

i. 15. "Their countenances appeared fairer." Hippolytus says that, although nourished only with bread and water, yet beautified with heavenly wisdom, they were more graceful than all the young men of their age. (*ibid.*)

i. 19. "And among them all there were none found like Daniel," etc. Hereupon Hippolytus observes, that the word produced these in all wisdom, as faithful witnesses manifested in Babylon, that by them the idols of the Babylonians might be put to shame, and Nebuchadnezzar be worsted by three youths, and that by their faith the fire in the furnace might be put to flight. What follows shews that he went so far as to accept the credibility of the story of Susanna. (*ibid.*)

ii. 3. "I have dreamed a dream." Hippolytus treats this dream as of heavenly origin, and prophetic character, and compares it with the dreams of Pharaoh (p. 170).

ii. 5. "The thing is gone from me." Hippolytus says the dream was hidden from the king, in order that Daniel who was a prophet chosen by God might be manifested as such. (*ibid.*)

ii. 10. "And say, There is no man." Herefrom he infers that the things which are impossible with men are possible with God. (*ibid.*)

ii. 14. "Arioeh the chief cook"—*τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ*. He remarks that as cooks treat irrational animals, so the rulers of the world treat men. (*ibid.*)

ii. 23. "Hast given me wisdom and might." This is made to teach God's favour to the pious. (*ibid.*)

ii. 27. "It is not for wise magi." The king was not to seek heavenly mysteries from earthly men (p. 171).

ii. 29. "Thou, O king, thy thoughts." The passage is treated as historical. (*ibid.*)

ii. 31. "Sawest," etc. No direct quotation from Hippolytus. (*ibid.*)

ii. 31. "Behold, a great image." "How should we not perceive that the things of old time predicted by Daniel, are even now yet fulfilled in the world?" Hippolytus goes on to speak of the golden head of the image as a type of the Babylonians who *then* ruled; after them he says the Persians ruled two hundred and forty-five years, and were signified by the

silver; next came the Greeks after Alexander three hundred years, represented by the brass; after them the Romans, of iron and clay. It is impossible to explain this passage except on the principle that Hippolytus believed in the commonly accepted origin of the book. (*ibid.*)

ii. 31—35. In the discourse "concerning Christ and Anti-Christ," this passage is quoted and treated as a prediction of future events, which Daniel received (p. 10).

ii. 31—39. This passage is quoted in the discourse "on the end of the world, Antichrist, and the second appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ." The extract is preceded by a passage in which Daniel is called "a witness, or martyr worthy of faith, the prophet Daniel, who expounded the dream of Nebuchadnezzar" (p. 99).

ii. 33. "The feet." Alluding to the ten horns of another vision (p. 172).

ii. 34. "Thou sawest until a stone was cut out." (*ibid.*)

ii. 45. "The dream is certain." Spoken by the prophet to prevent unbelief. (*ibid.*)

ii. 46. "Then king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face." This expression is treated as wholly historical (p. 173).

ii. 48. "Then the king made Daniel a great man." Compared with what Joseph received in Egypt. (*ibid.*)

ii. 49. "And Daniel requested." Daniel wished his companions and helpers in prayer to share in his reward. (*ibid.*)

iii. 1. "In the eighteenth year" (compare the Greek version). Hippolytus speaks of the image as having been actually made (p. 174).

iii. 7. "The people fell down." Their conduct explained. (*ibid.*)

iii. 16. "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego answered." Lessons deduced from their constancy. (*ibid.*)

iii. 19. "Commanded the furnace to be heated sevenfold." The king prevailed in earthly things; but in faith towards God, the three youths (p. 175).

iii. 22. "The flame was divided." Reference made to the destruction of the unbelieving. (*ibid.*)

iii. 25. "The appearance of the fourth like the Son of God." Regarded as a manifestation of Christ. (*ibid.*)

iii. 26. "And said, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego." Nebuchadnezzar called them by their names, but found no name for the fourth, because Jesus was not yet born of the virgin (p. 176).

iii. 30. "Then the king promoted." Treated as historical. (*ibid.*)

vii. 1. "He wrote the dream." The things revealed by the spirit through visions, were written by the prophet. (*ibid.*)

vii. 2. "Behold the four winds." (*ibid.*)

vii. 2—8. This passage is quoted immediately after, ii. 31—39, at p. 99, and a detailed exposition of it follows. There is in the exposition a decided allusion to the fall of Nebuchadnezzar as related in chap. iv. The beasts represent, *a*, the Babylonian kingdom, the lion; *b*, the Persian, the bear; *c*, the Grecian, the leopard; *d*, the Roman, the beast with iron teeth and brazen claws. In the same context we find references to the image in chap. ii.

vii. 2—14. We find these verses in the discourse upon "Christ and Antichrist," pp. 11, 12, and expounded on the same principles as in the passage last named. After some further observations, Hippolytus says, "Daniel beareth witness. Daniel, above all I praise thee," "tell me, O blessed Daniel," etc. Hippolytus *must* have considered Daniel a historical personage, and the date assigned to his book the true one. The references to Daniel in this discourse are numerous, and admit of but one explanation.

vii. 3. "And four great beasts." "Since then four different beasts were shewn to Daniel," etc. (p. 177).

vii. 4. "Till the wings thereof were plucked." Upon this, Hippolytus says "it actually occurred to Nebuchadnezzar," and he refers to the record of the event in the fourth chapter. The latter portion of the verse (vii. 4) is referred to the repentance and restoration of Nebuchadnezzar. (*ibid.*)

vii. 5. "A second beast like a bear." Applied to the Persians. (*ibid.*)

vii. 5. "Three ribs." Explained of the Medes, Assyrians, and Babylonians. (*ibid.*)

vii. 5. "And they said thus unto it, Arise and eat." "For the Persians having risen up in those very times, desolated the whole country," etc. "They ruled over it two hundred and thirty years" (p. 178).

vii. 6. Mention of the "leopard" in the discourse "upon Christ and Antichrist," p. 16, along with some other allusions.

vii. 6. "And behold another beast like a leopard." Explained of the Greek empire founded by Alexander (p. 178).

vii. 6. "The beast had four heads." These are explained to be Seleucus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, and Philip, who became kings *as Daniel predicted*, and as it is recorded in the first of Maccabees. There is certainly a difference between the προμηνύει applied to Daniel, and the ἀναγγελλται applied to the book of Maccabees.<sup>a</sup> (*ibid.*)

<sup>a</sup> See 1 Macc. i. 9.

vii. 7. "And behold, a fourth beast." Explained of the Roman power (p. 179).

vii. 7. "And it had ten horns." As Daniel *foretold* the four heads of the leopard, and Alexander's empire was divided into four, so we must expect the Roman empire to produce ten horns, and the little horn which is Antichrist. If Daniel's other *predictions* were accomplished in their proper times, so will these. (*ibid.*)

vii. 8. "I considered the horns." (*ibid.*)

vii. 8—11. These verses quoted, p. 23, in discourse on Christ and Antichrist.

vii. 13. Quoted in discourse against Noetus, as proof of the pre-existence of Christ (p. 47).

vii. 13. "He came unto the ancient of days." Explained.

vii. 13, 14. A prediction of Christ's second coming, p. 21; and again, p. 186, in illustration of the glory of Christ.

vii. 14. Applied to Christ in connection with Col. i. 18, etc., p. 180. The same passage is again referred to with a similar intention. (*ibid.*)

vii. 18. Referred to future honour of saints. (*ibid.*)

vii. 19. "I enquired about the fourth beast." Among the ten horns of this beast, the three which Antichrist's little horn shall root up are the kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia. The other seven he will turn to his own purposes (p. 181).

vii. 22. "Until he came." Anticipation of the coming Judge. (*ibid.*)

vii. 25. "A time and times and half a time." Signifies three years and a half (p. 182).

viii. 4. This and various other texts of Daniel are quoted or alluded to by Hippolytus in his Expositions of the visions of Daniel and of Nebuchadnezzar. Several of the allusions have been in effect already mentioned. Some of his opinions will be admitted by all to be mistaken, as that Christ was born in A.M. 5500, and that in A.M. 6000, or A.D. 500, the millennium was to begin. The ark of the tabernacle is found to measure five cubits and a half, in this way:—length two and a half, breadth one and a half, and height one and a half. These five cubits and a half were symbolical of five thousand five hundred years, and prove that Christ came in the five thousand five hundredth year of the world! There is a good deal of ingenious criticism, and some true history in this composition, but no trace of the opinion that the book of Daniel was written under Antiochus Epiphanes. He says indeed that Dan. viii. 12—14, was *fulfilled* in Antiochus' expedition to Jerusalem, and his profanities there (p. 151—155).

ix. 1, 2. This is quoted in close connection with the passages

last referred to, and treated as historical. Soon after, ix. 24—26 are quoted, and of them our author says that *the vision of Daniel occurred in the twenty-first year of the captivity*. From that time to the coming of the anointed one, who is Joshua the son of Jozedek, he reckons seven weeks, or forty-nine years, which added to twenty-one make up the seventy of the captivity. Other calculations follow, shewing that the sixty-two weeks or four hundred and thirty-four years were to be fulfilled in the coming of Him who taketh away the sins of the world ! The whole of the argument equally with specific allusions proves the utter baselessness of the opinion of Ewald as above quoted by Dr. Davidson. No refutation could possibly be more direct and conclusive. Whatever the errors of exposition into which Hippolytus fell, he certainly ought to be rescued from the accusation in question. Let us, however, run over the other passages of the Greek text, only stopping to notice those which involve some particular allusion. They are these:—

- ix. 21. "The man Gabriel" (p. 182).
- ix. 24. "To anoint the holy of holies" (p. 158).
- ix. 26. "And after seven weeks other sixty-two weeks." An imperfect quotation (p. 157).
- ix. 27. Referred to pp. 21, 23, 104, 108, 114, 166, 187, but in every case implying the genuineness of the prediction.
- x. 1, etc. Partly quoted (p. 160, 161).
- x. 6, 7. Expounded (p. 182).
- x. 12—18. Several notes on these verses at p. 183.
- x. 20. Cited, p. 184.
- xi. 1—4, 6, 7, 33. Expounded historically, pp. 162, 163. Followed, pp. 164, 165, by a number of other verses from the same chapter, all explained in the same way. The like observation applies to verses 31 and 41, pp. 27, 33.

From the twelfth chapter we have notes upon almost every verse, all in fact except the eighth and tenth. Although the references are no fewer than eighteen, there is not one among them which affords the shadow of evidence in favour of the statement that Hippolytus denied the authenticity of Daniel.

What construction can be put upon a passage like the following ?

*"Of the very holy Hippolytus, bishop of Rome."*

"Desiring to demonstrate the exactness of the times of the captivity which befell the sons of Israel in Babylon, and the prophecies of the visions of the blessed Daniel, I address myself to the course of life of this

<sup>1</sup> Extract from Hippolytus. *Combesis Bibl. Græc. Patrum Auct.*, Nov. 1, 55, 56. Lagarde's Greek Hippolytus, pp. 143, 144.

man in Babylon from a youth, and am myself about to bear witness to the pious and righteous man who was a prophet and witness for Christ, who not only expounded (or revealed) the visions of king Nebuchadnezzar to the times which then were, but also having taught youths like himself, brought forward faithful martyrs in the world. He, then, is of the times of the prophecy of the blessed Jeremiah, and of the reign of Jehoiakim, son of Eliakim, who, being taken, together with the other captives, is carried with them to Babylon. For these are the five sons of the blessed Josiah,—Johahaz, Eliakim and Johanan, Zedekiah (who is also Jechoniah), and Shallum."

After a number of historical details he concludes by saying :

"Therefore when all the people were sojourners in a strange land, and the city was desolate, and the sanctuary overthrown, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which he spake by the mouth of Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'The sanctuary shall be desolate seventy years,' we find the blessed Daniel prophesying in Babylon, and becoming the avenger of Susanna."

There are other fragments which contain equally positive statements as to the time when Daniel lived and wrote, even when no particular chapter or verse is cited. What follows may be taken as an instance.

In his discourse concerning Christ and Antichrist Hippolytus often dwells upon the historical character of Daniel. The following passage is quoted by Dr. Maitland in his work on *Prophetic Interpretation*, p. 92. We translate from De Lagarde's edition, p. 15 :—

"Thou prophesiest concerning the lioness in Babylon, for thou wast a captive there. Thou didst narrate things to come concerning the bear, for thou wast yet in the world, and didst see the very things which happened. Then thou tellest me of the leopardess. And whence was it for thee to know these things? For thou hadst already fallen asleep. Who taught thee to say these things, but 'He who formed thee from the womb of thy mother?' God, thou sayest. For thou didst speak and not lie. The leopardess arose. The he-goat came from the goats, smote the ram, broke his horns, trod him down with his feet, prevailed, was exalted at his fall, four horns arose from under him. Rejoice, blessed Daniel, thou wast not deceived, all these things have happened," etc.

We have examined more than a hundred passages in which Daniel is quoted by Hippolytus, and the great majority of them imply conclusions the opposite of those ascribed to him: some of them distinctly affirm the contrary, so far as Hippolytus in Greek is concerned, and therefore the charge falls to the ground. Probably no early writer speaks of Daniel so often as Hippolytus, even when he does not quote him, but no writer gives more unmistakeable evidence that he accepts the historical date of the book, and is a stranger to any other view.

But what light is to be obtained from the Syriac fragments? Do they contradict the Greek, and justify the statement which it appears Dr. Ewald has made? De Lagarde has printed these fragments, or most of them. The first of them occurs at p. 79, "Select sentences from the book of holy Hippolytus, the exposition of Daniel the prophet." Here first we are told that Nebuchadnezzar reigned twenty-five years, eighteen before he saw the dream of the tree, and seven after, etc. Evilmerodach is said to have reigned after his father Nebuchadnezzar twelve years; and then Belteshazzar four years. Next there is mention of Daniel's vision of the four beasts, and its explanation. Other matters follow very much in the same manner as they occur in Greek. It is said that Antiochus did all that was written by the prophet, but the whole context proves that the prophet lived long before him. Thus just after, we read that Daniel saw the vision of chap. ix. in the twenty-first year of the captivity, and that forty-nine added to these make the seventy predicted by Jeremiah. From the going up of Joshua to Jerusalem until Christ, he reckons four hundred and thirty-four years. The chronological intimations which follow are particularly interesting, and are intended to shew the exact accomplishment of Daniel's predictions. After these come prophecies unfulfilled, including those relating to Antichrist, who, among other exploits, will gather the Jews from all countries and rule over them, and be worshipped by them as God, thinking him to be the Messiah. He will slay the two witnesses, "Enoch and Elijah," mentioned by another prophet. Other matters follow, but we can find nowhere a trace of the opinion which makes Hippolytus, the first professed Christian writer, and indeed the first writer, to deny the authenticity of the book of Daniel. Our impression is, that if any man ever devoutly believed in the genuineness of the book, that man was Hippolytus.

That the reader may not have to rely merely upon the preceding short notice of the Syriac abridgment of Hippolytus upon Daniel, we think it desirable to insert a translation of the whole of it. We are not aware of its previous appearance in English, and it will therefore probably be interesting on other accounts than that for which we introduce it here.

#### TRANSLATION.

*Select sentences from the writing of holy Hippolytus, the Exposition of Daniel the prophet; taken as by force only.*

This teacher says of Nebuchadnezzar that he reigned twenty-

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*i. e.*, not consecutively; or at random.

five years: eighteen before he saw the dream concerning the tree, and seven after the vision. And these are in addition to the time that he was an outcast; seven *times* as it is written of him. Now as to these seven *times*, he says they were either seven years or seven seasons of the year, which are of three months each; I mean autumn and winter, and spring and summer.

Of Evilmerodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, he says that he reigned twelve years after his father, and then after him Belteshazzar four years.

And of the vision which Daniel saw concerning the beasts, he says, that the first beast, which was like a lion, was the kingdom of the Chaldeans; and the second, which was like a bear, was the kingdom of the Persians; and the three ribs which were in its mouth, were the Medians, and Babylonians, and Assyrians; and this lasted two hundred and thirty years; but according to other writers two hundred and forty-five years, until the reign of Alexander the Macedonian, king of the Greeks, which was the third beast that was like a leopard. Now that it is said the beast had four wings; this is, that after the death of Alexander, his kingdom was divided to four chiefs, who were of his race and increase; I mean Seleucus and Demetrius, and Philip and Ptolemy.

And after the kingdom of the Greeks had lasted three hundred years, the kingdom of the Romans succeeded it. This was the fourth beast, which was of great strength and hard as iron. And as for the ten horns that were upon its head, he says that they were ten kings who were to be, that should exist in it at once. And the little horn again which afterwards sprang up from among them, and three of the ten were uprooted before it, is Antichrist; and those three who are rooted up before it are, the king of Egypt, and the king of Cush, and the king of Libya. These three kings it slays, but the seven that remain it brings into subjection. Its nativity is from the tribe of Dan.

Again; concerning those things which were in another vision, he says thus: the ram that appeared was Darius king of Persia; but the he-goat, Alexander king of the Greeks; and that its high horn was broken off, and four sprang up instead of it; this is that after his death, his kingdom was divided unto four kings, as is said above. Now this; that there proceeds from one of them a certain horn, and increases and reaches unto heaven, is for the hosts of Antiochus Epiphanes. He subdued Egypt, and went up to Jerusalem in the time of the Maccabees, and judged, and slew many of the Jews, and abolished the sacrifice and oblation, and did all those things which are written by the



prophet, one thousand three hundred days,—three years and a half; and afterwards arose Judas Maccabæus, and made war with the camps of the host of Antiochus, and slew many of them, and pursued them out of his land. And he took the city Jerusalem, and purified the temple, and renewed the holy things<sup>t</sup> as before, as is written in the book of Maccabees.

Of those things indeed thus (he says); and of the vision of the weeks, the teacher speaks in this way: for as for the seventy weeks, into three times the angel divided them. And first he says thus,—until Messiah the ruler seven weeks, which are forty-nine years. Now in the twenty-first year of the captivity Daniel saw this vision. When, therefore, to the twenty-one are added those forty-nine, these make up those seventy years which Jeremiah said the people were to be in Babylon. Now he here calls Messiah the ruler Joshua, the son of Jozedek the high priest, who went up at the head of the people from Babylon. And afterwards are sixty-two weeks, which make four hundred and thirty-four years. After the people returned from Babylon, there were four hundred and thirty-four years unto the coming of Messiah. Then was to come Messiah who was righteousness from everlasting, and Messiah the holy of holies, and remitting sins, and putting away the guilt of the faithful, and fulfilling the visions and the prophets. Then, when times were determined and ceased, and the covenant was made with many, there was to come the other week which remained after the Gospel was to be preached in all the world, and the end to come. And at that time come Elijah and Enoch. And at the middle of this is to appear the abomination of desolation, Antichrist, who proclaims desolation to the world, and when he cometh there is to be taken away the sacrifice and drink-offering which is now offered in the churches.

Again; concerning those things which were in another vision he says thus; those three kings which should arise in Persia, and a fourth who should acquire great wealth, are these:—Darius, he that was after Cyrus; and Artaxerxes; and Xerxes;<sup>1</sup> and he that is fourth, Darius the latter. Afterwards, he says, would arise a powerful king, and would enter the borders of the kings of Egypt; this is Antiochus Epiphanes. He would compel the Jews to transgress the law, and to sacrifice and eat the flesh of swine. Against him fought Mattathias<sup>m</sup> and his sons the Maccabees. And they expelled his forces from their borders, as is said above. And they were helped with a little help.

<sup>t</sup> Or, dedicated the holies.

<sup>1</sup> Artachshesheth, and Achshirash (or Ahasuerus, Esth. i. 1).

<sup>m</sup> Or, Matthias.

Again ; of the daughter of the king of Egypt, he says, that she came, and her two sons Alexander and Ptolemy Philometor, to make treaties of peace with Antiochus, king of Syria. And when she came to Beishan,\* there she was slain, because he that was conducting her betrayed her ; and afterwards Ptolemy reigned in Egypt. And he came and made war with Antiochus, and when he was conquered by him, Antiochus fled and came to Antioch. Ptolemy took all their armour, and their gold, and their silver, and their idols, and bore them to Egypt. And afterwards Antiochus returned and collected a great army, and again he made war with the king of Egypt, and conquered him. And from thence he went up to Jerusalem, and wasted and overthrew as much as pleased him, and compelled the Jews to be defiled, as is said above. And afterwards he went to Persia and there died (1 Macc. vi. 8—16).

And again ; after these things arose a man, a king whose name was Alexander, and he held the government of Syria. And he sent to Ptolemy king of Egypt, and said to him, Give to me Cleopatra thy daughter to wife. And Ptolemy took his daughter, and came to Ptolemais the city, which is Accho, and gave her to Alexander to wife. Now this man when he saw the kingdom and land of Alexander, and coveted it, dealt treacherously with him, and spake with him deceitfully at a certain table as it is recorded ; and devised evil against him, and returned to Egypt and collected a great army, and came and fell upon the land of Syria, when Alexander was gone to Cilicia, and his wife Cleopatra was left by him in Accho. And Ptolemy came and took away his daughter, and gave her to Demetrius. And when Alexander heard these things, he came and made war with Ptolemy and Demetrius ; and when the army was unable to stand against them, he fled to the king of the Arabians, and was slain there. And Ptolemy took the kingdom, and wore the diadem of Egypt and of Syria, and after three days he died. And the Scripture was fulfilled which says, "And in a few days he shall be broken, and they shall not give to him the glory of the kingdom" (Dan. xi. 20).

And again, concerning this that is written, "and there shall arise a fierce king, and shall be exalted and magnified above every god, and shall speak great things, and shall prosper," the teacher says that this is Antichrist. He is to desolate many lands and cities, that is, Egypt and Cush, and the land of Libya ; and he is to be exalted above every god and object of worship, professing of himself that he is god, and building Jerusalem

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\* i. e., Beth-shean or Scythopolis.

and the temple, and gathering the people of Israel from all lands and reigning over them; and they worship him as God, supposing that he is Messiah. He slays the two witnesses and ambassadors of Messiah, who preach his coming from heaven, that is, Enoch and Elijah; as is said by another prophet, "And I will give to my two witnesses that they may prophesy a thousand two hundred and sixty days, arrayed in sackcloth." As also Daniel says, That he shall establish the covenant to many one week, and it shall be in the middle of the week the sacrifice and drink-offering shall be removed,—for that one week is to be divided into two *times*, for these two witnesses are to preach three years and a half; but Antichrist the other half of the week is to make war with the saints, and to lay waste and destroy all the people of the Lord, in order that that may be fulfilled which is spoken, "And they shall give the abomination of desolation as it were twelve hundred and ninety days." And afterwards the prophet says, "Blessed is he that endureth and cometh to the thirteen hundred and thirty-five days." There are to be two abominations, therefore; Daniel says two,—one of corruption, and one of desolation. That of corruption is Antiochus, but that of desolation is Antichrist. And this he says, continues<sup>o</sup> thirteen hundred days; three years and a half: but the other twelve hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that endureth and cometh to the thirteen hundred and thirty-five days. For when the abomination comes and makes war with the saints, every one who survives its days, and shall bring before him the other forty-five days, attains to the coming of Messiah, and the kingdom of heaven.

And again, by this that he says, "For a time, times, and half a time," he signifies three years and a half, those of the period of the dominion of Antichrist; for he calls a year a time; but two years times; and half a time, half a year. These are twelve hundred and ninety days; the same which Daniel said before; and when there shall be added to these those forty-five others of the end of the rebellion, then the Judge of judges shall be revealed from heaven, and the resurrection shall be, and the kingdom of heaven shall be given to those who are worthy.

*The end of these things of holy Hippolytus, from the exposition of Daniel the prophet.<sup>p</sup>*

<sup>o</sup> Holds or obtains.

<sup>p</sup> In his *Animadversiones* on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, in which Daniel and Ezekiel are said to have prophesied in Babylon in 1421, Scaliger says, "Hoc verum est. Visio Ezechielis contigit anno antecedente, qui erat quintus et captivitatis Jechoniæ, et regni Sedekie. De Daniele vero veteres ecclesiastici chronologi inter se velitati sunt, utrum priore captivitate, id est Jechoniæ, an posteriore Jerosolymis et templo deletis, contigerit. *Hippolytus priore, Africanus*

Sundry other Syriac fragments of Hippolytus come after those on Daniel, but they relate to different subjects. References to Hippolytus also occur in the extracts ascribed to a certain George, a bishop, who lived somewhere perhaps in Arabia early in the eighth century, but these contain no new matter. Thus far our search has failed to bring before us any passage at all pointing in the direction intimated by the German critic and the English scholar. May we not suspect that there is a mistake? Must we not go further, and say there is a mistake? This is what we say; and we say it the more confidently because we have examined the documents appealed to, and have found statements diametrically opposite to the one we have challenged. Hippolytus not only tells us that certain visions were seen, but the very years in which they were seen and expounded by Daniel. Hippolytus makes frequent mistakes, but he says some admirable things, and is never guilty of such inconsistency as is implied in assigning Daniel to two periods some centuries asunder.

We will now regard it as proved that Hippolytus accepted the book of Daniel as an authentic document, written some five centuries before the Christian era. It follows that Porphyry may still claim to have been the first who attacked the authenticity of the book. The following account of his objections is from Jerome's Preface to the commentary on Daniel. No apology will be required for giving the passage in Jerome's own words.

"Contra prophetam Daniele duodecimum librum scripsit Porphyrius, nolens cum ab ipso cujus inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum; sed a quodam qui temporibus Antiochi qui appellatus est Epiphanes fuerit in Judea, et non tam Daniele ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse præterita. Denique quicquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum. Cui solertissime responderunt Eusebius Cæsariensis episcopus, tribus voluminibus, id est octavo decimo, et nono decimo, et vicesimo. Apollinarius quoque, uno grandi libro, hoc est vicesimo sexto; et ante hos ex parte Methodius. Verum quia nobis propositum est non adversarii calumniis respondere, quæ longo sermone indigent; sed ea quæ a propheta dicta sunt, nostris disserere, id est, Christianis, illud in præfatione commoneo, nullum prophetarum tam aperte dixisse de Christo. Non enim solum scribit eum esse venturum, quod est commune cum cæteris; sed etiam quo tempore venturus sit, docet; et reges per ordinem digerit, et annos enumerat, ac manifestissima signa prænuntiat. *Quæ quia vidit*, Porphyrius universa completa et transacta non negare poterat, superatus

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*posteriore*, Panodorus vetus monachus portentose desolatione Samariæ, et deportatione X Tribum." He supports his statements respecting Hippolytus, Africanus, and Panodorus, by an extract from G. Syncellus to the same effect.

historiæ veritate, in hanc prorupit calumniam, ut ea quæ in consummatione mundi de Antichristo futura dicuntur, propter gestorum in quibusdam similitudinem sub Antiocho Epiphane impleta contendat. Cujus impugnationis testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita. Et tamen sicubi se occasio in explanatione ejusdem voluminis dederit calumniæ illius strictim respondere conabor, et philosophiæ artibus, immo malitiæ sæculari, per quam subvertere nititur veritatem, et quibusdam præstigiis clarum oculorum lumen auferre, explanatione simplici contra-ire. . . . Sed hoc nosse debemus inter cætera, Porphyrium de Danielis libro nobis objicere idcirco illum apparere confictum nec haberi apud Hebræos, sed Græci sermonis esse commentum, quia in Susannæ fabula contineatur, dicente Daniele ad presbyteros ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίστου σχίσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσαι, quam etymologiam magis Græco sermoni convenire, quam Hebræo. Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententia responderunt, Susannæ, Belisque et Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico, sed partem esse prophetiæ Abacuc filii Jesu de tribu Levi: sicut juxta LXX. interpretes in titulo ejusdem Belis fabulæ ponitur: ‘Homo quidam erat sacerdos, nomine Daniel filius Abda conviva regis Babylonis;’ cum Daniele et tres pueros de tribu Juda fuisse, sancta scriptura testetur. Unde et nos ante annos plurimos cum verteremus Daniele, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eas in Hebraico non haberi. Et miror quosdam μεμψιμοίρους indicari mihi, quasi ego decurtaverim librum: cum et Origines, et Eusebius, et Apollinarius, alique ecclesiastici viri et doctores Græciæ, has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos fateantur, nec se respondere Porphyrio, pro his quæ nullam Scripturæ sanctæ auctoritatem præbeant.”

With this quotation from Jerome, we shall conclude the particular consideration of the opinions of Hippolytus and of Porphyry. The observations and facts which follow, all bear in different ways upon the claims of Daniel to be regarded as a true prophet, and upon the claim of the book which bears his name, to be accounted an authentic document. Miscellaneous as these notes will be found, we hope they will aid somewhat in shewing that there are reasons for our faith; and that with the exception of Porphyry no one was found till comparatively recent times, who denied the divine authority, canonicity, and prophetic character of the book of Daniel.

I. *Oriental Traditions.*—Oriental traditions afford presumption in favour of the historical character of Daniel; E. Leichnerus says in a dissertation *De Tempore Majorum*:—“Quibus accedit quod *Daniel* aliorumque prophetarum scripta nullis orientalium gentilium scholis tanti fuerunt, quanti *Persis*” (p. 27, ed. 1700). The reputation in which Daniel is undoubtedly held in the east is ancient and wide spread, and is hardly consistent with the notion that he lived at so recent a date as the

new critics affirm. According to D'Herbelot, the author of the *Tarik Montekheb* says that Daniel belongs to the time of Lohrasp king of Persia, and consequently to the time of Cyrus, who gave to him the government of Syria, and that these two princes learned from him the unity of God, which they professed. He preached the faith in all Babylonian Irak, which is Chaldea, and was sent with Ezra into Judea after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, by Bahaman son of Asfendiar, who then reigned in Persia. Having returned from Judea to the city of Shushan or Shuster, which is Susa the capital of Persia, he died and was buried there.

The basis of the many traditions concerning Daniel in the far east, must surely be historical, and must be looked for much farther back than the time of the Maccabees. Of course the traditions themselves are often more recent, but the origin of the series cannot be reconciled with the assumed fictitious character and date of the book of Daniel in the second century before Christ.

II. *The Ancient Church.*—The opponents of Daniel generally admit that the book was accepted in the early Church, but dismiss the topic with some vague assertions about “uncritical periods,” and such like. We must not let them escape so easily; we must ask and ascertain who and what the men are who are thus coolly set aside. Such an enquiry might be brought down to any period. It would be found to include *every* Christian writer who wrote upon Daniel or alluded to him down to the recent days in which sceptical criticism has succeeded in allying itself with Christianity.

The peculiarity of Daniel as a prophet is noticed by Africanus in his epistle to Origen concerning the story of Susanna, where he says of it and of Daniel, “For when Susanna is commanded to die, seized by the Spirit the prophet cried out that the sentence was unjust. Firstly, because Daniel prophesies in another manner,—by visions and dreams on every occasion, and has the manifestation of an angel:—but not by prophetic afflatus.” He also remarks that the three apocryphal portions are “not found in the book of Daniel received by the Jews.”

We gather from Eusebius, that about the same time as Hippolytus, or a little earlier, another Christian author wrote upon Daniel, but it was very evident he was of the “Coming Tribulation” school. Eusebius says:—“About this time there flourished one *Jude*, who published commentaries upon the seventy weeks of Daniel; ending his chronography the tenth year of Severus’ reign, he thought verily that the coming of Antichrist was then at hand because of the great persecution raised against us at this time; vexed out of measure the minds of many men;

and turned upside down the quiet state of the Church.”<sup>q</sup> The said Jude seems to have been one of the first who disturbed the serenity of men’s minds, and turned the Church upside down by his rash expositions of prophecy. He has had many successors.

It is unnecessary to quote Origen to shew that he had the fullest conviction of the genuineness and antiquity of the book of Daniel. Eusebius of Cæsarea, who replied to the attacks of Porphyry, had made ancient history his profound study, and he had never entertained a doubt respecting the book of Daniel. He devotes a section of his magnificent work, the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, to an extract from Daniel (ix. 20, etc.), shewing that after the period of seventy weeks or four hundred and ninety years, Christ having appeared, the prophecies would be fulfilled in the overthrow of the Jewish state, religion and temple. He begins by saying, “When the seventy years’ bondage of the Jewish nation in Babylon was already approaching its end, one of the holy ministers of God, Gabriel the archangel, appeared to Daniel as he was praying, and foretells that shortly and without delay the restoration of Jerusalem will take place, determines the time to its restoration by the number of years, and foretells how after the determined restoration of it, it will be again destroyed, and how after its second capture and siege it will no more have the guardianship of God, but remain desolate, the services according to the law of Moses being abolished with it, and others instead of it, namely those of the New Testament, introduced for the direction of human life.”

Again, in the great companion work, *Præparatio Evangelica* (ix. 41), Eusebius introduces a passage from Abydenus in which that writer speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as the builder of Babylon, mainly to illustrate the historical accuracy of Dan. iv. 27.

Although later than the Nicene council, it may be well to refer briefly to Athanasius and Theodoret.

Athanasius (contra Arianos, orat. 2) quotes Dan. vii. 10, to the Arians, as a prophecy of Christ. He would not have done so if either he or they had doubted concerning the character of the book.

In his oration against the Sabellians, Athanasius affirms the great wisdom of Daniel, in divine and human things, and quotes Ezek. xxviii. 3, as proof which they would receive equally with himself.

In his apology to Constantine, he appeals to facts recorded in the third chapter of Daniel.

In his epistle on the synods of Ariminum and Seleucia, he

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<sup>q</sup> *Eccles. Hist.*, chap. vi. 6. M. Hanmer’s translation.

says that Daniel was a prophet, who lived in the times of Cyrus and Darius.

In the synopsis of holy Scripture (although the apocryphal additions are first received and then rejected), some of the historical incidents in the life of Daniel are cited in the account given of him by Athanasius. (?) So also in the *Dicta et Interpretationes*, and in some other places.

With regard to Theodoret it may suffice to say that, besides the many casual allusions he made to the book of Daniel, like Jerome and some others, he wrote a consecutive and copious commentary upon it. But it must be observed, that in his Preface he mentions the Jewish exclusion of Daniel from the list of prophets, characterizes it as a most culpable proceeding, and declares it to be in consequence of the explicit predictions found in the book. We have no doubt this is one of the reasons; in any case there is not an atom of evidence that Daniel was removed from the list of prophets, because there was any suspicion as to the reality of his predictions or the true age of his book.

Yet the writers to whom we have had occasion to point so often, constantly appeal to these two points, that the Jews have placed the book of Daniel among the *Chethubhim*, and that Daniel himself has been left out of the roll of prophets. If they did the first, the second would very naturally follow; especially in view of the mode of interpreting Daniel adopted by Christian writers and preachers.

III. *The position of Daniel in the Hebrew Canon.*—As regards the position of Daniel in the Hebrew Canon, it is to be noted first of all that the book is always included in that Canon. Its position is among the *Chethubhim* or Scriptures,—the fourth division of the Hebrew Bible. The books of this division are thirteen in number, viz., Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles. This is the order in which the *Chethubhim* stand in recent editions; and it is manifest that it is neither according to the date, nor the character of the respective books. In some editions the order is different. Munster's Bible (Basil, 1535) has them thus: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther. An edition printed by Christopher Plantin in 1580 (or 1582; both dates are given), the order is the same as far as it goes; Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, First Book of Ezra, Second Book of Ezra or Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles. This edition, however, does not contain at all the last five books of Munster's, in the *Chethubhim*: they come after Deuteronomy and before Joshua, thus: Song of Solo-



mon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther. The fact is, these five books constitute the Megilloth or "five rolls," and as such are taken together wherever they are placed. The *Chethubhim*, including the Megilloth, are counted often as eleven books by joining Ezra and Nehemiah in one, and 1 and 2 Chronicles in another. Thus in the Jewish Spanish version of the Old Testament (Amsterdam, 1606), the index says expressly, "Ketubim, escritos en onze libros"—"The *Chethubhim* written in eleven books." The order here is as in Munster's edition; after Daniel comes "Hezra," and then "Libro Segundo de Hezra, llamado, Nehemiah,"—"the Second Book of Ezra called Nehemiah." The Chronicles simply come in as two books, although counted but one in the table of contents. It appears then that the *Chethubhim* consist of three separate sets of books: first, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job: second, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles: third, the Megilloth; these last coming sometimes at the close of the Pentateuch, and sometimes at the end of the Old Testament, as well as introduced among the other *Chethubhim*, between Job and Daniel. The previous facts shew how irregular is the order of books in Hebrew Bibles, and how worthless any argument must be which is based merely upon it. So far as we are able to judge, the proper position of Daniel is, along with and heading Ezra, Nehemiah, and the two books of Chronicles. If asked for the reason of this arrangement, we should say that it is due in part to the great prominence which its writer gives to the *historical* element, and in part to the *period* to which his narrations belong. Christian controversies may have had something to do with it. We cannot always account for the arrangement which the Rabbins thought fit to adopt; but we can affirm it was not determined by their opinions, either as to the *date*, the *authorship*, or the *value* of a book. These same Rabbins, for example, have separated the *prophecies* of Jeremiah from the *Lamentations*, although we are not aware that they had any idea as to the authorship and date of these books being very different.

However, having put Daniel among the *Chethubhim*, because of the historical element belonging to a special period, Christian controversy rendered it needful to justify his exclusion from the prophetic division. Later hands undertook to do this by writing that he was not a prophet. Abarbanel saw the folly of this, and defended the claims of Daniel; as Dupin says, and as Guil. Vorstius says more explicitly in his notes on the *Fundamenta Legis* of Maiemonides (ed. Amstel. 1638), that Maiemonides would have Joseph, Solomon and Daniel "called prophets by way of metaphor or similitude," "quod nervose satis

Abravanel refutat in Comment. in Danielelem" (p. 93). Maie-monides, however, quotes Dan. x. 8, in illustration of prophetic visions. Hereupon Vorst observes (lib. cit., p. 94), "I do not see why he uses the testimony of Daniel here, when he expunges him, as likewise David and Solomon, from the roll of prophets in his *Moreh*;" for which he gives this reason:—"That a vision is not ascribed to them in the degree in which God spake to Abraham in a vision; neither was the vision in the manner in which such things are spoken of the prophets, according to the text (Numb. xii. 6), 'I will speak to him in a dream!'" Kimchi has followed the same opinion in his Preface to the Psalms (lib. cit., p. 94.)

Daniel is sometimes found among the prophets. Fabricius (Codex Pseudepigraphus, V. T.) gives a list of prophets from the *Gemara Megilla*, p. 14. The thirty-eighth is Daniel, "in the second year of Darius;" but further on it is said, "But because we have said of Daniel that he was not a prophet, therefore omit Daniel, and put in Shemaiah." In a note he says, "It is known that Daniel is by some Jews not accounted a prophet, and is reckoned with the Hagiographers, although Abarbanel against Maie-monides clearly maintains that the highest degree of prophecy can by no means be denied to Daniel. He refers to Fischmuth *De Divisione V. T.*, and Buxtorf's *Dissert. Philolog. Theol.*"

Leydecker in his notes upon Maie-monides, *De rege Messia*, in allusion to the place assigned to Daniel in the Jewish Canon, and by the Jews says:—

"Non male Gemaristæ (*Sanhed. c. xi., in Excerpt.*, sec. 37), 'Omnes Prophetæ non sunt vaticinati, nisi de diebus Messia.' Verum Judæi ipsorum scripta legunt cum velo cordibus imposito; atque hinc loca ante a patribus ipsorum de Messia intellecta alio torquent; quin Daniele prophetarum numero expungunt, propter LXX. Hebdomadas præcipue licet antiquitus inter prophetas maximos sit habitus, etiam a Jaddo pontifice, quando ipsius visiones bene Alexandro M. applicaret, apud *Joseph. Antiq.*, lib. x., c. ult. confer. Matth. xxiv. 15."

It is not unworthy of remark, as shewing how our opponents are pressed, that while they laud the supposed acumen of the Jews for rejecting Daniel from among the prophets, and for placing his book among the *Chethubhim*; they can denounce the same Jews as uncritical, when reminded that they never doubted either its inspiration or its canonical authority.

Dr. Davidson's first argument against the authenticity of the work, is its position in the Hebrew Canon; not among the Prophets, but in the Hagiographa,—and there too as one of the last books. We have already shewn that this Hagiographa

includes thirteen books, among which are the Psalms; that it is divided into three sections; and that wherever Daniel is placed, *he always* stands at the head of his section—"Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles;" all books prominently historical, and all bearing in a most important sense upon the same period. We doubt whether even Dr. Davidson could give a probable reason for grouping, as we find them, the five books called Megilloth. These, by the way, supply a sufficient answer to the objection to Daniel on the score of position. They are "Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther." The books are of very different character and date, but they are all put in the Hagiographa, and among the last books of the Bible. The learned author last alluded to, would be the last man to say that the *place* of a book in the Hebrew Canon has anything at all to do with the date of its composition.

IV. *The difficulty of the Book of Daniel.*—We are quite agreed with older interpreters in acknowledging the difficulty of the book of Daniel. Ægid. Strauchius, in his *De Computo Sacro LXX. Hebdomadum Danielis dissertatio Historico-Chronologica*, written in 1660, speaks in this way:—

"Atque inter hæc obscura vaticinia excellit mysticus ille LXX. Hebdomadum calculus, cujus Danielis, cap. ix. fit mentio, tanta enim angelicæ istius prædictionis difficultas est, ut vix duos invenias chronologos, vel interpretes, qui secum invicem in explicatione præsentis loci prophetici conveniant, quin potius ingenii imbecilitatem pene multi interpretes libere fateantur. Non recensebo prolixè, uti Judæi, quo eludant argumenta quæ adversus impietatem eorumdem, ex hoc loco depromuntur, difficultatem ejus vehementer urgeant, qua exceptione R. Lusitanus in colloquio Mitelburg. usus est, siens: Temerarium est interpretari Daniele; meam interpretationem pavescens insinuabo, et celeberr. Dn. D. Müllerus in Judaismo suo cap. x. testatur, se aliquoties Danielitico vaticinio Apellas hosce convincere conatum esse, eosdem vero hac excusatione usos, 'Danielem nimis difficilem esse, respondere noluisse.' Sed patrum potius querimonie pensi habendæ sunt, ita enim Origines Adamantius, Homil. xxix. in Matth., qua caput. xxiv. explicat occasione verborum Christi: Cum videretis abominationem desolationis, quod scriptum est per Daniele propheta, etc., subjungit; 'Vere comprehendere sermones Danielis nullius alterius est, nisi Spiritus Sancti qui fuit in Daniele, ut de Septimanis omnem manifestet sermonem et de abominatione desolationis dicta ab eo.'"

And again:—

"Similiter Hieronymus, quando tomo V., operum (edit. Basil.) explicationem hujus vaticinii aggreditur, præmittit: 'Si Danieli dicitur diligenter attende ut audias et intelligas quod vides; quid nos facere oportet, quorum oculi ignorantie tenebris et caligine vitiorum obcæcati sunt?' Et paulo post, desperans quasi de certitudine, subjungit; 'Scio de hac quæ-

tione ab eruditissimis viris varie disputatum, et unumquemque pro captu ingenii sui dixisse quod senserat," etc.

These difficulties, however, do not greatly interfere with the processes and conclusions of historical criticism.

V. *Additional opinions on the Book of Daniel.*—The critics have too soon taken for granted that the book of Daniel is apocryphal, and was written after Antiochus Epiphanes. The dogmatic assertion of the Renans, and others of this school, will not yet be accepted everywhere as Gospel :—

"Les apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament surtout la partie Juive des vers sibyllins et le Livre d'Hénoch, joints au Livre de Daniel, qui est, lui aussi, un véritable apocryphe.

And soon after as to the date of Daniel :—

"La date du livre de Daniel est plus certain encore. Le caractère des deux langues dans lesquelles il est écrit ; l'usage de mots Grecs ; l'annonce claire, déterminée, datée, d'événements qui vont jusqu'au temps d'Antiochus Epiphane ; les fausses images qui y sont tracées de la vieille Babylonie ; la couleur générale du livre, qui ne rapelle en rien les écrits de la captivité, qui répond au contraire par un foule d'analogies aux croyances, aux mœurs, au tour d'imagination de l'époque des Séleucides, le tour Apocalyptique des visions ; la place du livre dans le Canon Hébreu hors de la série des prophètes ; l'omission de Daniel dans les panegyriques du chapitre xlix. de l'*Ecclesiastique*, où son rang était comme indiqué ; bien d'autres preuves qui ont été cent fois déduites, ne permettent pas de douter que le livre de Daniel ne soit le fruit de la grande exaltation produite chez les Juifs par la persécution d'Antiochus. Ce n'est pas dans la vieille littérature prophétique qu'il faut classer ce livre, mais bien en tête de la littérature Apocalyptique, comme premier modèle d'un genre de composition où devoient prendre place après lui les divers poèmes sibyllins, le livre d'Hénoch, l'Apocalypse de Jean, l'ascension d'Isaïe, le quatrième livre d'Esdras."

The foregoing citation is an enumeration of the objections which have been accumulated by modern opponents of Daniel. It is a good specimen of the courage with which assertions are repeated in spite of the reiterated statement of arguments to the contrary. We are only sorry that the avowed candour of some such writers allows them to ignore completely all the proofs which have been adduced from a host of sources in favour of the book. Even when proofs are not ignored, they are too often superciliously thrown aside as of no value.

It may not be uninteresting to hear what one or two of the older writers have to say about the book of Daniel. We will confine ourselves to two, and, as M. Renan is a Frenchman, they shall both be French and both Roman Catholics. We begin with M. Dupin.

Dupin observes that the Jews do not put Daniel in the list of prophets :—

“Parcequ’il n’a pas vécu à la manière des autres prophètes, mais plutôt comme les grands seigneurs de Babylone ; et ils croient même qu’il était eunuque, ce qui semble se pouvoir confirmer par un passage de son livre. Quelques uns apportent encore d’autres raisons pour lesquelles ils ne lui donnent pas la qualité de prophète ; mais elles sont toutes assez frivoles.”

The same author adds in a note some of the details which he did not choose to introduce into his text. They are, however, of some value because they contain not the slightest allusion to the reasons which recent critics give for the position of the book of Daniel in the Hebrew Canon :—

“The Rabbins,” Dupin tells us, “say that there are eleven degrees of prophecy, and that to exhibit the character of a prophet, it is necessary to have at least three of them : that to have them, it must be said that the word of God was addressed to the prophet, and that the revelation which has been made to him in a dream be no longer called a dream. Now Daniel, say they, lacks these ; for it is not at all said that the word of God was addressed to him, and his revelations are called dreams. These are chimerical reasons and principles which they think fit to suppose without proofs. Others rely with more probability upon the distinction of two kinds of prophecies (which we have explained above), of which the one which properly takes the name of prophecy, is by visions or dreams granted to a man who is not master of his mind and thoughts : the other, to which is given the name of inspiration simply, is the direction or assistance of the Holy Spirit, which he receives to whom nothing extraordinary happens. But this distinction cannot apply here : for Daniel had visions like other prophets, and other prophets have prophesied like him without extraordinary movements. What some allege, that revelations made out of the Holy Land ought not to be called prophecies, is altogether frivolous.”

Dupin argues for the authenticity of the book, which he says was first attacked by Porphyry and Celsus. He shews that Porphyry’s chief reason for thinking it written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes was the clearness of the prophecies up to that time, and he affirms that “the clearness of a prophecy does not prove its falsity.” This, however, is taken as an axiom by some recent critics. The following passage is instructive as bearing upon this question of date :—

“The Talmudists in the chapter Bababathra and some Rabbins have recognized the authority of this prophecy, but they believe that it was arranged and put in its actual state, along with those of Ezekiel and the

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\* *Dissertation Préliminaire ; ou Prolegomenes sur la Bible.*

\* Ed. 1701, page 118.

twelve minor prophets, and the Book of Esther by the Great Synagogue. If they are asked for the proof, they have none to allege but that they believe so. *Spinoza*, however, unbelieving as he was, owns that the eighth and following chapters, to the thirteenth, are Daniel's; but he would rather say that he does not know where the seven first are taken from, than admit that they are by the same author. The only reason which he gives is, that they are written in Chaldee. A feeble reason; for why should not Daniel, who was in Babylon and at the king's court, have written narratives in that language of what happened in that country? He adds that the author of the Book of Daniel is the same as wrote the books of *Ezra*, *Esther*, and *Nehemiah*, and pretends that he lived a long time after the restoration of the temple effected by *Judas Maccabæus*. These are conjectures which have no foundation but in his imagination, and have only been welcome because they were new and unheard of."

*Celsus* is mentioned by *Dupin* as having attacked the book of Daniel, but supplies no evidence of it, and we cannot find it. *Origen* in his reply to *Celsus* (lib. vii.), quotes that writer as exclaiming that Daniel, who was delivered from the wild beasts, was more worthy of divine honour than *Jesus Christ*; and he says that *Celsus* reproached *Jonah* and Daniel, but this is all. Still, it is very probable that *Celsus*, who derided everything which the Christians believed, regarded Daniel and other Biblical books as fictitious.

We give another specimen of the manner in which the objections to Daniel were treated by the older writers. The *Abbé Bergier*, Canon of Paris, in his *Traité Historique et Dogmatique de la Vraie Religion*,<sup>†</sup> says, "The prophecies of Daniel upon the succession of monarchies has appeared too clear to the unbelievers. They maintain after *Porphry* and *Spinoza*, that it was forged after the event, and during the time which elapsed from *Antiochus* to *Jesus Christ*." The author of the *Examen Important*, thinks that the books of this prophet, those of *David*, *Solomon*, and others, were made up in *Alexandria*."

In reply :—

"Suspicions and conjectures cost our adversaries nothing; but the rashness with which they propound them demonstrates that they are not very able in the art of criticism. 1. If the book of Daniel were of a date posterior to the age of *Antiochus*, it would be altogether written in Chaldean like the paraphrases, whereas the greater part of the book is in Hebrew. At the epoch of which we speak the Hebrew was no longer the vulgar tongue among the Jews, and nobody among them was qualified to

<sup>†</sup> Paris, 1785. Vol. vii., p. 255, and *seqq.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Opinion des Anciens sur les Juifs*, p. 117; *Esprit du Judaïsme*, p. 149; *Examen des Prophéties*, p. 149, 152.

<sup>\*</sup> *Examen Important*, c. x., p. 54; *Bible Expliquée*, p. 465, et *suiv.* After all, then, our modern explorers have not gone beyond old discoverers.

write in the language. 2. Mention is made of Daniel in the prophecies of Ezekiel who lived with him in Babylon. Daniel's wisdom and the knowledge he had of hidden things is there spoken of (Ezek. xxviii. 3). Ezekiel compares the holiness of Daniel with that of Noah and of Job (Ibid., xiv. 14, 20). 3. Nehemiah, who lived long before the age of Antiochus offers to God a prayer evidently derived from the book of Daniel (comp. Neh. 1, 5 with Dan. ix. 4). The author of the first book of Maccabees teaches us that Mattathias, a contemporary of Antiochus, quoted to his children the example of this very prophet (1 Macc. ii. 58). 4. Josephus the historian regards the prophecies of Daniel as very authentic; he relates that they were shewn to Alexander the Great by the high priest Jaddua, a long time before the reign of Antiochus.\* 5. This authenticity was not called in question among the Jews when Jesus Christ appeared, inasmuch as he cites these prophecies and announces their accomplishment (Matt. xxiv. 15). 6. Even if the author of this book had written in the age of Antiochus, one must needs concede to him the prophetic spirit, because he predicts the establishment of the kingdom of the Son of Man and of the saints, which had not yet happened, and the ruin of Jerusalem by the Romans, which was yet far distant. We shall see this in the next section. The pretended falsification of the prophecies of Daniel is therefore of no great advantage to unbelievers.

"Further, the *Remarques Astronomiques* of M. De Cheseaux on the book of Daniel, demonstrate that the author was either divinely inspired to find the cycle which he has availed himself of, or was one of the most able astronomers that ever lived. Unbelievers do not admit the first of these two suppositions; they must then own that this book was composed at Babylon, when astronomy was most flourishing amongst the Chaldeans, and not 380 years later, and after the persecution of Antiochus. At this last date neither the Jews of Palestine nor those of Alexandria were certainly skilful astronomers.

"The proofs upon which unbelievers rest their suspicions are by no means unsubstantial! They say that Daniel, a pretended minister of state, is deceived without ceasing as to the names of the kings of Assyria and of Persia; what he relates of the change of Nebuchadnezzar was not known to any profane historian; and his book is full of words derived from the Greek.

"But it is false that Daniel is deceived as to the names of the kings of whom he speaks. He gives them the Chaldean or Persian name which they bore; whereas the Greeks in writing the names have translated or disfigured them, and this it is which makes it hard to reconcile Greek historians with Holy Scripture. Often too, these historians do not agree with one another; they vary as to the name of the same person, because the kings of Assyria and of Persia had several names; they were named differently by their subjects of different nations; the languages of the Medes, Persians, and Chaldeans were not the same.

"Is it surprising that the change of Nebuchadnezzar is not found in any profane historian? No one exists who has spoken of him, or written

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\* Joseph., *Antiq. Judaic*, x. 12; xi. 8.

his history. The ancient Oriental historians, and even several Greek historians are no longer in being.

"It is false that there are found in Daniel a very great number of words derived from the Greek; we only see there certain terms of art, which are almost the same in Greek and in Chaldee; but it is uncertain whether these words were not rather borrowed from the Chaldee by the Greeks, than from the Greek by the Chaldeans. The presumption is in favour of the more ancient of the two peoples; and the Chaldeans were polished, and cultivated arts and sciences earlier than the Greeks."<sup>s</sup>

\* At the risk of being rallied for having recourse to obscure authors, we give the whole of the observations of M. Bergier. In the review department of the present number there will be found a notice of two recent works upon Daniel,—the one by Mr. Boyle, and the other by the Rev. J. C. Walter; the latter of whom thus tells the story of the question we have had in view:—

"Porphyry, who lived about A.D. 233—305, wrote a work entitled, *Against the Christians*, the twelfth and thirteenth books of which were devoted to the examination of the prophecies of Daniel; and he alleged that their minute agreement with the events of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes was such as proved that they must have been composed *after* those events had taken place; in other words, that the book belonged to a period later by four hundred years than the date at which Daniel himself must have flourished,—consequently, that it was a forgery. This argument, supported by other collateral ones, some of which, it is probable, were suggested by doubts thrown out by Spinoza, was revived by the English deist Collins in the last century. His views again were adopted, in Germany, by Michaelis and Eichhorn, and more recently to a large extent especially by Bertholdt, Bleek, Gesenius, Von Lengerke, De Wette, Kerms, Scholl, Maurer, Hitzig, Ewald, Lücke, and others. To whom may be added our own Arnold; and lately Dr. Williams, in the work entitled *Essays and Reviews*. Though varying in the grounds on which they are based, the allegations of these several writers (which it is unnecessary to specify fully here, as they will appear in the body of the work) amount in the main to the same charge, viz., that the book is a forgery. On the other hand, there have not been wanting defenders of the book. Collins was answered, and fully, by Bishop Chandler and Dr. Samuel Chandler, as also, though briefly, by Bishop Newton in his work on the prophecies. More recently the same line has been taken, and at greater length, by Hengstenberg, Sach, Hävernicks, Reichel, Keil, Schulze, Delitzsch, Vaihinger, Auberlin, and others in Germany; in America, by Professor Stuart and Barnes; and in our own country, by Tregelles, Davidson, Ayre (the two latter in their editions of Horne's *Introduction*), and many others on a smaller scale. None of these writers, however, have attempted to work out the *internal* evidence to the extent of which it seems capable."



## CONTRIBUTIONS TO MODERN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

## No. III.—A FEW DAYS AMONGST THE SLAVONIC PROTESTANTS OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

THE present condition of Protestants on the continent of Europe presents many points of interest, and perhaps that of those who are, comparatively speaking, outlying, is not less interesting than that of such as dwell in nearer proximity to ourselves, and with whose language Britons are more commonly conversant. In 1861 we made a little tour in the eastern part of Central Europe for the express purpose of observing and recording the condition of the Slavonic Protestants in those districts, so far as the brief time at our command should permit. Our first visit was made to a Polish—or, as the Germans rudely call it, a Water-polish—congregation at Namslau, in Prussian Silesia, a town which is on the boundary-line between the German and Polish populations, the town itself being German and all beyond it towards the East Polish. We then stayed with a Bohemian clergyman of the Reformed or Helvetic confession, the Rev. Josef Procházka, who formerly translated Archbishop Whately's *Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences* into Bohemian, and who was then superintending the Polish part of the congregation that meets for worship at Namslau.

This Polish congregation will be best described by simply stating, that there were but three well-dressed men and not a single well-dressed woman out of about two hundred and fifty souls that attended the Polish service. All the women, without exception, wore the picturesque costume of the Polish peasantry, with occasionally a little difference in the head-dress. As German in Prussia always has the preference, the Polish congregation—far as some of its members have to walk from their distant villages—must be content to assemble at seven o'clock in the morning, while the Germans in the town can lie comfortably in bed and go to church at ten. An union was effected by force in 1817 by the last king of Prussia but one, between the Reformed and Lutheran confessions, and the church thus formed is called the United Evangelical Church.

The first thing that struck us on entering the church was, that all the men were in the galleries and all the women in the body of the church. As soon as seven o'clock struck, singing commenced, and most heartily was it carried on by the congregation with the help of the organ. The hymns were good and well suited for congregational use. Everybody on entering the church stood up, and prayed out of an excellent collection of

prayers at the end of the hymn-book, and then sat down and joined in the singing. After the singing the minister entered, read the epistle and gospel, and said a short selection of prayers from the Prussian liturgy in Polish, to which the people listened and answered "Amen," with every appearance of devotion. He then retired in order to ascend the pulpit, and a hymn was sung before the sermon. The sermon was on the epistle for the day (Rom. viii. 12—17), and was delivered with considerable oratorical effect. Unfortunately, not having had occasion to hear or speak Polish for several years, we could rarely catch an entire sentence, and could only notice the stress laid by the preacher on the words, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." After the sermon came a prayer of thanksgiving for the late providential escape of the king of Prussia from the pistol of a fanatical assassin. Then came a hymn for the holy communion, the like of which we never heard. The congregation appeared to throw their whole heart and soul into it in a manner which might serve as a model to many a fashionable English congregation. It pealed through the building till it shook again.

Those who intended to communicate (and almost every Polish Protestant does communicate four times in the year), had spent the early part of the service in the vestry in confession with the minister, while the earlier hymns were sung by the non-communicants. Confession with these Protestants is conducted as follows:—A short exhortation is delivered by the minister, after which a general confession is made by all, and a general absolution pronounced by the minister. After this all kneel before him, and he places his hands upon their heads, two and two, and pronounces a special absolution in these words, "I pronounce the forgiveness of your sins in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The liturgical part of the communion was not long, but everything was conducted with the greatest reverence, and listened to and joined in with the greatest attention. Immediately after the sermon the black crape envelopes were taken off four large candlesticks that stood on the altar, and four lighted tapers ornamented with white ribands were placed in them. This was the signal for the beginning of the communion service. Immediately the male communicants came down from the galleries, and placed themselves round the altar, where they remained during the consecration of the elements. The German minister then took his place by the side of the Polish one, and assisted in the distribution, taking the cup, while the Polish minister

distributed the bread, or rather wafers, as usual in Lutheran churches. These he placed, not in the hand, but in the mouth of each communicant. As soon as each communicant had received the bread, he went round the back of the altar to receive the cup from the German minister at the other side. When the men had all received, the women took their turn, and the service was concluded by a blessing. There were about seventy-five communicants, but we were informed that on the preceding Sunday there had been two hundred and six communicants out of four hundred persons in church.

We were much struck by the open and pleasant look of the female part of the congregation, but a kind of oppression seemed to weigh upon many of the men, whose appearance was generally much less open, although there were several pleasant faces among them. Altogether, the conduct of this poor congregation was most edifying, and calculated to humble the spiritual pride too common among British Protestants.

After service we expressed to Mr. Procházka a wish to see his schools, which he had told us were three in number. He replied that unfortunately they would not fall in with our object, being entirely German, and that the Poles were not allowed to learn a single word or letter of their own language at school. Such is the enlightened tyranny of Prussia. This fully bears out what we had been told eleven years previously by several Polish gentlemen at Prince Sulkowski's residence in the Grand Duchy of Posen. They said: "We Poles are less uneasy under the Russian than under the Prussian yoke. The Russian government tries by all manner of vexatious personal restrictions to prevent us from rising against it, but the whole force of that of Prussia is exerted to annihilate our nationality, and make us cease to be Poles at all."

Mr. Procházka and ourselves the next day talked over the best mode of our attaining our grand object of seeing as much as possible of the Bohemian Protestants during a very limited time. A plan was formed, which circumstances did not allow us to carry out. In fact, we found that time compelled us to do exactly the converse of part, and part only of what had been sketched out. Above all, we were to visit his father-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Kaspar at Leschitz, where there was both a Reformed church and a school; and he was to write to Mr. Kaspar and inform him of our coming. We stopped at the station of Weltrus, between Bodenbach and Prague, and stayed at the inn of Mr. Keyrz, who is a Protestant, and an intelligent, well-informed man, and the next morning went in a carriage or cart, without springs, to Leschitz. Not that the great roads are at all un-

worthy of springs, but the cross-roads are such that no springs could possibly exist upon them; and the want of good bye-roads is one of the principal causes that keep the country of Bohemia from prospering as much as its natural resources and capabilities deserve.

When we got to Leschitz, which is quite a village, in which there are about as many geese as inhabitants, we were driven to the Protestant parsonage, and introduced ourselves to Mr. Kaspar, fully expecting that he had received a letter about us from Mr. Procházka. This, however, had not been the case, but on our stating our nation, the objects of our journey, and that we had just come from Mr. Procházka, he very hospitably invited us to stay with him. He took us first to see his church, which is close to the parsonage. It is about 60 feet long by 33 wide, and there are seats for about one hundred and fifty persons. However, a great many more do manage to sit there, and others stand under the organ gallery—where by the way there is as yet no organ—in a stooping posture on account of its lowness. There are three windows at each side, and the building is lofty in proportion to its size.

It is a remarkable fact that, when the emperor Joseph II. issued in 1781 the patent of toleration, which allowed Protestants the free exercise of their religion, they were not generally allowed to build their churches or prayer-houses (*Bethäuser*, as they are officially styled) within the villages, but were obliged to place them outside. This, however, which was intended for an insult, has turned out most advantageous to them, for they have been enabled to enlarge and rebuild *ad libitum*. Leschitz, unfortunately, is one of the few exceptions to this rule, and the church could scarcely be enlarged on its present site, except by a very clumsy addition on the side of Mr. Kaspar's garden. There was also a dunghill before the door of the church, which was now and then mischievously made up for the benefit of church-going heretics; and sometimes in wet weather the liquid streamed in at the church-door, and caused no little annoyance.

The altar or communion-table and font were in the middle of the church; the former with a simple white cloth upon it and made of wood, but very massive; the latter was purchased with the voluntary offerings of the school children. In all the Helvetian or Reformed churches in Bohemia a *chalice* forms a conspicuous ornament, but there is no crucifix or other image. The Lutherans always have a crucifix and candles on the altar.

From the church we went to the school, which is miserably small—only 33 feet long by 27 wide—for one hundred and thirteen children! It is very low, and though there are six

windows, the ventilation is very bad. There is a stove for winter uses, and when it is lighted, the room with any number of children in it must be insufferable. The schoolmaster was a pleasant and intelligent man of thirty-four, and his wife an equally pleasant-looking woman of twenty-six. Boys, fifty-one, and girls sixty-two in number, are taught together, and the master and mistress, as well as Mr. Kaspar, spoke feelingly of the want of a second class-room. It being harvest time, the children were having their holidays, so that we had no opportunity of testing their knowledge. In the school-room was a nice, though small, globe, purchased by the contributions of the parents of the school-children, two black boards with lines, a counting board with balls on wire, and a map of Bohemia. The school-room floor, which was partly brick and partly wood, seemed in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and the chickens appeared more at home there than they ought to have been in a place dedicated to education.

Over the door of the school-room is this inscription: "Step-nice dusi zalozena pomoci lidumilu a dostavena 1844.—Nursery of souls established by the help of charitable persons, and completed in the year 1844." There were five Jewish children at the school, and Mr. Kaspar told us with especial pride, that they had never heard an insulting or impertinent remark from any of the other children. There were also several Roman Catholic children at the school, whose parents were obliged to pay for them at the Roman Catholic school also. Mr. Kaspar told us that he had had no less than six teachers at the school since its foundation, and we asked him what had become of them. He replied that most of them had died. We made no remark in answer, but easily understood that they had been simply killed by the impure atmosphere generated by so many children in so small a room.

Leschitz is distinguished for its society—the only one in Bohemia—for the assistance of the widows and orphans of Protestant school teachers without distinction of confession. This Mr. Kaspar began in 1849 with eighteen florins, and it now possesses a capital of two thousand florins; and it was expected that the first pension would commence the next year. A florin used formerly to be exactly what an English florin is now, but the Austrian paper florin was then inferior to the ordinary South German florin, which is exactly twenty pence, or two francs.

At Leschitz there is also a school library of more than six hundred volumes, almost all in the Bohemian language, which is used as a lending library, the advantages of which are enjoyed by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. In the long winter

evenings the peasants club together to buy candles and get books out—a book being procurable for eight days on payment of a kreutzer, rather less than a farthing—and then take it in turns to meet and read together in their cottages. Mr. Kaspar told us, that his congregation had become quite a different set of persons since the institution of this library.

He had been at Leschitz twenty-nine years, and during that time had received four hundred and forty-nine registered converts from the church of Rome. Five more were under instruction, and were expected ere long to be received. Roman Catholic women married to Protestant husbands formed a considerable item in this account. He had also established a "Filiarka," or daughter church at Libschitz, on the road to Prague, about nine miles from Leschitz, which numbered about two hundred souls. A farmer had given the land for a site, and collections were being made towards building a church. The proposed site was afterwards pointed out to us from the railway. (The church has since been completed.)

From the schoolroom we went to the churchyard, which is prettily situated and nicely kept. There are three other churchyards belonging to this one congregation; one at Libschitz, one at Hkrzin, and a third at Bejkow, besides this at Leschitz. It will give some idea of the extent of the district under Mr. Kaspar's superintendence, if we mention, that he once had to go twenty-one English miles in the winter to visit a sick person, and on arriving found himself in a worse condition than the person he had gone to see. He was over sixty years old, and complained greatly about the difficulty of getting through his work, and how it burthened his conscience, that he could not do what he had formerly been used to do.

About the middle of the day we went in and dined, Miss Kaspar being, according to the usual custom, cook and waiting-maid besides sitting at table with us. As we sat and talked after dinner, in came the expected letter from Mr. Procházka, and immediately a double portion of greeting fell to our share. On talking about the manner in which the next day, Sunday, was to be spent, Mr. Kaspar said he was sorry I could not see his own congregation, as he was obliged to go to Krabschitz, the next parish, which was vacant, the aged pastor having lately died, in order to conduct the election of a presbytery, which would take place after a short service. He was himself "administrator" or *locum tenens* of the vacant benefice. The election had already taken place at Leschitz, and would be carried on the next day at Krabschitz, if we liked to go thither with him. A free constitution had the preceding April been granted to all the

Protestant churches by the emperor, and these proceedings were taking place in consequence. Of course we gladly accepted this offer, and all separated early for the night in order to be ready to start in good time in the morning, so as to arrive at Krabschitz before eight o'clock.

It will perhaps be as well now to give an account of the new constitution granted by the emperor of Austria by the patent of April 5, 1861, to the Protestant churches, whether of the Augsburg (Lutheran) or Helvetian (reformed) confession. Every man twenty-five years old, who has paid his quota towards the expenses of the congregation, pastor, schoolmaster (if any), repairs and everything included, possesses a vote. Each voter writes down twenty names on a ticket or piece of paper, which he gives folded to the scrutators, who read them aloud, and register the number of times each name is proposed by different voters. The number of the *vybor* or committee thus elected for the purpose of again choosing a presbytery (*presbyterostvo* or *starostvo*) varies according to the number of the congregation. In Leschitz the *vybor* consisted of one hundred and two persons, in Krabschitz it was to consist of eighty. Out of these one hundred and two at Leschitz twenty *starszi* or elders were chosen, who again elected the *fararz* or minister, the curator, a kind of churchwarden (*první starszi*, literally "first elder"), and the *pocetvedoucí* or treasurer. The curator attends the synod of the district, when it takes place, as lay member, as well as the *fararz*. The *fararzi*, or clergy, choose the superintendent, who corresponds to a bishop or archdeacon, and the district seniorate, *okresny seniorat*. When the congregation does not exceed five hundred souls, the presbytery consists of only eight persons. The old *consistorium* at Vienna, which used to be presided over by a Roman Catholic, is abolished, and the evangelical churches are managed by an oberkirchenrath, or supreme ecclesiastical council (*evangelická církevní vysoká rada*), chosen by the emperor, of which no Roman Catholic may be a member. A third of each presbytery resigns every third year, but every individual member thus resigning is capable of re-election.

We started for Krabschitz at about five o'clock in the morning, and arrived there a little before eight, after passing through an arable country, in which scarcely a tree was to be seen, but with an excellent view of *Rzip*, the sacred mountain of the heathen Bohemians in the olden time, which was however as destitute of trees as the surrounding country. The parsonage-house at Krabschitz, as well as that at Leschitz, was of a satisfactory character, but the school was even worse—much worse—than that at Leschitz. The schoolmaster was a handsome look-

ing young man, but his reading seemed very much confined to German Pietistic authors; he was married and had two children. There were ninety-three children on the books, about forty of whom were boys. The schoolroom was 27 feet long by 25 wide, and about 7 feet high; there were four low windows and a stove, but no attempt at ventilation; there were little low desks and benches, but a very considerable proportion of the ninety-three children must have sat on the floor, or in the passage outside. The roof had fallen in in several places, and appeared very dangerous. In the room were wall maps of Bohemia and of the Austrian empire, two black boards, a counting board, and a fair quantity of slates for the use of the children, but there were no places for inkstands.

In the same building was what professed to be the master's house. This consisted of a sort of hole in the wall, without door or window, for a kitchen, one small room 18 feet by 12 with one window and a stove, and another 15 feet by 7 with a brick floor; above was a hay loft, and the whole was in a very dilapidated condition. On this account, Mr. Kaspar, who, as administrator, only used the parsonage occasionally, had brought the schoolmaster and his family into it, much to their comfort and accommodation.

The church was about 75 feet long by 33 wide, and lofty, with eight windows. There was no organ, but a collection was being made for one, which was soon expected to appear. There was no font, and the altar, as at Leschitz, was in the middle of the church. There was a fair number of open seats, which were principally occupied by the female members of the congregation, while the men sat, as at Namslau, in the galleries at each end.

There had formerly been a Lutheran congregation also at Krabschitz, which had lately transferred its place of meeting to Lipkovitz, and its buildings had been converted into the village inn. The reformed had bought a garden close to their church for two hundred florins, and were contemplating building a new school there. In fact we were shewn a plan for two new school-rooms and a schoolmaster's house, which was on a miserably small scale, and could never be adopted by people of sense who were rich enough to build at all. And certainly the improvement in the position of the peasant farmer since 1848, when the *robot*, or payment of rent in labour, was abolished, may be stated as fully two hundred per cent.; against which, however, must be set the increased taxation caused by the necessities of the Austrian government.

Before service began, several people came into the parsonage and expressed a wish that the old constitution might remain;



and, in fact, a somewhat grumbling spirit seemed to be abroad. When we went into church, the first thing was to sing a hymn, after which Mr. Kaspar advanced to the altar and read a prayer, which was listened to with every appearance of devotion. He then read the gospel for the day, the ninth Sunday after Trinity, containing the parable of the unjust steward, and gave a brief explanation of it, shewing that it was not the dishonesty, but the foresight of the steward, that was proposed for our imitation. Then, passing on the business of the day, he gave a lucid explanation of what was to be done, viz., to elect eighty men, who were again to elect sixteen who were to have the power of choosing the curator, the treasurer, and the clergyman. He reminded them of the oppression they had suffered under the regime of the late minister, Bach, and urged them to make a good use of the freedom now graciously accorded to them by the emperor. They ought to leave politics and worldly matters out of the question, and think only of the interests of religion and of their souls, which greatly depended on the kind of presbytery they elected. "Choose," he said, "just, God-fearing, pious, and trustworthy men." He then told them that a quarter of an hour would be given them for consultation before the election began, and concluded with a prayer for the aid of the Holy Spirit, and a blessing.

We left the church at about a quarter to ten, and as we came out, Mr. Kaspar introduced us to Mr. Kratochvil, the representative of two districts in the local parliament or Landtag (*Zemsky snem*). We had a good deal of conversation with this gentleman, whose education and tone of thought were evidently of a high order, and who expressed himself warmly in favour of the policy of Palacky and Rieger, the leaders of the Czech party in the upper and lower houses of the Reichsrath. The fact is, that all intelligent Protestants, from the fundamental principles of their religion itself, must be instructed themselves, and must wish to see others instructed in their mother-tongue, and must therefore, if not Germans themselves, hold more or less with the national party against the Germanizing policy of the government.

We were struck by the respectable air of the congregation, many of whom were manifestly well-to-do in the world. There were about one hundred and thirty men and ninety women, the latter of whom did not present so picturesque an appearance as the Poles at Namslau, but were all neatly and tidily dressed. At the conclusion of the quarter of an hour we returned to the church, and the election commenced according to the form above described. The manner of registering the number of votes obtained by each was ingenious, and intended to save the

time and trouble of adding up at the end. The twenty names on each list were read out one after the other, and a number put to each in the register book corresponding to the number of times each was voted for by different voters, *e.g.*,—

Kratochvil Vaclaw . . 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, etc.

Fidler Josef . . . . . 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.

We remarked also that Mr. Kratochvil's name occurred on every paper.

About twenty of these papers had been gone through, when everybody began to feel hungry, so all left the church intending to re-assemble at two o'clock. But respectable as the congregation appeared, and indeed we were told it was one of the richest Protestant congregations in Bohemia, some of its members exhibited on the way to dinner a specimen of very bad manners. A dispute arose, and charges were made against persons present and absent, the groundlessness of which we ourselves could have proved from our own personal knowledge of parties, especially absent parties, who were suspected of acting in a manner quite the reverse of that in which they were acting and had determined to act. After this affair we ate our dinner with the best appetite we could, returned to the church much later than intended, sealed up the remainder of the voting papers instead of completing the scrutiny, and returned to Leschitz.

However, it is our opinion, that the new constitution will work well when once in operation, although there may very likely be quarrels and difficulties until everybody practically knows his place and duty under it. It certainly appears to us a better arrangement in a practical point of view, that the minister should be chosen by a select committee, freely selected for the purpose, than that his election should be voted upon by the whole congregation. Anything like independent foundations, however small, would be an incalculable boon to the Protestant clergy of Bohemia, as many of the richer farmers, who are rapidly rising in the world, while the clergy in a pecuniary point of view remain stationary, look upon them as little better than their servants.

A few additional statistical details may not be unacceptable. The schoolmaster at Leschitz has three hundred florins, or £24 a year, and also gains a florin a month for five or six children, who take private lessons in German or other subjects. These fixed salaries are raised from the congregations by an assessment according to property, and no one who has not paid his dues is entitled to vote. The congregation of Leschitz in 1850 contained one thousand three hundred and eighty-six souls, but is now considerably increased. That of Krabschitz contained one

thousand one hundred and thirty-one. The district over which the congregation of Leschitz extends is about thirty-eight English miles across, from Melnik to Jungferteinitz.

About a fourth of the Lutherans in Bohemia and all the Reformed are Slavonians, and use the Bohemian language in their churches. The Lutherans number thirty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-five souls, and the Reformed fifty-nine thousand three hundred and forty-three. The past year has been celebrated as the one thousandth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity into these Slavonic countries by Methodius and Cyrillus, the sainted brothers of Thessalonica.

The Reformed congregation at Prague, which, thirteen years before, only numbered eight hundred members, counted in 1861 nearly one thousand six hundred, having thus nearly doubled its numbers in that time. This congregation we also visited, and on the next Sunday heard a most beautiful, and we may say, brilliant sermon from the then minister, Mr. Schubert.\* Mr. Schubert has now removed to Krabschitz, where we trust his comparative youth and energy will work an improvement similar to that which has been effected by Mr. Kaspar and his lending library at Leschitz. But few congregations would do otherwise than deteriorate, when a long old age with incapacity for work on the part of their minister has been succeeded by a vacancy without any regular minister.

We have not shrunk from describing the evil as well as the good that fell under our observation, and we trust that thus we shall not be suspected of overstating matters in order to obtain the Bohemian Protestants the assistance of which they stand so greatly in need. They want a theological faculty for their clergy, a seminary for their school teachers, and a better prospect of a comfortable maintenance to hold out to both clergy and schoolmasters; otherwise the two latter will neither of them be able to keep pace with the times, and maintain the start which they appear to have taken in many respects ahead of their Roman Catholic neighbours. Indeed, the difficulty of obtaining competent clergy and schoolmasters is one of the greatest difficulties with which they have to contend.

Aprpos of the subject of schools, a visit to the Roman Catholic parish school of St. Henry, at Prague, may perhaps form a not unsuitable conclusion to the present article. We were one day complaining at Prague to an old friend, a Mr. Krug, who by the way was the only really loyal Austrian we

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\* An abstract of this sermon will be found in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for January last, as well as a complete statistical account of the incomes, social position, etc., of the Bohemian Protestant clergy.

met, everybody else, who took any interest in politics at all, being fanatical either for the German or Slavonic party, that we had not been able to inspect any of the Protestant schools, because the children were all away at the harvest, when he said, "Why don't you come and see one of our Roman Catholic schools? If you will come to-morrow morning, I will introduce you to our parish school." We gladly accepted the invitation, and went at about ten o'clock. We found religious instruction, which is given by two catechists, who are priests, the rest of the teachers being laymen, going on in the first or lowest class of the boys. We were told that they were all just going to church, but that if we liked to come in the afternoon, a little after two o'clock, they should be happy to let us see and hear everything. We went out with Mr. Krug, who had accompanied and introduced us, and watched the children entering the church, which they did in a very orderly and proper manner. It was a pretty sight to see them going, especially as when their countenances were studied, the impression on the whole was decidedly favourable.

In the afternoon we returned at the time appointed, and visited the different classes in order, beginning with the first or lowest class of the boys. The boys were on the ground floor and the girls upstairs; all were taught by masters. The room in which the first or lowest class of the boys were assembled is the largest, and is also used for examinations. Some of the boys were very little, even as young as six or five and a half. The room itself was lofty and airy, with four windows on two of its sides, and desks and benches much as in England. There were one hundred and thirty-two children in the room, some of whom were standing along the side; these we found were boys who had not been in time, and who were required to stand for half an hour as a punishment. Corporal punishment is very rarely resorted to, but is always in reserve. They learn both Bohemian and German writing, and appeared to form their letters in both very fairly. They also learn to read both languages; but arithmetic is taught principally in Bohemian, as the Germans form a very small minority. They use a Bohemian and German grammar and exercise book, very nicely graduated, and endeavour to translate into and from both languages. Religion is taught in Bohemian. The course in the first class is to go through the whole of a Bohemian and half a German primer. The master said that about fifty read well, the rest being only beginners. Two read Bohemian to us very nicely, but the master said they were not very far advanced in German reading. There were two black boards and a counting-board in the room.

We then went on to the second class of the boys, which consisted of a hundred and twenty members, in a smaller room, with three windows, but fairly ventilated. These were writing Bohemian from dictation, and on examining their writing, we found that one or two wrote beautifully, and all fairly. We found fault with the cramped manner in which we found many of them holding their pens; and the master admitted the defect, but said that it was not the fault of the school, but of what they learned at home, and that it was very difficult to get them out of the bad habit. They begin to write by beats, under a kind of military discipline, so that their style of writing is very much alike. Once a week they practise geometrical drawing, especially straight lines forming different figures. We asked to look at their drawing books, and were much pleased with several solid crosses and other figures with shading in straight lines. We found that they all had either satchels or a kind of pen cases, which seemed to be in very respectable order. The master examined the boys in Bohemian and German grammar before us, using the Bohemian language. The intelligence displayed by the answers of the children was decidedly satisfactory. Their Bohemian reading-book contained short passages explanatory of common things in practical life, with a very few historical or pseudo-historical facts. What they read in Bohemian they also endeavour to translate into German. The master gave them a short examination on the several parts of the body and mind, and also on different animals, the children answering very fairly. As regards the writing from dictation, we objected that what they were going to write was also written on the board, though too far off for many of them to see it. The master requested us to give them a short sentence ourselves, which we did. A boy was called forward to write it on the board, when he made two mistakes; writing *ocima vydim*, "I see with the two eyes;" but the rest corrected him with great glee, telling him to write *ocima vidim*. Another wrote in German, *Ich sehe mit den Augen*, quite correctly. Arithmetic, that is to say, the four first rules, is taught in both Bohemian and German; but multiplication is made to follow addition, and division to follow subtraction.

We then went on to the highest or third class of the boys, which contained about a hundred pupils in a tolerably large room with four windows. Arithmetic was going on in the Bohemian language; the subject of Factors was being explained, and questions asked upon it. Reduction of fractions was performed on the black board by one of the boys, and watched by the rest of the class; any questions that arose were addressed to the class, not to the boy that was working at the board. The question;

Why? was invariably asked at every step. A sum in the Rule of Three, involving fractions, was also done by some of the boys on the board, one boy doing one part aloud, and another writing it down, then another doing another part, and so on. A German boy did his part in German. The Bohemian reader for this class contains passages in both prose and poetry, geography and a kind of grammar. We heard a good many of the boys read both Bohemian and German. The Bohemian reading was universally good; the German more variable, but still fair.

From these we went upstairs to the second class of the girls, who were a hundred and four in number, in a comfortable room with three windows, and with a very pleasant master. Some of them had hats or bonnets, some had crinolines, and some had none. We found them practising a kind of gymnastics; standing, sitting, and stretching out their arms at the word of command. They then went on to a kind of conversational lecture. They were asked to name a bird, when one of them said *lev* (a lion), to the great amusement of the rest. At last the goose (*husa*) was fixed upon by one as the bird to be discussed. "What sort of a bird is it?" *Domáci pták*, "a domestic bird." "Where does it like to go?" *Chodí do vody*, "it goes into the water." Why doesn't the hen go into the water? "Because its feet are not made for swimming," and so on. They then sang a hymn for our especial benefit, but lack of ear prevents us from offering any opinion on their singing. After this, a little girl was told to take the chalk and write the name of a bird on the board. She wrote *Orel*, "an eagle." "What is the nature of the eagle?" "It is fierce (*dravý*)."

"Write that down." She wrote, *Orel draví*, which was corrected by others to *Orel dravý*. "What does the eagle do?" "*Orel co dělá*?" "The eagle flies," "*Orel létá*." "What is *létá*?" "A verb." "What is a verb?" The definition was immediately written in Bohemian on the board. She had written *leta* in the sentence above given, which another corrected to *létá*; the sentence standing at last, *Orel dravý létá*. "Of how many are you speaking?" "Of one." "What number is that?" "The singular number." "Put it for more than one." She wrote, *Orly draví letají*, which was gradually corrected by the class to *Orlí draví létají*. "Why a great O to *Orlí*?" "Because it begins a sentence." The master then proceeded to question the children on the tenses. *Létají* being present, the past and future were asked, both singular and plural. They then did a little arithmetic. One wrote down the number of the girls on different benches, and added them together by two benches at a time. For the full sum of all, others were questioned, and the first wrote down the answers, column by

column. We found them making very ugly figures for seven and four, not nearly so nicely formed as they are written in England. Finally, the word was given, "Prepare for devotion." The Lord's Prayer was said very nicely by all, followed by "Svatá Maria" and "Glory be to the Father," etc.

We then went on to the third or highest class of the girls, which properly contained ninety-nine members, of whom about twenty were waiting after the proper hour of separation for the purpose of being examined by us. These, the master assured us, were not selected for the purpose, but were volunteers from all parts of the class. The master told us he had rather that we should examine them in his presence, than that he should examine them in ours; and asked us to set them a sum on the board. We told him, that we should set one that often puzzled our school children, although it was really very easy. We set, "If a herring and a half cost three kreutzers, what will six herrings cost." This puzzled them, but immediately afterwards they did and proved a much harder sum: "If of three hundred and twenty measures of corn, one third were wheat, three eighths rye, and the rest barley, how much was there of each?" We dictated eight lines from *Maria Czacká*, which we happened to know by heart, and one of the girls wrote them beautifully on the board, spelling, however, some of the words rather indifferently. We shall give the lines here, as they are alone sufficient to refute the slanders of the Germans against the alleged harshness of the Bohemian language, which is infinitely superior in melody to their own.

"Polet se mnou," septal ruzi

Motyl létavý;

"Poplyn se mnou," vábil zdola

Potek tekavý.

"Nepoletím, nepoplynu,

Zaplakalby sad;

S tebou by me vítr rozvál,

V nem umorzil chlad."

"Come fly with me," the butterfly

Low whisper'd to the rose;

"Come swim with me," from underneath

Tempted the brook that flows.

"I will not fly, I will not swim,

Grief would the garden fill;

With thee the wind would rend my frame,

In it the cold would kill."

Finally, we selected a passage from their reading book for them to read, which they read very nicely; and we then examined

them in Bohemian and German on the meaning of the words. What is *hora* (a mountain) in German? *Berg*. What is a collection of mountains (*pohorží*)? *Gebirge*. What is *krajina* (a district) in German? *Gegend*. And so on, as the words came in the lesson. On speaking to the teacher about the position the Bohemian language held in his class, we noticed that he winced a little, as every good Bohemian must; and found that the grand object in the third class was to perfect the girls in German, which they learned through the medium of Bohemian. We had particularly noticed as a peculiar circumstance, that one German girl, who knew but little Bohemian, was very anxious to display that little. But the general rule is, that Bohemians are required to learn German, while Germans are not required to learn Bohemian, which indeed they are not usually willing to do, if natives of the country, so strong is their anti-Bohemian feeling. Last of all the teacher asked us whether we should not like to hear them sing, and they concluded with a Bohemian hymn to the Virgin. After a few words with the teacher on the advantage of two languages as a matter of education, we went away much impressed by the neatness, order, and good discipline of the school, and fully satisfied that we had received a practical proof of the statement of the author of the *Böhmische Skizzen*, that of late years a class of schoolmasters had been formed in Bohemia, who were in request throughout the Austrian empire. Our only annoyance was, that in everything of a devotional character an address to the Virgin Mary in some form or other was introduced. We had not time to visit the first or lowest class of the girls.

On being questioned by Roman Catholic friends afterwards as to the impression that the school had made upon us, we replied, that we had been pleased with all except the absence of historical teaching; the lives of one or two saints and three Hapsburg emperors being all that was contained in the books of the upper classes. The reply was, "They dare not allow it to be taught." The question that naturally arose in our minds on hearing such a remark was this: "Can either the government or the dominant church be in a proper relation to the people of Bohemia, if it is necessary to their existence that the Bohemians should be kept in ignorance of their own history?"

A. H. W.

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ORIENTAL SACRED TRADITIONS.<sup>a</sup>

BY REV. E. BURGESS, FORMERLY A MISSIONARY IN THE EAST.

AMONG all the people of the earth, the religious sentiment appears to be stronger in none than it is with the adherents of Brahmanism. At least, there is no people with whom religion is more connected with all the affairs of life, than it is with them. From the moment of birth till death, and after death, the Hindû is subjected to religious ceremony. Probably no language, previous to the invention of printing, possessed so large an amount of literature as the Sanskrit; and that literature was almost all religious. The most important of the sacred writings of the Hindûs are among the most ancient, if they are not *the* most ancient, writings extant at the present day. Sanskrit scholars make the first of the Vedas to be at least as ancient as the books of Moses, and admit the strong probability that they were, at least parts of them, written some centuries earlier. And from the time of the Vedas, some 1400 or 1500 years B.C., to the last of the Purânas, some 1000 years after, there originated in India a vast amount of literature, mythological, scientific, and religious. In some respects the literature of the Sanskrit language surpasses that of the Greeks. Its mythology is more extensive, and not much more absurd. If its science is not as correct, it is more voluminous. Its poetry is equally elaborate. It enumerates some one hundred and fifty kinds of verse; some of its poems are said to consist of one hundred thousand stanzas. Its school of philosophy outnumber those of the Greeks, and for subtlety and refined analysis, some of the works of the Brahmans are not a whit behind the most subtle and refined productions of Plato and Aristotle.

A mere statement of the names and number of works in the principal departments of literature and science is somewhat formidable. There are the four Vedas written some 1200 or 1800 years B.C.; the laws of Manu dating some five or six centuries later; the Epic poems, the *Mâhâbharata* and *Râmâyana* written probably five or six centuries before our era;<sup>b</sup> then after

<sup>a</sup> This article originally appeared in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*. It is now reproduced in accordance with our purpose to call attention more frequently to matters relating to the distant East.

<sup>b</sup> In reference to some Hindû books it is evident that a portion of the materials of which they are composed, existed centuries before they were collected and put together as we now have them. Professor Wilson remarks respecting one of those above mentioned: "The weight of authority is in favour of the thirteenth or fourteenth century B.C. for the war of the *Mâhâbharata*."—*Vish. Pu.*, p. 485, note. Yet the present compilation may have been later, and some of its materials may be of comparatively modern origin.

Christ, there are the eighteen *Purânas*, or modern mythological religious systems; the eighteen or twenty *Sietháhantas* or astronomical treatises, with treatises on logic, grammar, and philosophy, all constituting a body of literature probably not surpassed in extent before the revival of learning in Europe, by the literature of any language on earth. And it is not, likewise, surpassed by any other literature in that which is absurd, and which indicates a degraded state of mind among the people to whom it belongs; yet there are some redeeming qualities.

The religion and literature of the Hindûs are interesting to the philosophical student of history in two respects: viz., the fact that they belong to about one-fifth of the human race, and because they possess some of the most ancient records, and most ancient religious ideas and philosophical systems that have come down to us from antiquity. This last consideration, especially, clothes the systems of Hindû philosophy and religion with an interest they would not otherwise possess. And this interest is increased by the fact, that we find some decided indications of a direct connection between those records and systems and the primitive ideas and religion of man, as shewn by the Christian Scriptures. This suggests the particular subject of this article, the Sacred Traditions of the East, or,

*A presentation of facts, ideas and customs, from the religious literature and habits of the Hindûs, which indicate for those habits and that religion a connection more or less direct with the true religion as taught in the Christian Scriptures.*

The evidence of a connection with, or derivation from, the religion of the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, will be more or less distinct; it sometimes consists in marked resemblance to Jewish or Christian doctrines, and sometimes even the contrast is of such a nature that it suggests for doctrines a common origin.

We begin with the ideas of a Supreme Deity, as the cause of the existence of the universe.

The philosophy and religion of the Brahmans, unquestionably, do recognize the existence of one supreme, self-existent, spiritual cause of all things. "This," says Professor Wilson of Oxford, "is, with the exception of one school of Philosophy—the Sankya—the received doctrine of the Hindûs." Though when they come to particulars, there is a great variety of opinion in regard to the attributes of their Deity; so much so, that it would be easy to prove from almost any of their systems, Pantheism, Dualism, Materialism or any other religious or philosophical absurdity, that ever entered the depraved heart of man to conceive. It is not our design to speak at all of these various

*isms*, our object being simply to notice the fact of their recognition of the true doctrine with its proof.

Says Professor Wilson: "The Vedas are authority for the existence of one Divine Being, supreme over the universe, and existing before all worlds;" and he gives the following passage: "In the beginning, this all" (the universe) "was in darkness. He (the supreme) was alone, without a second. He reflected, I am one, I will become many. Will was conceived in the divine mind, and creation ensued." In the Mosaic cosmogony the language is: "And God said, Let us make man in our image after our likeness."

In the *Vishnu Purána* it is said: "That which is imperceptible, undecaying, inconceivable, unborn, unexhaustable, indescribable; which has neither form, nor hands, nor feet; which is almighty, omnipresent, eternal; the cause of all things and without cause; permeating all, itself unpenetrated, and from which all things proceed; that is, *Brahma*."<sup>c</sup>

The word *Brahma*<sup>e</sup> is a neuter noun, denoting the abstract Supreme Spirit. The masculine form, *Brahmá*, denotes the active Creator; of which we shall soon speak. Again (p. 642-3), it is said: "That essence of the Supreme is defined by the term *Bhagavat*. The word *Bhagavat* is the denomination of that primeval Eternal God. The word *Bhagavat* is a convenient form to be used in the adoration of that Supreme Being, to whom no term is applicable, and therefore, *Bhagavat* expresses that Supreme which is individual, almighty, and the cause of causes of all things."

"He dwelleth internally in all beings, and all beings dwell in him. He, though one with all beings, is beyond and separate from material nature. He is beyond all investing substance; he is the universal soul; glory, might, dominion, wisdom, energy, power, and other attributes, are collected in him, Supreme of the Supreme, in whom no imperfections abide, Lord over finite and infinite, visible and invisible, omnipotent, omnipresent, almighty. The wisdom, perfect, pure, supreme, undefiled, and one only, by which he is conceived, contemplated, and known, that is wisdom." (Ibid., p. 844.)

Many passages of similar import, describing the attributes to the Deity, might be cited from the *Vishnu Purána*, and many

<sup>c</sup> *Oxford Lectures*, p. 43.

<sup>d</sup> *Vishnu Purána*, Professor Wilson's translation, p. 642.

<sup>e</sup> This neuter form is pronounced *Brumha*, the final *a* being short, like the final *a* in *America*. The masculine is *Brumhá*, the final vowel being long, has the long Italian sound. And hereafter, in proper names, the *á* (or *a* with the accent) has the long Italian sound, and *a* (or *a* without an accent) has the short sound as above. In some instances the accent may have been omitted.

likewise of a different import, honesty in regard to the subject requires us to say, are contained in the same work, which teaches pantheism. We cite a single example (p. 216).

"This Vishnu is the Supreme Spirit (Brahma), from whence all this world proceeds, who is the world. He is primary nature, he in a perceptible form, is the world. He is the performer of the rites of devotion; he is the rite. He is the fruit which it bestows, he is the implements by which it is performed. There is nothing besides the illimitable Hari" (Vishnu).

Such passages, too, are not unfrequent, and the pantheistic theology which they teach, is very prominent in the popular mind.

The next topic which we shall consider, is their account of creation. The cosmogony of the Hindûs is given, with some variation, in the laws of Manu, in the *Mahâbhârata*, and in most, if not all, of the eighteen *Purânas*, and in other books. The differences are not essential. We take the account given in Manu, which is not only the most concise, but the most ancient, being written, probably, in the seventh or eighth century before Christ.

Manu, it may be well to remark, is the personification of Brahmâ, the creator, the progenitor of mankind, and from this root through the Gothic, is derived the word *man*. The work from which we quote is regarded by the Hindûs as a revelation from Brahmâ.

"(5.) This universe existed only in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, undiscoverable by reason; undiscovered, as if it were wholly immersed in sleep. (6.) Then the self-existing power, himself undiscerned, but making this world discernable with five elements, and other principles, appeared with undiminished glory, dispelling the gloom. (7.) He, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even he, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person. (8.) He having willed to produce various beings from his own substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed. (9.) The seed became an egg, bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams; and in that egg he was born himself, in the form of Brahmâ, the great forefather of all spirits. (10.) The waters are called Nârâ, because they were the offspring of Nara, the Supreme Spirit; and as in them his first âyana (progress) in the character of Brahmâ took place, he is thence Nârâyana (he whose place of moving was the waters). (11.) From that which is the cause, not the object of sense, existing *everywhere in substance*, not existing to our perception without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds as Brahmâ. (12.) In that egg the great power sat inactive a whole year of the Creator, at the close of which, by his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide itself;

(13.) and from its two divisions, he framed the heaven *above*, and the earth *beneath*; in the midst he placed the subtle ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of the waters.”

Then, passing over some twenty uninteresting, if not unmeaning stanzas respecting the creation, in the abstract of mind, consciousness, the vital forms endowed with the three qualities of *goodness*, *passion* and *darkness*, and the five perceptions of sense, making six principles, immensely active, viz.: consciousness and the five perceptions, with which the great soul, make the seven active principles of the universe, the account proceeds:—

“(24.) He gave being to time and the divisions of time, to the stars also, and the planets, to rivers, oceans, and mountains, to level plains and uneven valleys. (25.) To devotion, speech, complacency, desire and wrath, and to creation; (26.) for the sake of distinguishing action, he made a total difference between right and wrong.

“(31.) That the human race might be multiplied, he caused the Bráhmaṇ, kshatriya, the vaishya, and the shudra, to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot. (32.) Having divided his own substance, the mighty power became half male and half female, (or *nature*, *active* and *passive*, says the commentator) and from that female he produced *Viráj*. (33.) Know me, O most excellent Bráhmaṇs, to be that person, whom the male power *Viráj*, produced by himself, me, the secondary framer of all this *visible world*.

“(34.) It was I, who, desirous of giving birth to a race of men, performed very difficult religious duties, and first produced ten lords of created beings, eminent in holiness. (36.) They, abundant in glory, produced seven other (Manus) together with deities, and the mansions of deities and Maharshis, or great sages, unlimited in power; (37.) benevolent genii, and fierce giants, blood-thirsty savages, heavenly choristers, nymphs and demons, huge serpents and snakes of smaller size, birds of mighty wing, and separate companies of *Pitris* or progenitors of mankind; (38.) lightnings and thunderbolts, clouds and coloured bows of *Indra*, falling meteors, earth-rending vapours, comets and luminaries of various degrees; (39.) horse-faced sylvans, apes, fish, and a variety of birds, tame cattle, deer, men, and ravenous beasts with two rows of teeth; (40.) small and large reptiles, moths, lice, fleas, and common flies, with every biting gnat, and immovable substances of distinct sorts. (41.) Thus was this whole assemblage of stationary and moveable bodies framed by those high-minded beings, through the force of their own devotions, and at my command, with separate actions allotted to each. (42.) Whatever act is ordained for each of those creatures here below, I will now declare to you, together with their order in respect to birth.”

Respecting the cosmogony, it may be remarked (passing by absurdities and incongruities, to speak of which being no part of our design), in comparing it with that of Moses:

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*† Institutes of Manu, Sir William Jones's Translation, chap. i.*

1. We are reminded of the second verse of the first of Genesis: "And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

2. We are reminded by it, of the doctrine that ascribes creation to Jesus Christ, who is called, "The image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature," "the only-begotten Son of God." In the Hindû account it is said, the supreme, self-existing spirit, with a thought created the waters, in them placed a seed, which became an egg, in that egg, he himself was born, in the form of Brahmá, who is the active creator. In the Christian Scriptures it is said: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made;" and again, "For all things were made by him," and "by whom he made the world's." "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him," and other passages which bear upon the point. The two most remarkable particulars of resemblance between the two cosmogonies is: The self-existing Supreme Spirit is not the active Creator. The active Creator is the Son of this Supreme Spirit, and yet the same with him.

In the Hindû cosmogony, there are three stages of development before we come to the material universe; in the Jewish and Christian only two. In the latter, the only-begotten creates directly; in the former, Brahmá, who is the *born* from the Supreme self-existing Spirit, himself only created, mind, consciousness, and the five perceptions, and the great soul, under which seems to be included the universe of spiritual existence. For the creation of the material universe, another stage of development is required, and another form is assumed, or rather, another being produced, who finished the work.

In regard to the origin of moral life, according to Manu, it seems to be directly attributed to creative power. For he says: "Whatever quality, noxious or innocent, harsh or mild, unjust, or just, false or true, he (the Supreme) conferred on any being at its creation, the same quality enters it, of course on its *future births*; (29) and among the beings created, he mentions fierce giants, and blood-thirsty savages. He says, moreover, that all the vital forms were endowed at the creation with the three qualities, *goodness, passion, and darkness*; and darkness, in Hindû theology, in moral beings, leads to folly, ignorance and sin.

But in the *Vishnu Purána*, it is said:—

"The beings created by Brahmá, of the four castes, were at first en-

dowed with righteousness and perfect faith; their hearts were free from guile; they were pure. In their sanctified minds Hari (Vishnu) dwelt; and they were filled with perfect wisdom. After a while, that portion of Hari, which is one with Kála (time), infused into created beings sin, as yet feeble though formidable, or passion and the like; the impediment of the soul's liberation, the seed of iniquity, sprung from darkness and desire. The innate perfection of human nature was then no more evolved. The eight kinds of perfection were impaired, these being enfeebled and sin gaining strength, mortals were afflicted with pain, arising from susceptibility to contrasts, as heat, cold and the like."<sup>9</sup>

The next point of resemblance or coincidence, or perhaps we should say tradition, for we believe it to be a tradition from a passage in Genesis, relates to the four rivers that fall out of heaven on Mount Meru, a great mountain fabled to be in the midst of Jambu Dwipa, the inhabitable world. The account in the *Vishnu Purána* is as follows:—

"On the summit of Meru is the vast city of Brahmá, extending fourteen thousand leagues and renowned in heaven. The capital of Brahmá is enclosed by the river Ganges, which, issuing from the foot of Vishnu, and washing the lunar orb, falls here from the skies, and after encircling the city, divides into four mighty rivers, and flows in opposite directions."<sup>10</sup>

The same account, substantially is found in some of the astronomical treatises.<sup>11</sup>

In Genesis ii. 10, it is said: "A river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads."

We pass to traditions respecting the flood. And in order to exhibit the various points distinctly, it is necessary to state briefly the Hindû theory respecting the life of Brahmá.

The Hindûs measure the lapse of time by ages or *yugas*. The present age, or the *Kali yuga*, consists of 432,000 years. Twice this, or 864,000 years, is the duration of the *Dwápara yuga*; three times, or 1,296,000 the *Treta yuga*; and four times, or 1,728,000 years, the *Trítá yuga*. The sum of these, or 4,320,000 years, constitutes a great age, or *yuga*. One thousand of these, or 4,320,000,000 years, is a day of Brahmá, called a Kalpa. Thirty of these days make a month of his life; twelve months, his year; and one hundred years, his life. At the close of this day he sleeps, during a night equal to his day. As he goes to sleep, the earth is destroyed by fire; this is quenched by a flood of waters. He awakes, and creates all things in the earth again as at the first. We think there can

<sup>9</sup> *Vishnu Purána*, p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> *Vishnu Purána*, p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> See *Sidhanta Shiromani Ganitádhyaya*, chap. i. ver. 37, 38.

be no question, but this idea of a general destruction of all living creatures on the earth is derived, by tradition, from the event recorded by Moses.

But the different accounts of the close of the last day, or Kalpa, specify incidents which, though not always congruous, yet indicate a traditionary connection with the Mosaic account.

The earliest traditionary account in the Hindû scriptures, in relation to the deluge, is found in the *Mahábhárata*, one of the great epic poems in the Sanskrit language, the precise age of which it is impossible to determine. It was probably written as early as between the fifth or sixth century before our era.<sup>j</sup>

The account, or legend, is likewise found in several of the Puránas, with slight variations. The substance of this legend in the *Mahábhárata*, where it is called ancient, is, that Brahmá, assuming the form of a fish, informs Manu, a holy sage, that the earth is to be overwhelmed with a flood of waters; and directs him to build a ship, in which himself and seven other holy sages, with the living seeds of all things, will be preserved. When well secured in the great ship, the fish-formed deity would appear. The holy sage was to fasten the vessel to the fish's horn, and it would then ride safe over the turbulent waters. The holy sage built the vessel, and collected its precious freight, as directed; the flood of waters came at the appointed time; the fish appeared; to his horn the ship was bound, and thus floated safely, till at last it rested on the loftiest peak of the Himalaya mountains.

But the points of resemblance between the Hindû legend and the Mosaic account, will best be seen from an extract. This extract is taken from the poetic version of Milman, late professor of poetry in Oxford University. Though clothed in poetic language, the author claims for it the quality of a correct version of the original. He likewise aimed at an imitation of the measure and form of verse of the original, and with an interesting degree of success.

Passing over the introduction, which contains some unimportant particulars respecting the manner in which the fish-form deity was introduced to Manu,<sup>k</sup> the holy sage, the account is as follows—the fish, continuing his divine directions:

“When the awful time approaches—hear from me what thou must do:  
In a little time, O blessed—all this firm and seated earth,

<sup>j</sup> See note b, p. 302.

<sup>k</sup> The name Manuja, Manu-born, as the appellative of the human race (in Sanskrit books), is from Manu; from thence the Gothic Manu, which we have preserved. Manu is the representative of man.—*Milman's Version*, p. 11.



All that moves upon its surface—shall a deluge sweep away.  
 Near it comes, of all creation—the ablution day is near;  
 Therefore what I now forewarn thee—may thy highest weal secure.  
 All the fixed and all the moving—all that stirs, or stirreth not,  
 Lo, of all the time approaches—the tremendous time of doom.  
 Build thyself a ship, O Manu!—strong with cables well prepared,  
 And thyself, with the seven sages—mighty Manu, enter in.  
 All the living seeds of all things—by the Brahmans named of yore,  
 Place thou first within thy vessel—well secured, divided well.  
 From thy ship keep watch, O hermit—watch for me as I draw near;  
 Horned shall I swim before thee—by my horn thou'lt know me well.  
 This the work thou must accomplish—I depart; so fare thee well.  
 Over those tumultuous waters—none without mine aid can sail.  
 Doubt not thou, O lofty minded—of my warning speech the truth.'  
 To the fish thus answered Manu—'All that thou requirest I will do.'

Manu, having done as directed, and launched his vessel on the sea with its precious freight, the fish appears, and the vessel is bound to his head, and,

"Dancing with the tumbling billows—dashing through the roaring spray,  
 Tossed about with winds tumultuous—in the vast and heaving sea,  
 Like a trembling drunken woman—reeled that ship, O king of men.  
 Earth was seen no more, no region—nor the intermediate space;  
 All around a waste of waters—water all, and air, and sky.  
 In the whole world of creation—princely son of Bharata!  
 None was seen, but those seven sages—Manu only and the fish.  
 Years on years, and still unwearied—drew that fish the bark along,  
 Till at length it came, where lifted—Himavan its loftiest peak.  
 There at length it came, and smiling—thus the fish addressed the sage:  
 'To the peak of Himalaya, bind thou now thy stately ship.'  
 At the fish's mandate quickly—to the peak of Himavan  
 Bound the sage his bark, and ever—to this day, that loftiest peak,  
 Bears the name of Manhubandhan—from the binding of the bark.  
 To the sage, the god of mercy—thus with fixed look bespake:  
 'I am lord of all creation—Brahmá, higher than all height;  
 I in fish-like form have saved thee—Manu, in the perilous hour;  
 But from thee new tribes of creatures—gods, asuras, men, must spring.  
 All the worlds must be created—all that moves, or moveth not,  
 By an all-surpassing penance—this great work must be achieved.  
 Through my mercy, thy creation—to confusion ne'er shall run.'  
 Spake the fish, and on the instant—to the invisible he passed."

Manu immediately begins his penance and the work of creation. The legend closes:

"Such the old, the famous legend—named the Story of the Fish,  
 Which to thee I have related—this for all our sins atones.  
 He that hears it, Manu's legend,—in the full possession he,  
 Of all things complete and perfect—to the heavenly world ascends."

This legend is found in some of the Puráṇas. In fact, the first of the eighteen Puráṇas seems to have received its title from this legend. It is called the *Matsya Purána*, from the fact that its contents were communicated by Vishnu, in the form of a fish, or, in the *Matsya Avatár*, i.e. fish incarnation, "in which Vishnu preserves a king named Manu, with the seeds of all things, in an ark, from the waters of that inundation, which, in a season of Pralaya (destruction), overspreads the world." While the ark floats, fastened to the fish, Manu enters into conversation with his divine guide and preserver; and the questions of Manu, and the replies of Vishnu, form the main substance of the compilation. The principal subjects are, as usual, in the Puráṇas, an account of the creation, the royal dynasties, the duties of the different orders, and various mythological legends.

In the *Bhágavat Purána*, this legend of the Fish Avatár, has, according to a passage translated by Sir W. Jones, an additional statement which should be given. The fish-form deity says :

"Take thou, therefore, all kinds of medicinal herbs and esculent grains for food, and, together with the seven holy men, and pairs of all animals, enter the ark without fear."<sup>m</sup> The copy of the *Bhágavat* in our possession, however, if we have the right passage, does not warrant the definite language, "pairs of all animals." Bournouf translates it, "bringing together a collection of (from) all beings" (*rassemblant la collection de tous les êtres*).<sup>n</sup> The translation of Bournouf appears to be correct. In another place, Sir Wm. Jones has translated the passage, "pairs of all brute animals." The original, in his copy, was probably different from that of the French savans.

In the Puráṇas, the particular name given to the Manu saved from the deluge is Satyavrata, an expressive epithet for a holy man; and this Satyavrata was the seventh from the first Manu of the present day of Brahmá, or present creation; the first Manu, being called the Swayambhuva, i.e. sprung from the self-existent.

Just in this connection, it may not be out of place to notice the resemblance between the Sanskrit word *ádīm*, meaning *first*,<sup>o</sup>

<sup>l</sup> *Vishnu Purána*, Wilson's translation, Pref., p. li.

<sup>m</sup> *As. Res.*, vol. ii., p. 118.

<sup>n</sup> *Bhág. Pu. Li.*, 8vo, chap. xxiv. 34.

<sup>o</sup> Lieut. Col. Vans Kennedy says: "But whatever be the comparative antiquity of the Hindú scriptures, we may safely conclude that the Mosaic and Indian chronologies are perfectly consistent; and that Manu, son of Brahmá, was the Adima, or first created mortal, and consequently our Adam."—*Ancient and Hindú Mythology*, p. 134. Sir W. Jones suggests the same.—*As. Res.*, vol. ii., p. 401.

and the great progenitor of the human race, and likewise that between *Manu* and *Noah*, the final syllable being the root of the name of the patriarch. See, likewise, note on the next paragraph.

The next fact we shall notice is the hebdomadal division of time. The origin of this division of time, into weeks of seven days each, among men, is undoubtedly indicated in the Mosaic accounts of creation.

The Hebrews had for a long time no separate names for the different days of the week; except that the seventh day was called the *Sabbath*, or day of rest. The names of the different days originated with some other people. And here two points of consideration present themselves, viz., the division of time into weeks of seven days each, and the giving separate names to the different days. For the Hindûs have the division of weeks, the same as the Hebrews, and they have the days separately named, which the Hebrews had not.

There can be no question that the division itself was from the Mosaic record, or rather from the facts which the Mosaic record contains. The ancestors of the Hindûs doubtless had this mode of dividing time before the Jews were a distinct people. The mere mention of the fact of this manner of reckoning time being in use among that people at a period of remote antiquity, is sufficient for our purpose. Yet the fact is clothed with additional importance, when we consider that separate names were first given to the different days of the week in India, and that those names are the same as now in use among the Anglo-Saxon nations of Europe. It is well known that these names of the days of the week, are those of the sun, moon, and the Saxon names of the five planets known to the ancients, viz., Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Now the evidence appears to be conclusive, that these five planets were first discovered and named in India; and that their names, with those of the sun and moon, were given to the seven days of the week.

The names of the planets, according to several authors, occur in the Vedas, which existed in their present form thirteen or fourteen hundred years before the commencement of our era.<sup>2</sup> And, from astronomical data, they received their present names about 1425 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The names of the planets in the Sanskrit language are the names of deities in the Hindû mythology,

<sup>2</sup> "The mythology of the Vedas personifies the elements and planets." Colebrooke, as quoted by Vans Kennedy, and which the latter says, "is doubtless correct."—*An. Myth.*, p. 365, and a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. iii., p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Bentley's *Hind. Ast.*, p. 4.

which correspond to the deities designated by the names of the same planets in Grecian and Roman mythology, and likewise in the mythology of the nations of Northern Europe, whence originated the Saxon elements of the English language, and consequently the English names of the days of the week.\* The division of time into weeks was not known among the Greeks and Romans at the commencement of our era, and the existence of the planets is not indicated in any Greek and Latin author till about 610 B.C.; except that, in Homer, the morning and evening stars are mentioned. But they are supposed to be different bodies. Pythagoras is said to have first suggested that the morning and evening stars (*Ἑωσφόρος* and *Ἑσπερος*) were one and the same star. (Pythagoras flourished 540—500 B.C.)

Democritus wrote a treatise respecting the planets (*Περὶ τῶν πλανητῶν*), among which he reckoned the sun, moon, and *Ἑωσφόρος*; but as yet their number had not been determined. Seneca says Eudoxus derived his knowledge of the planetary motions from Egypt.†

But it is not our design to enter here into a comparison of the claims of the Greeks and Hindûs to originality in reference to astronomical science. The object of these remarks is to shew that the institutions of the Hindûs, in regard to some interesting points, can claim an origin nearer to the Mosaic epoch than the institutions of any other people.

The next point we shall mention is that relating to the mode of the divine existence. We allude here, more particularly, to the triune doctrine in relation to the Deity; or, to use a term of some Christian theologians, the three *hypostases* of the Godhead. The Hindû formulary is simply this: the supreme Deity as active creator exists as Brahmâ, as preserver, he is Vishnu, and as destroyer, he is Shiva. This Hindû idea has often been noticed by writers on the Trinity; and sometimes, perhaps, too

\* Thus *Āditya*, the sun with *wāra*, day, *Ādityawāra*, is the name of the first day of the week, or Sunday; and so of the other days, as in the following table:—

From Āditya, the Sun,	is Ādityawāra,	or Sunday.
„ Ravi,	„ Raviwāra,	„
„ Soma, the Moon,	„ Somawāra,	„ Monday.
„ Mangala, Mars,	„ Mangalawāra,	„ Tuesday.
„ Budha, Mercury,	„ Budhawāra,	„ Wednesday.
„ Brahaspati, Jupiter,	„ Brahaspatiawāra,	„ Thursday.
„ Shuhra, Venus,	„ Shuhrawāra,	„ Friday.
„ Shani, Saturn,	„ Shaniwāra,	„ Saturday.

† Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, Art. Planets, ed. 1849.—Quoting Seneca (*Quest. Nat.*, vii. 3): “Democritus subtilissimus antiquorum omnium, suspicari ait se, plures stellas esse quæ currant; sed nec numerum illarum posuit, nec nomina, nondum comprehensis quinque siderum cursibus. Eudoxus ab Egypto hos motus in Graeciam transtulit.”

much importance has been attached to it, as being an argument in favour of the corresponding doctrine of Christianity. It should never be adduced as a positive argument. The utmost use that can be made of the Hindû idea, is to ward off some objections urged against the Christian doctrine, on account of its unreasonableness. And here it should not be pressed too far, for there is danger of proving too much, or of creating more objections than we obviate. If we go to the Hindûs for knowledge or illustration in reference to this matter, we shall find more than three hypostases in the Godhead. We shall find four, and other things that do not favour the truth.

Yet, this triune mode of the divine existence, may be viewed as a most interesting fact in connection with theological ideas. It is an interesting fact, that they should suppose the Deity has these three forms of existence; and we have scarce a doubt that this idea with them had some connection with the Bible doctrine in relation with the same point. And when taken in connection with the fourth *hypostasis*, just alluded to, this connection is with the Bible view more apparent. This fourth *hypostasis*, or state, or rather the first, since it is the first in order, is the state of the Supreme Self-existent, previous to his taking the form of *Brahmâ*, the active creator. The order of the divine existence, according to Hindû ideas, is as follows: First, there is the Supreme Self-existent, who was before all other existences who is designated by the neuter noun *Brahma*. This Being, by a process of development which their theologians attempt to explain, is born of himself, in the form of *Brahmâ*, who is the creator of the universe. He then exists as preserver, in the form of *Vishnu*, and as destroyer in the form of *Shiva*. In Christian theology, the only-begotten Son is the active creator and ruler of the world, that is, he has the character of the last three divine states of the Hindûs, *viz.*, *Creator, Preserver and Destroyer*. It is a noticeable fact, that Hindû theogony and cosmogony, are the only ones, besides the Jewish-Christian system, that contemplate the future destruction of the world. But this doctrine of the future destiny of the world will be alluded to again, before we close.

The next topic to which we shall allude, is *their doctrine respecting the origin and destiny of this material world*.

We have before alluded to the doctrine (unquestionably taught in *Manu* and the *Purânas*, and affirmed by learned natives of India and by Europeans to be taught in the *Vedas*) of a Supreme being who was separate from, and the cause of, the material universe, equivalent to the doctrine that matter is not eternal, but was created by the one eternal self-existent

Spirit. We allude to this doctrine again in this place, for the purpose of connecting the beginning of the world with its course and future destiny.

We should remark, however, that some schools of philosophy teach the eternity of matter. Some maintained, that the principle or element of the sensible world is *eternal* and *indestructible*, admitting at the same time the existence of a supreme, self-existent, eternal spirit, separate from this elementary principle, and whose agency has brought it out and developed it in forms cognizable to the senses. There are dualism and atheism, and pantheism in every form and degree. And yet there is the doctrine of one Supreme Being, eternal, before all, and the Creator of all. This doctrine is strenuously maintained by the Vedantists. This school or sect affirm that this doctrine is the end and scope of the Vedas. This is denied by other schools and sects, and not without reason. But however this may be, the origin of the world from a supreme, self-existent, eternal Spirit, is asserted with a distinctness found nowhere else out of the Bible.

But there is not so much difference of opinion respecting the future destiny of the world. It might be remarked, that, as far as ascertained, the Vedas are silent respecting this topic, nor is anything said of it, in the laws of Manu, the next sacred writing in point of antiquity. But in the *Puránas* the future destiny of the world is plainly described. In the *Vishnu Purána*, the catastrophe which, according to Hindú belief, awaits this world, is described in the following language:—

“At the end of a thousand periods of the four ages, the earth is for the most part exhausted. . . . The eternal Vishnu then assumes the character of Rudra, the destroyer, and descends to reunite all his creatures to himself. He enters into the seven rays of the sun; drinks up all the waters of the globe, and causes all moisture whatever in living bodies or in the soil, to evaporate; thus drying up the whole earth. The seas, the rivers, the mountain torrents, and springs are all exhaled: and so are all the waters of Pátála, the region below the earth. . . . The destroyer of all things, Hari, in the form of Rudra, who is the flame of time, becomes the scorching breath of the serpent, Shesha, and thereby reduces Pátála to ashes. The great fire, when it has burned all the divisions of Pátála, proceeds to earth and consumes it also. A vast whirlpool of eddying flame then spreads to the region of the atmosphere, and the sphere of the gods, and wraps them in ruin. The three spheres shew like a frying-pan amidst the surrounding flames, that prey upon all moveable or stationary things. The inhabitants of the two upper spheres, having discharged their functions and being annoyed by the heat, remove to the sphere above, or Maharloka. When that becomes heated, its tenants, who after a full period of their stay are desirous of ascending to higher regions, depart for Janaloka.”

Here Maharloka and Janaloka are the fourth and fifth spheres above the earth, the former situated ten millions of leagues above Dhruva, or the polar star, and the latter, at twice that distance. Janaloka is the residence of the "pure minded sons of Brahmá."

"Having thus destroyed the earth, Rudra breaths forth heavy clouds, which pouring down their contents for a hundred years, quench the fires and deluge the earth, fill the middle region, and inundate heaven."

At the end of a hundred years, Brahmá awakes from his sleep, creates the world anew as he did before.<sup>4</sup>

This passage has some striking resemblance to one in the Christian Scriptures, which is as follows:—

2 Peter iii. 10—13: "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also shall be burnt up. Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

In both these accounts the earth is to be destroyed, and new heavens and a new earth succeeds, in which, according to the Christian Scriptures, "dwelleth righteousness," but which according to the Hindû account, is to be precisely like the preceding.

It is to be noticed that, in the Hindû belief, the destruction takes place through the instrumentality of fire, and that in the re-creation or renovation, there is a process of development through water, affording a striking coincidence with the Jewish and Christian doctrine in relation to both these points. After the destruction, the analogy ceases. And although, in noticing these coincidences, our direct object is accomplished, it will not be foreign to that object to give, in brief, the Hindû idea of the whole future destiny of the universe.

The destruction just noticed, is that which takes place at the end of the Kalpa, or day of Brahmá. This day consists of 4,320,000,000 of years. His night is of equal duration. Three hundred and sixty days and nights make one of his years, and one hundred years his life. The years of this immense period are expressed by a number having fifteen places of figures, of which the first three are three hundred and fifteen, making,

<sup>4</sup> *Vishnu Purána*, p. 632, 213.

according to our system of notation, three hundred and fifteen millions of millions of years.

The theory is, that at the end of his day Brahmá goes to sleep from which results the destruction of the universe, as is said in some places in their scriptures, in others that, assuming the form of Shiva or destroyer, he destroys it. The whole exists in a state of chaos during his night, and at the beginning of another day or kalpa, he creates the universe anew in all respects as before. And thus in alternate sleeping and waking, creating and destroying the universe at the beginning and end of each kalpa or day, the thirty-six thousand days of his life pass away, when—

“Brahmá himself expires, and with him die all the gods and holy sages, and all forms whatever retrograde successively into their constituent elements, until the whole is merged into the single or double rudiment of being, universal spirit, or primary matter, according to the theories of the dualistic or nondualistic philosophers. After a considerable interval, similar causes produce similar effects; nature and spirits are again in movement, the creation is renewed, and the universe thus eternally fluctuates between existence and non-existence without any motive, without any end, that rational conjecture can guess at.”\*

In this origin and destiny of the universe, the origin and destiny of man is of course included. But in this latter, especially in man's destiny, Hindû religion and theology contain some points that indicate a connection more or less direct with divine revelation. We will therefore occupy a little space in speaking of some of the Hindû ideas respecting *the condition, duty, and future destiny of man.*

We have before alluded to the creation of the progenitors of the human race, and to the fact that, for a considerable time, the race existed in a state of innocence and purity. The manner of falling from this state was different from that given by Moses. The fall from a sinless state was occasioned by the influence of Vishnu in the form of time. “That portion of Hari, (Vishnu), which has been described as one with kâla (time), infused into created beings sin, the impediment of the soul's liberation, the seed of iniquity, sprung from darkness and desire.”\*

Hindû philosophy and theology take a most gloomy view of the state and prospects of man. And this gloomy condition results from ignorance and darkness which are nearly or quite synonymous with sin. Says the *Vishnu Purâna* (p. 639), speaking of man after birth:—

“Enveloped by the gloom of ignorance, and internally bewildered,

\* Wilson's *Oxford Lectures*, p. 55.

\* *Vishnu Purâna*, p. 45.



man knows not whence he is, who he is, whither he is, whither he goeth, nor what is his nature; . . . what is to be done, and what is to be left undone; . . . what is righteousness and what is iniquity; what is right, and what is wrong; what is vice and what is virtue. Thus man like a brute beast, addicted only to animal gratification, suffers the pain that ignorance occasions. Ignorance, darkness, inactivity, influence those devoid of knowledge, so that pious works are neglected; but hell is the consequence of the neglect of religious works according to the great sages."

Then follows a detailed description of man's suffering on account of this ignorance and darkness, especially in old age, in death, and in the future world, all constituting a version of the doctrine of retribution for sin, unsurpassed for fearfulness and terribleness in the whole compass of theological literature. And this is according to the general tenor of Hindû ideas in relation to these subjects. Of course, there is much that is absurd, and worse than absurd, and we do not intend to go into detail respecting these doctrines and ideas; we shall only notice two or three prominent points.

The problem is: How shall man be freed from this state of darkness and misery? The answer of Hindû philosophers is: complete deliverance can be obtained only by knowing Brahman.

But here a proper understanding of the subject will be facilitated by considering the prominent points separately. These are:—

1. The doctrine of retribution.
2. The provision for retributive justice in a future world, or future states of being.
3. The manner of becoming freed from this state of sin.
4. The state of the soul after its emancipation.

We shall dwell on these separate points but briefly.

Hindû theology makes seven spheres, the first of which is this earth, a state of probation, and the seventh is satya-loka, one hundred and twenty millions of leagues above the polar star, "which," says the *Vishnu Purána*, p. 213, "is the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death." Some of these spheres are the residences of superhuman beings, and others are places where human souls, on leaving the body, go to enjoy the rewards of virtuous acts performed in this life. Below this earth is Naraka, or hell, with twenty-eight divisions with different means of torture and punishment for sins committed in the body. These divisions have separate names: thus there is the "hell of heated caldrons," that of "red hot iron," that of "a great flame," that of "a fiery flame," that of "the

head inverted," that, "where all the leaves of the trees are swords," that "whose wells are blood," etc. "These hells, and hundreds of thousands of others," continues the *Vishnu Purána* (p. 209), "are the places in which sinners pay the penalty of their crimes. As numerous as are the offences which men commit, so many are the hells in which they are punished."

"At the expiration of a limited period, the soul, which in either of its destinations (that is, in heaven or hell), had continued to be invested with a subtle and ethereal but material and sensible body, returns to earth, and is born again, in union with some gross and elemental body, according to former merits or demerits of the individual, as a reptile, fish, bird, a beast, a giant, a spirit, a divinity, until after sundry migrations it ascends or descends to man to undergo a similar career."

The language of the *Vishnu Purána* is :

"The various stages of existence are, inanimate things, fish, birds, animals, men, holy men, gods, and liberated spirits; each in succession a thousand degrees above that which precedes it; and through these stages, the beings that are either in heaven or hell, are destined to proceed until final emancipation be obtained" (p. 210). "That is, when punishment or reward in hell or heaven, proportioned to the sin or virtue of the individual, has been received, he must be born again as a stone or plant, and gradually migrate through the several inferior conditions until he is once more born a man; his future state is then in his own power."

This seems like a double penalty for sin; since after suffering in the various hells, according to the deserts of a sinful life, the same retribution pursues into succeeding births. This difficulty was seen by the commentator on Manu, who says in explanation, "it is to efface all remains of their sins."

The system of rewards in heaven, and punishment in hell, and future migrations through innumerable states of existence, in stones, plants, trees, insects, cruel beasts of prey, filthy beasts, and beings of all classes and conditions, is described with great minuteness in Hindú scriptures. Sins are classified according to their heinousness, and the hells; and the future births are designated, through which those who commit them must pass in their course of retribution; and this course must be run, before the sinner can enjoy another season of probation in a human form. As examples, take the following. The *Purána* says,—

"The murderer of a Bráhmaṇ, stealer of gold, or drinker of wine, goes to the hell of swine (Shukar). The seller of his wife, a jailer, a horse-dealer, and one who deserts his adherents, falls into the hell of red

\* *Ox. Lec.*, p. 63.

\* Professor Wilson, note to the preceding passage, p. 210.

\* *Manu*, xii. 54.

hot iron (Taptaloha). He who is disrespectful to his spiritual guide, who is abusive to his betters, who reviles the Vedas, or who sells them, goes to the hell of salt (Lavana)."<sup>s</sup>

These are sufficient specimens of that kind of moral legislation.

After suffering the appointed time in the infernal regions, as determined by the judge of those gloomy places, the soul returns to earth, and is born in the form of some animate or inanimate being, according to a minutely graduated scale. Thus,

"The slayer of a Brahman must enter, according to the circumstances of his crime, the body of a dog, a swine, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat, a sheep, a stag, a bird, Chandala, or a Puccasa. A priest who has drank spirituous liquors, shall migrate into the form of a smaller or larger worm or insect, of a moth or fly, feeding on ordure, or of some ravenous animal. He who steals gold, shall pass a thousand times into the bodies of spiders, of snakes and of cameleons, of aquatic monsters. They who hurt any sentient beings, are born in animals eating raw flesh; they who taste what ought not to be tasted, maggots and small flies; they who steal ordinary things, devourers of each other. If a man steal grain in the husk, he shall be born a rat. If he steal flesh meat, a vulture; if he steal a deer or an elephant, he shall be born a wolf; if a horse, a tiger; if a woman, a bear; as far as vital souls, addicted to sensuality, indulge themselves in forbidden pleasures, to the same degree shall the acuteness of their senses be raised in their future bodies."<sup>a</sup>

A number of pages might be filled with these details. We have given more examples than we should, but for the wish, while exhibiting the nature of the Hindû system of rewards and punishments, to give likewise some idea of their notions of sin and its deserts.

But what way does Hindûism offer of escape from this condition of sin and suffering?

First must be noticed the system of penance. Any sin may be expiated by penance. And the scale of penance is as minutely graduated, as that of transmigration, or that of sufferings in the twenty-eight hells. The ingenuity of Hindû theology is not behind Popery in this respect. And Brahmanism is more rational than Romanism, inasmuch as it makes a difference between pardon and sanctification. "That sinner goes to hell," says the *Purâna*, "who neglects the expiation of his guilt" (p. 210). But expiation by penance, will not entitle him to heaven, or final beatitude. In order to reach this goal of highest aspiration, which being reached, there is an end of births and deaths and transmigration, the knowledge of Brahma, the Supreme, must be attained to. The attainment of this knowledge

<sup>s</sup> *Vishnu Purâna*, p. 208.

<sup>a</sup> *Manu B.*, xii. 54—73.

is regarded as most difficult. The passions must be entirely subdued, the mind must become indifferent to worldly pleasure and worldly pain, and become pure and holy.

Or in the language of a late writer, in describing this doctrine of Hindû religion :

“One thing alone must be loved; one thing alone attentively thought upon, and this is the Supreme Being. Complete equanimity, complete indifference to pain or pleasure, love or hate, to all worldly matters, must be acquired, before this devotion to the Supreme One can be steadily fixed in the heart. In every act of our life, that Being alone must be uppermost in our thoughts.”

We must remember that the action performed is not done for our sakes, with any interested motive, but as an offering of love and duty to the Supreme Being, in purity and equality of heart. This is, at least, a sensible and religious doctrine; and if we add to it faith and love, will be even a Christian doctrine. It is the teaching of our Saviour, when he bids us hate father and mother, and take up the cross; and when he points to the lily of the field, which toils and spins not, but puts faith in its Creator to give it nourishment. “But we must not be carried away by enthusiasm at the apparent Christianity of the doctrine of our philosophy.” We omit the remarks of the author under this “but.”

When the soul has thus become pure, on leaving the body it is united to Brahma. The means to be employed to attain to this state of freedom from sin, and indifference to the world, are, devotion, reading the Vedas, meditation on Brahmá, and various kinds of austerities for subduing the passions.

Now while, both in regard to the object to be obtained, and the manner of obtaining it, there is much that is absurd, pernicious and ridiculous, as would appear from a full exhibition of the different parts of the system, yet all its important points have corresponding points in Christian theology, to which they bear a striking analogy.

For example, take the doctrine in relation to the highest state to which man can aspire, defined by the Hindûs as union with the supreme Brahma, and freedom from the sufferings and liabilities of transmigration, and consequently the end of probation. As this doctrine lies in the Hindû mind (as is evident from its description in their books, and the declaration of living men), it implies such a union with Deity as destroys individuality, individual consciousness, and identity; and yet many passages in their sacred scriptures, which speak of this state and manner of

\* Translation of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, by J. C. Thompson, p. cx.

attaining to it, have almost their precise equivalents in the Bible and in the language of Christian writers.

The following passages are specimens :—

"Of all those duties, the principal is to acquire from the Upanishads (parts of the Vedas), a true knowledge of the one Supreme God ; that is the most exalted of all sciences, because it ensures immortality."—(*Mann. B.*, xii. 85.)

"They who know the Vedant, and observe its meaning well, who exercise devout meditation, and who are pure at last in Brahma-loka, are altogether delivered, and become immortal" (*Vedantism* by Mullens, p. 103). . . "He who knows him as the knower of every thought, of every individual mind, obtains immortality" (*Ibid.*, p. 102). . . "He who completely understands this (part of the) Veda, after being free from sin, goes to Swarga, and abides there for ever" (*Ibid.*, p. 106). . . "The man who becomes thoughtful, wise, and ever pure, reaches the divine glory, and descends no more from it into the world" (*Ibid.*, p. 106). . . "He who knows the Supreme, is free from all bonds, from all miseries, and is freed from birth and death. Through meditation upon him, by the dissolution of the body, he gains the third state and has the universe for his wealth" (*Ibid.* —). . . "That soul rising from the body, having arrived at the supreme light, possesses his form." . . . "As rivers flowing, go into the sea and lose their name and form ; so the wise, freed from name and form, gain him who is supreme, perfect, and splendid. He who knows that Supreme becomes Brahma" (*Ibid.*, p. 107).

The last quotation is the key for understanding the doctrine of being united to Brahma. With the exception of some passages, the language is much like some expressions in the Christian Scriptures and in Christian writers. For example, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only living and true God." And the numerous passages which speak of the believer "being in Christ," "being found in Christ," "putting on Christ," "being like Christ," being united to Christ, and, finally, being united to him to be separated from him no more for ever. Swallowed up in Christ, at death, "the spirit returns to God who gave it," and others which are sometimes heard.

But lest we give too favourable a view of Hindûism, a few passages must be given, shewing how this knowledge and state are to be obtained.

"The man who keeps outward accidents from entering his mind, and his eyes fixed in contemplation between his brows ; who makes his breath to pass through his nostrils ; who restrains his senses, heart, and mind, intent on final emancipation ; who is free from desire, fear, and anger, is emancipated" (*Bhagavat Gîtâ.*, chap. v.). "To the devotee (yogi), gold, iron, and stones are alike. The yogi plants his feet firmly on a spot that is undefiled. . . . There he should sit with his mind fixed on one subject alone in the exercise of his devotion for the purification of his

soul, keeping his head, his neck, and body steady without motion, his eyes fixed on the end of his nose, looking at no other place around. This divine discipline is not to be attained by him who eateth more than enough or less than enough; neither by him who hath a habit of sleeping much, or by him who sleepeth not at all (chap. vi.). Dnyan [wisdom] inculcates exemption from attachments and affection for children, wife, and home, and a dislike to the society of man.”<sup>c</sup>

The only remaining doctrine we shall mention, as having a resemblance among Christian doctrines, is that of the incarnation of the Deity.

The word *incarnation* has been taken from Christian theology. The Sanskrit word used to denote this form of divinity is “*Avatāra*,” meaning *descent*. But as the Supreme Deity, in his *descents* to earth, assumes some form, the word *incarnation* is not inappropriate.

The Hindū writings speak of ten principal *descents* of the Supreme Deity to earth, though in theory these descents are in number almost infinite. The object of these descents of the Supreme Deity are, in general, the preservation of good men, the punishment of wicked men, or destruction of monsters that are afflicting the human race. What was done was local and temporary in its influence, and generally unworthy of the direct interference of the Creator of the universe. And they have no resemblance to the incarnation of Christ except in the elementary idea, viz., the Deity taking a created form in order to interfere with the affairs of man. This idea has, so far as I know, no place in any other theology except the Christian.

Of the ten principal *avatārs* of the Supreme, nine are past; the tenth, the *Kalki*, is to come. It will come at the close of the present age, or *Kali yuga*. The object of that incarnation or *avatār* will be to destroy the enemies of religion and restore piety and purity of preceding ages. The *Kali yuga* is the iron age, in which the world is growing worse and worse. Hear the *Purāna* on this subject:—

“Wealth and piety will decrease day by day, until the world will be wholly depraved. Then property alone will confer rank; wealth will be the only source of devotion; falsehood will be the only means of success in litigation, and women will be objects merely of sensual gratification; dishonesty will be the only means of subsistence; weakness will be the cause of dependence; menace and presumption will be substituted for learning; liberality will be devotion; simple ablution will be purification; fine clothes will be dignity; earth will be venerated but for its mineral treasures (*i.e.*, there will be no holy places); . . . the Brahminical thread

<sup>c</sup> *Bh. Gītā.*, chap. xii., quoted by Mullen's *Vedānta*, p. 57.

will constitute a Brahman. No man's life will exceed three and twenty years. Amidst all castes he who is the strongest will reign over a principality thus vitiated by many faults. The people, unable to bear the many burdens imposed upon them by their avaricious sovereigns, will take refuge amidst the valleys of the mountains, and will be glad to feed upon wild honey, herbs, roots, fruits, flowers, and leaves; their only covering will be the bark of trees; and they will be exposed to cold, and wind, and sun, and rain. Thus in the Kali age shall decay constantly proceed, until the human race approaches annihilation.

"When the practices taught by the Vedas and the institutes of law shall nearly have ceased, and the close of the Kali age shall be nigh, a portion of that divine being who exists in his own spiritual nature as Brahma, and who is the beginning and the end, and who comprehends all things, shall descend upon earth; he shall be born an eminent Brahman, of Sambhala village, as Kalki. By his irresistible might he will destroy all the Mlechas (barbarians or foreigners) and thieves, and all whose minds are devoted to iniquity. He will then re-establish righteousness upon earth; and the minds of those who live at the end of the Kali age shall be awakened and shall be as pellucid as crystal. The men who are thus changed by virtue of that peculiar time, shall be as seeds of human beings, and shall give birth to a race who shall follow the laws of the Kirta age, or age of purity. As it is said, 'When the sun and moon and the lunar asterism Tishya, and the planet Jupiter, are in one mansion, the Krita age shall return.'"<sup>d</sup>

Another author has epitomized the work of the tenth *Avatāra* as follows:—"Seated on a white horse, the Deity will descend towards the close of the *Kali yuga*, and will destroy the universe."<sup>e</sup>

These resemblances between the Hindû and Christian religious doctrines cannot be supposed to be the result of accident. Nor can they be attributed to the independent workings of unrestrained imagination. The points of resemblance are too numerous, and the resemblances themselves too striking, to admit of such a supposition. Some of those thoughts respecting the mode of divine existence, the moral government of the world, the future destiny of this earth, and of the race of man, evidently had a higher origin than man's imagination; they are the offspring, more or less direct, of divine revelation. And yet these thoughts, and the systems with which they are connected, are so interwoven with absurd human speculations, that they only help to form systems of error. The indications of truth which they furnish, do not constitute a redeeming quality in those systems. To be satisfied that this is so, the candid mind has only to examine those systems in all their parts, and see

<sup>d</sup> *Vishnu Purāna*, pp. 482—484.

<sup>e</sup> J. C. Thomsons's translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, p. 148.

their practical influence on the condition of man. It is common for infidel writers to speak of the Hindû *Shastras*, as having equal claims on man's consideration and obedience with the Bible. They will perhaps take some maxim of a heathen philosopher, and place it beside one of the proverbs of Solomon, an aspiration of David, or a saying of Jesus, and exclaim; "See the equality of the systems!" They will liken Vyasa, Confucius, Socrates, and Mohammed to Moses, Isaiah, and Jesus, and speak of the former as religious teachers, on an equality with the latter. We will only say in regard to this class of men, that he who will soberly compare the Hindû *Shastras* with the Bible, making the former equal to the latter, exhibits such a peculiarity in his moral and intellectual powers, that to attempt to change his opinions by the common modes of reasoning, would be useless.

It is admitted, that the Hindû *Shastras* contain some noble maxims, and inculcate, in the abstract, some correct moral principles. But these maxims and principles never exceed in purity the teachings of the Bible, and can never be adduced to weaken the claims of the book. Nay, more, they are found in such connections that often their origin is clearly traceable to the divine revelation recorded in the Bible. And by no mode of estimation can there be drawn a conclusion more unfavourable to the Bible than this, viz., some things found in the Hindû scriptures and Hindû religion had an origin in the revelation of the Bible. Others have come down from the earliest ages, in traditionary channels, parallel to the Bible; and where the facts related in the Hindû sacred writings conflict with the facts of the Christian Scriptures, the former are easily shewn to be unfounded.

When the literature of the Sanskrit language began to be made known in Europe, some three-fourths of a century ago, the infidelity of that day raised a shout of triumph over the weapons it supposed it had derived from the East against Christianity. There were books written thousands, even millions, of years before the creation of man, according to the Mosaic account. There were astronomical tables which proved astronomical observations in India three thousand years before the Christian era. Infidelity was jubilant. The Bible was proved to be false, and Christianity must fall. But the shout of triumph was raised too soon. When a few years of patient investigation had brought out the actual facts, the case has a different aspect. The oldest Hindû writings, or the earliest astronomical observation on record, cannot be *proved* to have had an earlier date than the fourteenth or fifteenth century before



Christ. And the oldest astronomical treatise which had been made so important a witness against the Bible was proved, incontrovertibly, to have been composed some four or five centuries after Christ. And as the work of bringing to light the ancient literature of the Brahmans proceeds, the tendency among European scholars, is to assign more and more modern limits to its ancient works. This tendency to modernize is sometimes, doubtless, suffered to proceed too far. But however this may be, this fact may be regarded as established, viz., that the ancient literature of India affords no materials for disproving the truthfulness of the Bible; on the contrary, it contains much that corroborates the claims of the sacred volume to a divine authenticity.

The results of antiquarian researches in India, as affecting the truthfulness of the Bible, have been similar to those in Egypt; especially those connected with astronomical records. The case of the Egyptian zodiac of Denderah will ever be memorable in the annals of infidel assaults on the Bible. When the French savans, some sixty years ago, discovered that tablet of astronomical sculpture in an Egyptian temple, they thought it must have been made seventeen thousand years ago. Their opinions were put forth with the greatest confidence. A certain professor of a European university (Breslau) put forth a pamphlet, entitled "Invincible proof that the earth is at least ten times older than taught in the Bible." Says a writer respecting that event and those times in France:—"This was a time of woe for a small band of Christians, and of great rejoicings for the infidels of all countries." They regarded it as proved, that there was never a creation or deluge, at least not at the time the Bible specifies. "The Old and New Testaments contain only a series of lies." But this triumph was not long. The next generation of learned men deciphered those hieroglyphics, and found that the origin of the temple was not to be placed earlier than the second century before the commencement of the Christian era. Some have placed it in the first century after. Thus vanished this invincible argument against the Bible chronology. Thus the strongholds of infidel argument have been taken, one after another; not only this, but the guns of all those fortresses have been turned against those who erected them.

What is to be the next point of attack? The antiquities of India have, to a good extent, been explored. And the result is the very fables of mythology corroborate the history of the Bible; the elements of the earliest systems of philosophy harmonize

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† A writer in the *New York Observer*, June, 1855.

with the doctrines of that holy book, and nothing authentic in that ancient literature has even the semblance of disproving the divine authenticity of the sacred oracles. For those immense astronomical periods, those enormous claims to a high antiquity, are proved to have been forgeries.

In Egypt the monuments on which infidels were most relying for arguments to set aside the history of the Bible, are shewn to have had comparatively a modern origin. The testimony from the most ancient ruins of the lands, which were the scene of many of the important events of Bible history, is more direct and valuable. The monumental ruins of ancient Nineveh and Babylon, after lying buried three thousand years, are brought to light and found to have on them the very names of the Jewish kings, and fragments of Jewish history, recorded in the Bible.

Geological science, less than a half century ago, was reckoned as one of the strongholds of infidelity. It is now no longer so. The testimony of this science is unequivocally pointing the other way. The records of creation, as found in the solid rocks, without absolutely conflicting in any, harmonize in some important points with, and even directly corroborate, that given by Moses. In times of ignorance, or in the infancy of science, the haters of divine truth can falsify the records which God has left of himself, both in his word and works. Without saying that those times of ignorance and the infancy of science are past, one thing is certain: as the sphere of human knowledge widens, and that knowledge itself becomes more accurate, whether in relation to the heavens above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, the increase of light is only placing the authenticity and truth of the Bible on a more solid and immoveable basis.

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### THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT, AND ITS EMENDATION.

THE researches of Kennicott dissipated from the minds of many the idea of the perfection of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament as we now have it. It put to flight, by the brightness of unquestionable facts, those dreams of the unvarying agreement of the Hebrew MSS., which had before been so strongly asserted by the Jews, and so widely believed by Christians.

Yet still there are few who are willing to put the text of the Old Testament on a par with that of the New. There are many who will contend for present readings, which bear all the marks of corruption and mistake. The Keri and Chetib, what are they but confessed errors of the transcribers? So at least we assume, when we find at the beginning, or at the close of one of our printed books—"For 'black,' *read* 'bulk.' For 'soil,' *read* 'sale.'"

In consequence of our possession of two copies of the same text in several places, we have an opportunity of perceiving how numerous are the corruptions which have crept into the readings of the Hebrew in the course of time. Let him who still thinks the Hebrew text perfect, compare together the two lists of David's mighty men, as given in the two parallel passages—2 Sam. xxiii., and 1 Chron. xi. Let him set side by side Psalm xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii., and that portion of the history of Hezekiah which is conveyed by the Kings and Isaiah respectively.

That errors have made their appearance in the text of the Greek MSS. of the New Testament, is readily granted. None would for a moment suppose that any single MS. is perfect. But if errors have intruded themselves there, how much more probably into the Hebrew text? The length of time which has elapsed since Moses wrote his five books is not much less than twice the period of antiquity which the New Testament challenges.

The number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet liable to be mistaken one for the other, is far greater than that in the Greek alphabet, whether uncial or cursive. On this point we some years ago made enquiries, desiring to rest the decision on facts. We put before us that great work of Kennicott's, his Hebrew Bible, with the collations. We assumed, as the basis of the enquiry, that the printed text as we now have it is perfect. Then every deviation from that, as detected in the collations of Kennicott, is an error. We then went through several books of the Old Testament, noting down the errors in verses, words, and

letters; the main results of that enquiry we now lay before the reader in a tabular form.

	Genesis.	Exodus.	2 Sam.	Job.	Psalms.	Isaiah.	
א is mistaken for ה in	17	10	31	26	31	23 times.	
"    ו    "	5	—	6	—	6	1	"
"    י    "	4	2	5	32	17	11	"
"    ע    "	17	35	9	26	25	17	"
"    ח    "	*	*	*	*	1	2	"
ב is mistaken for כ    "	45	24	17	171	308	191	"
"    ל    "	*	9	14	19	30	22	"
"    מ    "	10	3†	15	29	35	22	"
"    נ    "	*	*	3	11	21	14	"
"    ס    "	2	1	3	10	7	4	"
"    ר    "	*	*	1	—	6	1	"
"    ת    "	*	*	—	4	1	2	"
ג is mistaken for ב    "	*	*	*	*	3	3	"
"    ז    "	*	*	—	7	4	17	"
"    ח    "	*	*	1	—	3	7	"
ד is mistaken for ה    "	*	*	*	*	1	7	"
"    ו    "	*	*	1	7	19	11	"
"    ז    "	37	5	48	156	158	100	"
"    ח    "	*	*	6	5	11	13	"
ה is mistaken for ו    "	5	36	21	16	21	47	"
"    ז    "	37	19	8	23	96	42	"
"    ח    "	23	5	11	12	46	26	"
"    ט    "	4	8	11	4	8	26	"
"    י    "	*	15	14	7	31	26	"
ו for ז    "	*	2	5	16	*	20	"
ז is mistaken for ח    "	104	21	50	98	203	106	"
"    ט    "	*	*	1	9	12	8	"
"    י    "	*	*	3	7	18	5	"
ח is mistaken for ט    "	*	1	—	7	16	—	"
"    י    "	1	*	1	20	8	10	"
"    כ    "	*	*	1	4	5	—	"
ט is mistaken for כ    "	5	3	—	4	8	5	"
כ is mistaken for ל    "	*	*	—	*	13	7	"
"    מ    "	2	1	3	9	20	15	"
ל is mistaken for מ    "	3	—	4	6	3	15	"
מ is mistaken for נ    "	*	*	2	9	23	26	"
"    ס    "	13	10	8	48	18	34	"
נ is mistaken for ס    "	*	2	—	5	18	12	"
"    ע    "	17	9	8	47	29	37	"
ס is mistaken for ע    "	2	—	—	4	10	7	"
ע for פ    "	*	*	—	2	9	8	"
פ    "    צ    "	*	3	5	14	21	20	"

\* Not noted.

† This gives only the mistakes of ו final.

	Genesis.	Exodus.	2 Sam.	Job.	Psalms.	Isaiah.
א is mistaken for ב in	*	*	4	3	2	5 times.
א and ב interchanged "	14†	7	11	20	20	13 "
א and ב "	*	*	48	94	23	32 "
Verses omitted	"	76	18	*	328	42 "
Words omitted	"	1863	994	*	2253	1453 "
Letters omitted	"	253	*	*	*	120 "
Transpositions of letters	15	16	*	75†	51	55 "

From the above table it will be seen, that in the process of enquiry, other questions arose than those which were at first thought of. It was not imagined at first that any but the most likely errors would occur. Hence the eye was less ready to detect them; and when they were thought to be single instances, they were omitted. But it was found after more extended research, that the mistakes supposed to be solitary recurred in the MSS. of each book. These, therefore, were afterwards noted down.

If we look more minutely and accurately into the liability of some of the letters to mistake, the result furnished may be gathered from the following analysis of the examination of Isaiah and the Psalms:—

In Isaiah.	letters.		In the Psalms.	letters.	
א is mistaken for ב in	12	648 places.	א is mistaken for ב in	5	80 places.
ב	13	266 "	ב	8	410 "
ג	5	30 "	ג	9	19 "
ד	8	140 "	ד	9	185 "
ה	13	208 "	ה	12	213 "
ו	8	169 "	ו	9	43 "
ז	6	35 "	ז	12	70 "
ח	11	68 "	ח	12	121 "
ט	8	159 "	ט	5	17 "
כ	12	276 "	י	7	278 "
ל	9	64 "	כ	15	388 "
מ	16	154 "	ל	11	55 "
נ	12	92 "	ם and ן	15	113 "
ס	7	82 "	נ and ך	13	96 "
ע	7	32 "	ס	11	88 "
פ	8	20 "	ע	13	67 "
צ	8	55 "	פ	12	34 "
ק	13	65 "	ץ	10	70 "
ר	14	141 "	ק	7	27 "
ש	6	66 "	ר	13	189 "
ת	16	64 "	ש	11	76 "
			ת	14	65 "
Total of errors of letters ..... } 2834			Total of errors of letters ..... } 2704		

\* Not noted.

† Not noted exactly from the beginning.

‡ Transpositions of letters and words.

It is a further curious enquiry, which are the most frequent mistakes, those of sight or those of sound. From an examination of the evidence before us, we should say, that the mistakes of sight are to those of sound about as four to one. Now can it be imagined, that so large a body of errors can be found in existing manuscripts, whilst yet the printed text is pure?<sup>a</sup>

Examples of these current mistakes of one letter for another are continually to be found in our present Hebrew text, and, we suppose, in about the average proportions here exhibited. We suppose error to exist, just as in any ancient author, wherever an inapposite sense or ungrammatical construction appears in any passage. Take the following instances:—

1. "And he *divided* (*himself*) against them by night, *he and his* (וַיַּחֲלֹק עָלֵיהֶם לַיְלָה) *servants*, and smote them" (Gen. xiv. 15).

Now it is evident, that "he divided," does not yield a good sense. "Himself," is added by our translators to make up the deficiency. But could the necessary accusative be wanting? Could he divide *himself*? And could it be added,—if that were the word to be supplied,—"*he and his servants*?"

But suppose we have here a mistake of ה for ו, an error which occurs nineteen times in this book alone, and another error of ק for כ, an error which occurs in the Psalms alone twenty times, and a perfect sense is yielded: וַיַּחֲלֹךְ, "He *went* against them by night, he and his servants." Here is a neuter verb, needing no accusative.

2. Take as another instance Numbers xv. 1. "Now Korah, . . . and Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Peleth, sons of Reuben, *took* (*men*)."

וַיָּקָם קֹרַח בְּרֵעֵהוּ . . . וַיָּקָמוּ

Various have been the attempts to find out a sense for the first word of this chapter,—the last in our translation of the verse. "And Korah *took*." *What* did he take? The text does not say. Our translators have supplied "men." This could not have been omitted by any allowable ellipsis. But suppose that the ו here is a mistake of the transcriber for the similar letter, final כ, and the sense is perfect. וַיָּקָם קֹרַח "Then *rose up* Korah." This is the very word constantly used on similar occasions to describe the first commencement of

<sup>a</sup> An examination of the Samaritan MSS. in Genesis and Exodus gives a different series of mistakes, which, however, it is not necessary to produce here.

<sup>b</sup> The same mistake was noticed by us as occurring in Isaiah three times.

hostile proceedings. See Gen. iv. 8; Joshua xxiv. 9; Judges xx. 5; Jer. xli. 2; Acts v. 17, 36. It is repeated, too, at the commencement of the next verse quite in the simplicity of the Hebrew style,—וּקְמוּ.

3. ה is mistaken for ע by sound, in Job four times, in Isaiah and in the Psalms once in each book. This error, we are able to prove, exists in the printed text by means of the two parallel places, 2 Kings xx. 13 and Isaiah xxxix. 2:—

“And Hezekiah *hearkened unto them*” (שָׁמַע).—Kings.

“And Hezekiah *was glad of them*” (שִׂמְחָה).—Isaiah.

The latter is evidently the true reading. In his exultation at the embassy, he shewed the ambassadors of the king of Babylon his treasures, and was rebuked by the prophet. They brought only a message of congratulation, not of entreaty; so that “hearkened unto them” is inappropriate.

4. We may find another instance of the same fault in Psalm xcvii. 11: “*Light is sown for the righteous; and gladness for the upright in heart*” (זָרַע). The metaphor is incongruous. The usual word for sunrise is זָרַח. “*Light is risen on the righteous,*” is, we doubt not, the true reading.

5. The interchange of נ for ע by sound, is one very common slip of the transcriber, as may be seen by the first table. Corruptions turning on this are found not unfrequently in the present text. “*And thou, my lord, O king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou shouldest tell them who shall sit on the throne of my lord the king after him*” (1 Kings i. 20), וְאַתָּה. It should evidently be, “*And now, my lord, O king,*” וְעַתָּה. Thus we find it in this very chapter, verses 12, 18.

The mistakes of ב for כ, of ד for ר, and the converse, are the commonest of all. By the help of this observation we may correct a passage which is obviously wrong.

6. “*Thy mother is like a vine in thy blood*” (בְּדָמְךָ), Ezek. xix. 10. This cannot be correct: it is not sense. The LXX. read, “*like a pomegranate*” (בְּרִמְךָ), coming very near to what we believe should be the true text: “*Thy mother is like a vine of Carmel*” (בְּרִמְלִי). Now Carmel was not only a place of much beauty, as we see by the comparisons of Scripture,\* but it was also a place of *vineyards*. Uzziah had “*husbandmen also, and vinedressers, in the mountains, and in Carmel*” (2

\* Cant. vii. 5; Isaiah xxxv. 2; Amos i. 2.

Chron. xxvi. 10). The error of כ for ל occurs in 2 Samuel twice, in the Psalms once, and in Isaiah thrice.

7. The mistake of ה for ד has been noticed as actually occurring in the former table. In the passage now to be introduced, it is complicated with that of ר for ד. Jacob "sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to *direct his face* unto Goshen" (להורות לפניו), Gen. xli. 28. This is not a correct translation; and if it were, it does not give a very intelligible sense. It should be, as we doubt not, "He sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to *go down* before him unto Goshen" (לרדת), Gen. xli. 28.

8. The change of י for ר, and the converse, are very common. This error has thrown darkness over what is otherwise a very simple passage: "Which way," says Zedekiah tauntingly to Michaiah, "went the Spirit of the Lord *from me* to speak to thee?" (1 Kings xxii. 24), מאתני. This reading agrees not with the context. Michaiah had not assumed that the Spirit of the Lord did speak to Zedekiah. He asserted that it was a lying spirit that spoke in him. It should be evidently, "Which way went the Spirit of the Lord *from him*?" (מאתו). For Michaiah, in his reply, assumes the truth of that which forms the basis of the taunt: and the Spirit of the Lord had spoken to Michaiah. The exigence of the sense then must suffice as evidence against the accordance of the two texts in Kings and Chronicles.

9. *Transpositions of letters* are an important feature brought out by the investigation. But corrections of this kind are frequently necessary to give sense to the text as it stands. A difference of this kind exists between the present reading of the Hebrew and the New Testament quotation of Psalm lxviii. 18.

"Thou hast *received* gifts for men" (Psalm), לקחת.

"Thou hast *given* gifts to men" (Eph. iv.), חלקת.

10. In Psalm vii. 4 the course of the sentiment is suddenly arrested by a parenthesis, instead of the usual parallelism of two lines:—

"If I have rewarded evil unto him that was at peace with me,  
(Yea, I have *delivered* him that without cause is mine enemy)  
Let the enemy persecute my soul, and take it."

The present text reads ואלחצה. But what if we transpose the radical letters, and read ואלחצה? The parallelism is at once restored, and the "if" of the former line runs on,—

"If I have *oppressed* him that without cause is mine enemy,  
Let the enemy persecute my soul."



The reader will perhaps have noticed, on looking through the first tabular view, that the number of errors is far greater in the three poetic books than in the three historical. This we should have *à priori* expected. Consequently, we find more passages presenting unintelligible sentiments in the poetical books.

But with this greater liability to error in the case of the prophetic books, the Holy Spirit has also inserted an additional corrective: and it is for the purpose of exhibiting the use that may be made of this, in restoring many mutilated and unintelligible passages, that the present paper is written.

It has long been well known, that the Hebrew poetic books are constructed on the principle of parallelism. Two lines immediately following take up the same or a similar sentiment.

"He divided the sea, and caused them to pass through ;

And he made the waters to stand as an heap :

In the day-time also he led them with a cloud ;

And all the night with a light of fire.

He clave the rocks in the wilderness,

And gave them drink as out of the great depths."

Now where this parallelism is broken, and, more especially, where no good sense is yielded, there is strong reason to believe that some error of transcription exists.

Take for instance such a passage as the following :—

1. "Then shall the lambs feed *according to their word* (לדברם),  
And the waste places of the fat ones shall strangers eat"

(Isaiah v. 17).

Our translators have rendered the words in italics by "after their manner," but such is not the meaning of the Hebrew. The parallelism is evidently broken. The words answering to "lambs feed" in the first line, are "strangers eat." But "strangers" is not a good parallel to animals. For, "according to their word" in the first line, we have "the waste places of the fat ones," which yields no clear sense. To be parallel with the "waste places" of the second line, there should be something of the like character in the first. And so there is the moment we change ל into ד; the great resemblance of which two letters causes them to be frequently mistaken for one another: as the preceding table has shewn. Twenty-two times are they mistaken in the MSS. of this very book.

Again; to correspond felicitously with the "lambs" of the first line, some animal, wild or tame, might be expected in the second. Now, by changing the ל into ד and adding a י, we get "kids." Let us then first exhibit the two lines as they now stand.

וְרָעוּ בְּבָשִׁים מְדָבָרִים  
וְחִרְבוֹתֵיהֶם גְּדִיִּים יֹאכְלוּ

But what means "the fat ones?" It is a mistake, arising from two readings of the suffix "their." Some MSS., we suppose, read, חִרְבוֹתָם; some חִרְבוֹתֵיהֶם. The transcribers, in this case, as in several others, seem to have joined the two together, with perhaps a bracket, or some sign, shewing them to be two different readings. But this was not understood afterwards; and the two were formed into a new word—מִיָּחִים, which, as it made no sense, was corrected into מְדָבָרִים.

Of a like process we may give another example or two. In Gen. v. 29, Lamech calls his son Noah (נֹחַ), saying, "This same shall *comfort* us (יְנַחֲמֵנוּ) concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." Now the reason given for the name Noah ("rest") ought to rehearse the word "rest." "This same *shall give us rest*." We suppose then, that it was originally so written, but that there was a various reading, "shall give *them* rest," which was placed side by side with the better one, thus— $\begin{matrix} \text{מְ} \\ \text{נָ} \end{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{יְנַחֲ} \\ \text{נָ} \end{matrix} \right.$ . If this were misunderstood, the word יְנַחֲמֵנוּ, such as we have it, would immediately arise.

In Psalm xxvii. 13, we read—"(*I had fainted*) unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living" (לִחַיִּים).

Here the translators supply, "I had fainted,"—a very strange ellipsis. The corruption seems evidently to have arisen from two different readings, לוֹ and לֵא. These are very commonly mistaken for one another; as the tabular view discovers. The scribe then, unable to detect which of the two was the correct reading, put down both. Those who followed united them, and made nonsense of the verse.

But to return. Collect together the emendations above proposed, and the verse of Isaiah becomes beautifully parallel.

וְרָעוּ בְּבָשִׁים מְדָבָרִים  
וְחִרְבוֹתֵיהֶם גְּדִיִּים יֹאכְלוּ

"Then shall the lambs feed on *their wilderness* :

And their waste places *the kids* shall eat."

But there is a way of confirming this result, which we would now propose to the reader. As the ground of all restorative

criticism to be applied to the Hebrew poetical text, we would suggest, a DICTIONARY OR CONCORDANCE OF PARALLELISMS.

It would be constructed in some such manner as this. Suppose the first passage to be as follows,—

“He causeth to grow

*Wine* that maketh glad the heart of man,

And *oil* to make his face to shine,

And *bread* which strengtheneth man’s heart.”

Here then we take the word “wine.” The parallels to it are “oil,” and “bread.” To “the heart of man” in the first line, answers “his face” in the second. To “maketh glad,” we have two parallels, “making to shine,” and “strengthening.” A second soon occurs—

“They eat the *bread* of wickedness

And drink the *wine* of violence” (Prov. iv. 17).

Here again “bread” is the parallel to “wine.” We collect then as the corresponding terms of יין, the words לחם and שמן, stating the places where each occurs. When we have gone through the examples of “wine” in the poetic books, the parallels of that word are complete.

Now if we followed out the same course with the two words which have been corrupted in the verse of Isaiah (v. 17), we should find authority for the words substituted as actually occurring parallels. We have made גדיים the parallel to נבשים. So it is in Isaiah xi. 6:—

“The wolf also shall dwell with the *lamb*” (נבש). (גדי).

“And the leopard shall lie down with the *kid*” (גדי).

This is as far, we suppose, as our present evidence will permit us to go. In restoring any other book of which we had not sufficient MSS., this would be considered ample authority for the new reading. In a similar manner it may be shewn that מדבר is the ordinary parallel of חרבה.

“I am become like a pelican of the *wilderness*” (מדבר).

“I am like an owl of the *desert*”<sup>c</sup> (חרבות), Psalm cii. 7. So also in Isaiah li. 3; lxiv. 9, 10; Jer. xxii. 5.

2. The following passage is one where the correspondence of the related lines, as at present found, is not complete (Isaiah x. 25).

“For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall cease,  
And mine anger in *their* destruction.”

Against this it may be remarked, that the context is treating

<sup>c</sup> Or “of the ruins.”

of a single person—the Assyrian ; “ *He shall lift up his staff* ” (ver. 24). “ *The Lord of hosts shall stir up a scourge for him* ” (ver. 26). Also על is not “ in.”

But with a different arrangement of the letters of the last word it is restored.

בִּי-עוֹד מַעַט מִזֶּעַר וְכָלָה יָעֵם  
וְאָפִי עַל-תִּבְלִיתָם

Divide the last word into two—תִּבְלִי יָעֵם, and read יָעֵם in the first line, and we have the lines, we think, as the prophet wrote them.

“ My indignation shall cease,  
And my wrath against the world shall be accomplished.”

In support of this, it may be shewn that כָּלָה and תָּמַם are parallels of each other.

“ The spoiler ceaseth (כָּלָה).

The oppressors are consumed out of the land ” (תָּמַם),

Isaiah xvi. 4 ; also Lam. iii. 22.

3. Isaiah xli. 25, offers itself as another example, which however need not be stated at length :—

For “ he shall come (upon) princes as (upon) mortar (סַגְגִּים),

And as the potter treadeth clay ” (יָרַמַס).

Here the preposition is obliged to be repeated twice in the first line without its being once found. And to “ come ” is not parallel with to “ tread.” But בָּם is parallel to יָרַמַס ; and if this were substituted, no preposition would be needed. The two words may be seen in near conjunction, though not in the same verse, in Isaiah lxiii. 3, 6.

4. A restoration, by means of the parallelism, may with certainty be effected in Jer. ix. 21.

20. “ For death is come up into our windows (מוֹת),

(And) is entered into our palaces ;  
To cut off the children from without,  
And the young men from the streets.

22. Speak, Thus saith the Lord ” (דַּבֵּר).

“ Speak,” which comes in so awkwardly in ver. 22, belongs really to ver. 21, and signifies “ the pestilence,” the parallel to מוֹת. Its place is properly in the second line, where “ and ” is inserted by the translators ; but where the corresponding word would give brilliance and force :—

“ *Death* is come up into our windows ;  
*Pestilence* is entered into our palaces.”

This parallelism of the two words is certified by Psalm lxxviii. 50:—

“He spared not their souls from *death* (ממות).

He gave their life over to the *pestilence*” (לדבר).

5. In the following passage, the breach of parallelism proclaims that some corruption has supervened:—

“The *chariots* shall be with flaming torches in the day of his preparation,

And the *fir-trees* shall be terribly shaken” (Nah. ii. 4).

What have “fir-trees” to do with “chariots?”

But a look at the original will shew where the error lies. “Fir-trees” is ברשים. But the usual corresponding word to “chariots” is “horsemen” (פרשים). So Isaiah xxii. 6, 7; xxxi. 1, etc. And so the versions read, while the mistake of ב for פ is one of which examples may be found in every book.

In the next chapter is a verse manifestly needing emendation:—

“Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria (נמור);

Thy nobles dwell” (ישכנו).

To make sense, our translators have added, “in the dust,” but such an ellipsis could never have been allowed. We evidently need a word parallel to “slumber.” Such a word we have in ישן which, we are persuaded, is the true reading. These words respond to one another in two passages:—

“He that keepeth thee will not *slumber* (ינור),

He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor *sleep*” (ישן).

The other passage is Isaiah v. 27.

A similar error to this occurs in the history of the Shunamite (2 Kings iv. 20). Of her child it is said, “He sat (וישב) on her knees till noon, and died.” But the Greek reads, “And he *slept* (וישן) on her knees.”<sup>d</sup>

If now we suppose a confusion of two readings to have taken place, ישוב and ישנו, we should account for the present ישכנו through the intermediate ישכנו. But the present method has been tried principally upon the Psalms. As the first instance, we may mention Psalm ix. 12:—

“Sing praises to the Lord, which dwelleth in Zion:

Declare among the peoples his doings.

<sup>d</sup> This passage proves that the Greek translation took place before finals were introduced.

When he maketh inquisition for blood, he remembereth *them* :  
He forgetteth not the cry of *the humble*" (עניים).

But "them" does not answer to "the humble;" nor are the nations among the lowly. What then is the ordinary parallel to עניים? A word greatly resembling אתם.

Turn to Job xxiv. 3, 4, 9:—

"They drive away the ass of the *fatherless* (יתומים) ;

They take the widow's ox for a pledge.

They turn the needy out of the way :

The *poor* of the earth hide themselves together" (עני).

"They pluck the *fatherless* from the breast (יתום) ;

And take a pledge of the *poor*" (עני).

So also Job xxix. 12; Psalm lxxxii. 3; ix. 4, 6; Isaiah x. 2; Zech. vii. 10. Read then יתום, and the parallelism is again complete.

In the ensuing passage we might suspect corruption (Psalm xii. 6):—

"The words of the Lord are pure words :

(As) silver tried in a furnace *of earth* (לארץ), purified seven times."

How should a furnace be of earth? Besides which, if we mistake not, ארץ does not refer to the soil of the earth in any case. The parallel too is not kept up in the third line. But what is the most common correspondence to "silver?" Examination will shew that "gold" is the most frequent, and the word signifying gold is very easy to be mistaken for לארץ.

What says Solomon of wisdom? (Prov. iii. 14):—

"The merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of *silver* (כסף),

And the gain thereof than *fine gold*" (חרוץ).

"Receive my instruction and not *silver* (כסף),

And knowledge rather than choice *gold*" (חרוץ).

Other passages there are, but these will suffice. Substitute חרוץ for לארץ in the preceding passage, and the parallel is restored:—

"The words of the Lord are pure words ;

Silver tried in the furnace,

Gold purified seven times."

8. What shall we say of the following verses? (Psalm xvii. 3, 4):—

“Thou hast proved mine heart;  
Thou hast visited me in the night;  
Thou hast tried me, and shalt find nothing;  
I am purposed that my mouth shall not transgress;  
Concerning the works of men, by the word of thy lips  
I have kept from the paths of the destroyer.”

The words “in the night,” do not well correspond to “my heart.” We should expect some part of the human frame to be the parallel. Now God is frequently said to try the reins (כליות). These two words are commonly opposed to one another:—

“Thus my *heart* was grieved (לבב),

And I was pricked in my *reins*” (כליות), Psalm lxxiii. 21.

“My *heart* shall rejoice, even mine (לב);

Yea, my *reins* shall rejoice” (כליות), Prov. xxiii. 16.

This, we doubt not, is the word which was originally written; but now corrupted into לילה.

Again, in the next verse, the word “men” does not well correspond to “the destroyer,” nor “concerning” to “from.” It stands at present in the Hebrew, thus:—

לִפְעֻלֹת אָדָם בְּדָבָר שְׁפָתֶיךָ

אֲנִי שְׁמַרְתִּי אֲרָחוֹת פְּרִיץ

But by rejecting the formative Aleph from אדם, and changing the prefix, we get a sentiment quite in harmony with the subsequent one—מִפְעֻלֹת דָּם. “From deeds of blood,” corresponds well with “the destroyer.”

4. As a further example take the following. Ps. xxxviii. 19.

“But mine enemies *living* are strong (חיים),

And they that hate me *wrongfully* are multiplied” (שקר).

In the first line, “living,” which is the true rendering of the Hebrew word, makes but a poor, hungry sense. How should dead enemies hurt any? It is evident, from the structure of Hebrew poetry, that the word should be one answering to the “wrongfully” of the succeeding line. But a common parallel to שקר is חנם, which, as all must see, very much resembles חיים.

A Psalm a little previous to this offers an example of the proposed restoration.

"Let not them that are mine enemies *wrongfully* rejoice over me (שָׂדֵק),

Neither let them wink with the eye that hate me *without a cause*" (וְהוֹנֵם), Ps. xxxv. 19; so also lxix. 4; cii. 2, 3.

With two more examples of the application of the present method we will conclude.

"Verily every man *stationed* is altogether vanity (נֶצַח).

Surely every man walketh *in an image* (בְּצֶלֶם);

Surely they are disquieted in vain" (Psalm xxxix. 5, 6).

It needs little discernment to be assured, that such a text cannot be genuine. Our translators have palliated the corruption by giving unwarrantable meanings to the two words placed at the side. The margin gives a much more correct view of their signification: "settled," is the subordinate synonym given for the first case; and the last is confessed to signify an "image." Can we mend this flaw by the help of the present principle?

אִךְ כָּל־הָהָבֶל  
כָּל־אָדָם נֶצַח

The fault evidently lies in the last word. Now what is there parallel to הָבֶל, which might have been corrupted into the latter word? Another verse of the Psalms will tell us:—

"Surely the sons of Adam are *vanity* (הָבֶל),

The sons of men are a *lie*" (כֹּזֵב), Psalm lxii. 9.

Here then, as we suppose, we have found the right word. ב and נ are mistaken for one another not unfrequently, and צ and נ also.

"Surely all is vanity,  
Every man is a lie."

The last error has arisen from a faulty concatenation of the letters, and the change of נ into י. י בְּצֶלֶם then coalesces with the ית of the preceding word to form בְּצִלְמוֹת. It will then run thus:—

אִךְ בְּצִלְמוֹת הַלֹּחֶם־אֵישׁ

"Surely man walketh in the shadow of death."

6. The complaint of the Psalmist in the sixty-seventh Psalm now stands as follows:—

"Is *his mercy* clean gone for ever? (חֲסֶדּוֹ)

Doth *the promise* fail for evermore?" (ver. 9) אָמֵר.



First the suffix "his," which should have corresponded with "his mercy," has dropped from the text. Secondly, **אמר** is never "promise." But what then is the perpetual parallel to **חסד**?

"And in *mercy* shall the throne be established (**חסד**);

And he shall sit upon it in *truth*" (**אמת**), Isaiah xvi. 5.

"Unto thy name give glory, for thy *mercy* (**חסד**), for thy *truth's* sake" (**אמת**), Psalm cxv. 1.

But generally the two words are coupled closely together: as Psalm xxv. 20; xl. 11, 12, etc.

The passage then restored will be:—

"Is his mercy clean gone for ever?

Doth *his truth* fail for evermore?"

If now a Concordance of Parallelisms were drawn out, the true reading would, without force, and on certain grounds, be made out in very many cases. The critic, discerning the sound part of the line, or the whole line which was yet uncorrupt, would be enabled, by means of the ordinary parallels, in most cases, to see what is required to restore the correspondence, having before him the various words which respond to the nouns, verbs, or particles. This would scarcely be conjecture, for it would rest on veritable examples.

7. There is still one passage on which we would say a few words. Few can have read the opening of Moses' blessing of Israel (Deut. xxxiii. 2) with a critical eye, without suspecting error of transcription:—

"The Lord came from Sinai,

And rose from Seir *upon them* (**לָמוֹ**);

He shined forth from Mount Paran;

And he came with ten thousands of saints;

From his right hand (*went*) a *fire of law* for them."

**מִיְמִינוֹ אֵשׁ דָּת לָמוֹ**

As no persons have been previously specified to whom the Lord came, the reading "to them" **לָמוֹ**, must be a mistake for **לְעַמּוֹ**, "on his people."

But the chief difficulty lies in the last line. How strange an expression—"a fire of law." The word **דָּת** is not Hebrew. The line is not parallel with the former one. We should expect some other party or parties to answer to the "ten thousands of saints." The law given on Sinai was not for the saints that

came with the Most High, but for Israel. The Samaritan gives us no light. What did the LXX. read?—

*Εκ δεξιων αυτου αγγελοι, μετ' αυτου,*

This is quite parallel with the former line. But how can we gather anything like such a sense from the present text? There is one way by which the extant letters may be marshalled into such a sense. What if we read—

מִיְמֵינוּ אֱלֹהִים מִלְדָּתוֹ

This might be translated by the LXX. to signify “his angels.” They took, we suppose, אֱלֹהִים in the plural, as the parallel to “his holy ten thousands.” But a Christian, from such a text, would at once reach the conclusion that but a single Person was meant.

If any should arise willing to work out the main idea here propounded, it seems morally certain that Biblical criticism will be greatly furthered. The first effect of the close application of the principle will be to discover errors where none have been perceived to exist, because they furnish a fair sense. But the want of parallelism will give ground for suspecting, perhaps will afford, proof of corruption. In any case, many passages will be rescued from the deep obscurity into which they have fallen through errors of transcription.

It has been said that no learned work ever came forth in so uncritical a state, and so in need of emendation, as the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Believing this opinion to be correct, we can only say, may it speedily be edited, with some of its many and grievous errors of transcription eliminated, by the aid of MSS., versions, and parallelisms.



## RENAN'S LIFE OF JESUS.

(Continued from Vol. IV., No. VII., p. 164.)

THE first chapter is entitled "the place of Jesus in the history of the world." In this chapter, M. Renan gives us his notion of the universal history of religion, from man's primeval barbarism without any defined religious ideas, to the advent of Jesus. He thinks apparently, that originally man had no religion at all, and was not to be distinguished from the brutes. Developments, however, took place in different directions, but, except in the case of the Israelites, and perhaps in Persia, they nowhere arrived at pure Monotheism. The Shemitic race has the glory of having made the religion of humanity, which began with the Bedouin patriarch Abraham, and was carried forward by the nomade tribe of the Beni-Israel. Their law was very anciently written on plates of metal; so M. Renan says, but condescends not to prove it. Their priests were like other ancient priests. Every one of their tribes had its *nabi* or prophet—a sort of living oracle consulted for the solution of obscure questions; so he says again, but without the shadow of a proof. The *nabis* organized themselves into groups or schools, and proclaimed unlimited hopes for the Jews. A gradual work of development went on, and eventually the book of Deuteronomy, etc., were compiled. The Jews adopted "a code of blood;" and displayed extraordinary zeal for their religion. Through all national changes their belief retained its hold upon them, and just when their hopes had reached the climax, Jesus appeared. In all this there is neither revelation, inspiration, nor any other form of the supernatural. From its origin to the advent of Christ, religion, even in its highest form, was natural religion.

The second chapter is devoted to the "infancy and youth of Jesus, and his first impressions." As Matthew begins his gospel with the genealogy of Jesus, so M. Renan begins his gospel with a genealogy of religion: and as Matthew goes on to tell us where Christ was born, and to narrate the circumstances of his early life, so does M. Renan. There is, however, a notable difference. The old gospel says, "Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa;" the new gospel tells us, "Jesus was born at Nazareth, a little town of Galilee." Which shall we believe? the commencement of St. Matthew's second chapter, or the commencement of M. Renan's second chapter? St. Luke certainly agrees with St. Matthew, and all the evidence we have of our Lord's birth, places it at Bethlehem. No matter, says our new evangelist, Jesus was always called a Nazarene, and so were

his followers; and he even refers to Matt. xiii. 54; Mark vi. 1; John i. 45, to prove that Christ was *born* at Nazareth. He might have known, what every child in England if not in France knows, that Christ was born at Bethlehem, but was brought up at Nazareth, and hence the appellation Nazarene (Matt. ii. 2, 3). We see no "embarrassment" in the Gospel narrative, and we are surprised that M. Renan falls back in proof of it, upon the exploded objection based upon the census of Quirinus. It is simple nonsense to say that Christ's birth at Bethlehem is nothing but a supposition, that is, a fiction. The name of Jesus, we are reminded, is an alteration of Joshua, "a very common name." Common it may have been, but we only find three or four who bore it in the Old Testament, though there may be ten or twelve others to be found in history. What, however, has this to do with us? We have an express reason assigned for the name in our gospels, and M. Renan should have shewn that it is not the true one; not have rejected it in an off-handed manner.

What follows, is a pretty sketch of the scenes among which Christ passed his youth. Joseph his father,—for so is he called without an observation upon the gospel narrative,—and Mary his mother, are set before us as he imagines they must have been. So also his brothers and sisters, and so on. A pretty sketch, we repeat, but we have no more to say of it.

"The education of Jesus," is the title of the third chapter. From this we learn that he was taught to read and write—oddly enough, on the faith, we say not of John's gospel, which our author so much disparages, but on the faith of John viii. 6, a text which is wanting in all the oldest MSS. We are told too, that Jesus doubtless "learned to read *and write*," "according to the eastern method, consisting in putting into the hands of a child a book which he repeated in cadence along with his little companions, until he knew it by heart." How this would teach him *to write* we are not informed, but we are referred to the Testament of the twelve patriarchs under Levi. This reference, however, like a good many more which we have been at the pains to look after, has supplied us with no information as to either reading or writing, at all bearing upon the subject. However, it seems that Jesus was sent to school, and we are much obliged to M. Renan for this new fact in the Saviour's biography. It is not probable that Jesus knew Greek, we are told, and less likely that he had "any knowledge of Greek culture;" in fact, he knew nothing outside of Judaism. Neither did he know of movements parallel with his own in Judaism itself, those of the Essenes or Therapeutæ for example. The resemblances between

Him and Philo, come from "the common tendencies which were inspired into all lofty souls by the necessities of the times." Nor did he know the eccentric scholasticism of Jerusalem, although he may have known, and probably did know, the principles of Hillel, who was his true master. We suppose we must no more attach importance to Renan's calling Hillel the master of Jesus, than to his calling Philo his elder brother. But again: Jesus was much impressed by reading the books of the Old Testament, the canon of which was the same as now; but its interpretation was mystical and allegorical, and this was adopted by Jesus. Still, he had a peculiar appreciation of Biblical poetry; but was not much charmed with the Law. The prophets, Isaiah and his continuator especially, were his veritable masters. But he also read the apocryphal books, "that is to say, writings sufficiently modern; whose authors, to give themselves an authority which was no longer conceded except to very ancient writings, wrapped themselves up in the name of prophets or patriarchs. One of these books above all struck him; it was the book of Daniel." Perhaps too he read the book Enoch (*perhaps!* we never find this word in the old gospels), and other writings of the same sort. He had no knowledge of the general state of the world: earth seemed to him to be divided into kingdoms which made war. He had no precise idea of the Roman power; the name "Cæsar" alone had reached him. And yet he saw the building of Tiberias, Julias, Diocæsarea, Cæsarea, by the Herods; and he may have seen Sebaste. It was this architecture of ostentation, which he called "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them;" a phrase which is nowhere put into his lips! All this pomp displeased him, and he preferred his Galilean villages. He regarded kings' courts as places where men are handsomely dressed:—and he was not far wrong in his idea. His parables bristle with charming impossibilities which prove that he never saw aristocratic society, except as a young villager who looks at the world through the prism of his simplicity;—like the Tityrus of Virgil!

Jesus knew nothing of the progress which philosophy had made in excluding the idea of miracles; and in spite of all that had been done, he believed in the supernatural. In these respects he was like his countrymen; he believed in a devil, and referred nervous diseases to demoniacal possession. The effect of such belief in him was not the same as in other men, for it was connected with a notion of familiar relations with God, and an exaggerated faith in the power of man,—“beautiful errors which were the principle of his strength.” So then M. Renan thinks there are errors which are “beautiful!” Finally, Jesus was not

much attached to his family, and ere long he went still further in his "daring revolt against nature."

We find very little of the old gospels in this chapter, perhaps we shall be more successful in the next on "the order of ideas amid which Jesus was developed." No time, it seems, except that of the French revolution, was ever so fitted as that in which Jesus lived, to develop the hidden forces of humanity. Jesus was neither theologian nor philosopher; he never disputed about God or metaphysics; he had neither dogmas nor system, but a fixed personal resolution. He began to think at a period when Palestine was "a burning atmosphere," creating ideas of the most varied and exciting character. We must not stop, however, to examine the ideas which this "burning atmosphere" created. Jesus often meditated on his work, his race, and humanity. He never attached much importance to the political events of his time, of which he was probably ill-informed. But he was much influenced by the movement of Judas, the Gaulonite or Galilean; perhaps he saw him; in any case he knew his school, profited by his mistake, and dreamed of another kingdom and of another deliverance. Galilee was a great furnace in a state of ebullition, and men did there very much as they liked. "In his vagabond career we do not see that Jesus was once annoyed by the police!" He was particularly fond of mountains: he received upon them his best inspiration (Matt. v. 1; xiv. 23; Luke vi. 12); held secret converse with the ancient prophets, and was transfigured. Notwithstanding its disorders, Galilee was overflowing with happiness and joy (*bien-être et de gaieté*), and was otherwise a sort of earthly paradise. We cannot wonder to hear that the whole history of budding Christianity is a sort of delicious pastoral,—a Messiah at a wedding feast, the courtesan and the good Zaccheus invited to its festivities, the founders of the kingdom of heaven as a cortege of paranymphs! In this "intoxicating medium" Jesus lived and grew. From his childhood he went almost every year in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His route was usually that now followed by way of Ginæa and Sichem. These journeys brought him into contact with the soul of his people, and inspired him with lively antipathy to the official representatives of Judaism. They say that he made another school of the desert, but the God he found there was not his own. It was rather that of Job,—severe and terrible. Sometimes Satan came there to tempt him, but he went back to Galilee, and found again his heavenly Father among the green hills and clear fountains; among the crowds of women and children, who with joyous soul and the song of angels in their heart, expected the salvation of Israel.

All this is very pretty,—*pretty* is the word, but it is not gospel; we will therefore look at the fifth chapter and see if we can find our Christ. This chapter is “on the first aphorisms of Jesus, his ideas of a Father God, and of a pure religion; his first disciples.” “Joseph died before his son” became a public character, and Mary was the head of the family. She probably went to live at Cana, where Jesus lived for some time, and followed his father’s trade as a carpenter. Jesus never married, although he had an extremely delicate sentiment for the other sex, whom he treated as sisters. His intimate and free relations even with women of equivocal conduct were altogether moral. We are glad to learn this, but why are we not told that the women of equivocal conduct referred to, bitterly repented of *sin*, and abandoned *sin*, a thing of which M. Renan seems never to entertain an idea? *Sin* and *holiness* are alike utterly ignored by him. However, the character of Jesus developed; and his elevated notion of divinity was in some sense his own creation. He is to be ranged with the great family of the true sons of God, and to take a foremost place among them. These are Sakya-Muni (Buddha), Plato, St. Paul, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Augustine, who were indifferent alike to physical and metaphysical proofs of the existence of God, and who felt the divine within themselves. In the passage conveying these ideas, M. Renan appears to oppose both Pantheism and the idea of a personal God apart from a man’s self. What does he mean? We say nothing of the rhodomontade of classing Sakya-Muni here and elsewhere with Jesus Christ, for there is no possibility of reconciling their principles. It is not much less profane to class the visionary Francis of Assisi with Christ. Such, however, are the daring impertinences with which the book abounds. They are meant less to exalt Sakya-Muni, Plato, Francis, etc., than to degrade our Saviour who, we are carefully informed, never utters for a moment the sacrilegious idea that he is God. We might ask M. Renan what he means by saying that Sakya-Muni in particular felt the divine within himself, and what God, in any definite sense, the said Sakya-Muni believed in at all? One of the latest French writers upon the subject, M. B. Saint-Hilaire, affirms with Bayle, that “the Buddhistic nations can be without any injustice regarded as nations of *Atheists* ;” and the same verdict has been pronounced by others. Either, then, M. Renan says what he does not know, or he sacrifices truth to effect. That he knows about Buddhism is manifest, for he calls Sakya-Muni a speculative philosopher. Speculative he was, and he was rather philosopher than prophet; though we do not think much of his metaphysics. But let this pass.

"God conceived immediately as a Father: behold all the theology of Jesus!" exclaims M. Renan; and we suppose he thinks so, but he might have informed us of the moral attributes which the Saviour attached to this Fatherhood. But Jesus did not preach his opinions, he preached himself. True again; but not all true, for Jesus preached the Gospel, the kingdom of God—a host of great principles. However, Jesus did not at once rise to this lofty affirmation of himself, though from the first he appears to have viewed himself as standing to God in the relation of a son to a Father. This is his great act of originality, and herein he is not at all of his race, although the *belle âme*—the fine soul—of Philo here, as on so many other points, meets with that of Jesus.—"*Ni le Juif, ni le Musulman n'ont compris cette délicieuse théologie d'amour*"—"Neither Jew nor Mussulman have comprehended this delicious theology of love," exclaims our fifth evangelist in the most effeminate French at his disposal. Bah! we are ready to exclaim in return. We own that the Lord Jesus brought out the idea that God is our Father, in stronger relief than the prophets of the Old Testament, but it is a calumny upon the Jewish Scriptures to insinuate that they teach not the Fatherhood of God, as any may see who will be at the pains to look. They did not teach "a delicious theology of love," nor did Jesus Christ, notwithstanding his "courtezans," "his St. Claras and his Frances de Chantals." When a man undertakes to write a Gospel, he should not write bombast for the sake of effect, but truth for its own sake.

Again; the term "kingdom of God," is called the favourite term of Jesus to express the revolution which he introduced to the world. If, however, Jesus knew little, or rather nothing of the world outside of Palestine, we may doubt whether he could either regard God as the universal Father, or contemplate the accomplishment of a revolution in the world. The Jews usually thought the kingdom of God meant Judaism, or the true religion, and Jesus seems to have so understood it at first, but afterwards he came to expect its material realization by an abrupt renovation of the world. "Man," says Bacon, "is the servant and the expositor of nature:" but M. Renan aims to be more; he aims to be the expositor of the mind of Christ in the face of Christ's own teachings. Transcendent clairvoyant criticism may reject the words "My kingdom is not of this world," but Christian faith will accept them as a sufficient refutation of gratuitous assertions like that of M. Renan. When did Jesus repudiate his own plain declaration in opposition to dreamers—"The kingdom of God is within you?" We are told that he did forget it, although "the realistic conception of the divine coming



was only a cloud, a passing error which his death made men forget." The natural interpretation of Luke xix. 11, leads us to infer the contrary, and demolishes this outrageous calumny. From the passage we allude to, it appears that towards the end of our Lord's earthly life, *some of his followers* expected a speedy establishment of the kingdom of God, but that in a parable which foreshadows the future, He taught them that his kingdom would be asserted after his second coming in all its majesty and power. Other passages shew that his enemies calumniated him by fathering on him the idea which M. Renan says he entertained. We ask not whether men can be serious who neglect these facts, but whether it is not useless to argue with them? As for the rhetorical part of the story,—“the voice of extraordinary sweetness,” “the infinite charm which exhaled from his person,” “his amiable character,” and “his ravishing figure,” which “transferred paradise to earth,”—we leave all this to those who care for it.

Jesus did not reason much; but, like all the rabbis of his time, set forth his doctrine in aphorisms. Some of these were from the Old Testament, some from more modern sources; above all, Antigonus of Soco, Jesus son of Sirach, and Hillel, which he had picked up as proverbs often repeated. Ingenious no doubt, but is it true? He reminds us here of what he once said to ourselves about some supposed discovery,—“If it is not true, it is *bien-trouvée*?” The “*bien-trouvée*,” preponderates in this volume amazingly over the true. One thing however is true, and it is that Christ not merely refined upon the duties of the Law, but desired to see perfection. As if, however, this concession were too much, our author makes haste to tell us that our Master went to excess. We cannot admit that the teachings of Christ were not original, but we quite agree with M. Renan in saying that his principles tended to the establishment of a religion in which forms and priests were of small account, and in which asceticism was not encouraged. We equally join with him in his admiration of the phraseology of many of our Lord's maxims and precepts. But we do not feel that we say everything, when we call Christ one Rabbi the more, and “the most charming of all.” On the whole our author thinks it would have been well for the reputation of Christ, if he had died almost at the outset, although his continuation was necessary for the preservation of his name and the promulgation of his principles.

The sixth chapter introduces John the Baptist, “a young ascetic, full of ardour and passion,” who adopted Elijah as his model. John, it is supposed, may have obtained some of his principles, at least indirectly, from Upper Asia. Jesus heard of him, and hastened “with his little school to John,” who received

them gladly. It is a mistake to say with Luke that John was related to the family of Jesus. Jesus recognized John as his superior, and was his imitator; he always in fact yielded much to opinion, and adopted many things for the simple reason that they were popular! Hence he and his disciples were baptized; hence, too, he preached as John did; indeed, he only wished to grow in his shadow. All this is in daring perversion of the evangelic narratives, and them we prefer to follow. We turn then to the seventh chapter, "on the development of the ideas of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God."

To stay awhile in the desert of Judæa was considered generally as the preparation for great things, so Jesus passed there forty days fasting. The imagination of his disciples exercised itself a good deal about this sojourn, and hence the accounts of his conflicts with Satan and of the ministry of angels. On leaving the desert he seems to have heard of the arrest of John, and he betook himself again to Galilee. The influence of John had rather injured than benefited him: it had arrested his development. When he went down to the Jordan his views seem to have been superior to those of John. After John's imprisonment he was again free to follow his own tendencies. He had gained nothing from the Baptist but some lessons in preaching and in popular action. His ideas of "the kingdom of heaven" became more matured, and henceforth his watchword was "the Gospel." He will be no more only, "a delightful moralist," he will be "a transcendent revolutionist" seeking to renew the world to its foundations, and to found upon earth the ideal which he has conceived. A very material interpretation is to be put upon the passages in which the kingdom of God is spoken of. But who is to establish this kingdom? The answer cannot be doubtful, because Jesus begins to view himself as a universal reformer, whose instruments are heaven, earth, and all nature, folly, sickness and death. "In his attack of heroic will, he believes himself Almighty." The fundamental thought of Jesus then, was a radical revolution embracing nature itself. Henceforth he renounced politics. The example of Judas the Gaulonite had shewn him the inutility of popular seditions. He had never thought of revolt against the Romans and the tetrarchs. Despising this world, he took refuge in his ideal kingdom; he founded that grand doctrine of transcendent disdain,—the true doctrine of the freedom of the soul,—which alone gives peace. Still a conflict appears to have been carried on in his mind, and there were great questions on which he was uncertain. A noble sentiment, rather than a definite purpose, urged him on to the sublime work which he performed, but in a very different way

from what he imagined it would be. The actual kingdom of God which Christ founded is the kingdom of mind (*le royaume de l'esprit*), the freedom of souls. He did not know history well enough, however, to know that his doctrine came at the best possible juncture; but his admirable good sense, and truly prophetic instinct, guided him with marvellous safety.

Our principles of positive science are offended by the reveries which the programme of Jesus included, because we know that cosmical changes are only brought about by geological or astronomical causes, the connection of which with moral matters has never been proved. Did Jesus expect these "cosmical changes?" and if he did,—we believe he did not, but if he did,—is there no power in the universe which has never effected "cosmical changes" except by geological and astronomical causes? If not, matter and nature are eternal, and the God of the Bible is as much a delusion as this work.

M. Renan goes on to talk as if he really felt that he must offer an apology for the ideas of Christ. But is it so plain that Jesus ever entertained such ideas? Among the millions who have read, or who read, the Gospels, there are not many who have read them as M. Renan reads them, or who have had the effrontery to suggest that the "ideal" of Christ was a utopia, as he does; and not only a utopia but a contradiction, and Christ himself a millenarian, and in some sense an anarchist. Nor is it a common supposition that Jesus had "not the smallest notion of a soul separated from the body." What we want is the truth; not bold assertions like these, interspersed though they may be with "faint praise," and warmed up with talk about "the idyllic and sweet nature of Jesus." However readily France may swallow these things, we do not think they will be found either easy of digestion or nutritious after all.

Let us look for a moment into the chapter on "Jesus at Capernaum." He is about to come still more prominently before the world, and to pursue with fatal impassibility the path which his astonishing genius and circumstances have marked out for him. Now he declares himself to be the Son of man seen in vision by Daniel, and that his kingdom was about to come. By applying to himself the term "Son of man" he proclaimed himself to be the Messiah. His success was this time decisive. A knot of men and women round him, all characterized by the same spirit of juvenile candour and simple innocence, said to him, "Thou art the Messiah." As Messiah, he must be a son of David, so they gave him this title also. Jesus gladly allowed this, though it embarrassed him a little, for his birth was of the people. He preferred to be called Son of Man.

Soon after coming to Capernaum, Jesus went to Nazareth, but his tentative was a failure, and, as one of his biographers artlessly remarks, "he could do no miracle there," and he ran some personal risk. But not discouraged, he came back to Capernaum, where he succeeded much better. One day he read the lesson in the synagogue, and commented upon it in accordance with his own views. The result was various, but on the whole a success. So he went on gaining new adherents, and the more men believed in him the more he believed in himself. Four or five villages half an hour's distance from one another, were then his little world. Sometimes, indeed, he made excursions beyond it, but he was not able to understand all he saw, and he learned nothing by his travels.

"The disciples of Jesus" come before us in the ninth chapter. The scene is still Capernaum, and M. Renan draws upon his imagination for a pretty pastoral picture of Peter and Andrew, James and John, and some others. Among them, Jesus found a ready acceptance for his ideas of the kingdom of God, for they were not very civilized. Jesus, who loved to play upon words, told some of them that they should be fishers of men, and they became his zealous companions, and not only they, but three or four women. One of these, Mary of Magdala, had been afflicted with nervous attacks, but Jesus "by his pure and gentle beauty calmed her troubled organization." Such is the dignified construction put upon the Gospel narrative that Christ had cast seven devils out of her! We pass over the sketches of the rest. Jesus made many conquests, but "owed them to the infinite charm of his person and his speech;" but sometimes he employed the "innocent artifice" of pretending to know something very secret respecting persons, and letting them think he owed his superiority to something which was not true.

This mutilation of the Gospel picture of Jesus reminds us of a publication which is said to have appeared in 1790, in France, entitled *Jesus Christ Outraged*, in reply to some of the infidels of the time. But to proceed:—

The tenth chapter is devoted to our Lord's "preachings at the lake" of Tiberias, where the aristocracy of his audience consisted of a customs' officer, and the wife of a steward. The rest were fishers and simple people of extreme ignorance, weak-minded, believers in spectres and spirits, and utterly without Hellenic culture; yea, even imperfectly educated as Jews. They lived in an earthly paradise, and were in fact like the peasants the poet tells us of:—

"Tra i campestri piacer turba innocente  
Di molesto pensier cura non sente."

Jesus lived very much in the open air, and was followed by the faithful troop "gaie et vagabonde." We do not attempt to enumerate all the delusions assigned to them by M. Renan, nor shall we even attempt to summarise his account of Christ's teachings;—they seem to us to be represented as a commentary upon life in Galilee, interwoven with expectations of the kingdom of God. Perhaps it should be noticed here that M. Renan does not care a fraction for the historical or geographical indications of the gospels, and that he puts early in Christ's ministry, and in Galilee, what occurred at any time and in any place. This we suppose is the privilege of eclectic, clairvoyant criticism. It would not be difficult to draw up a long list of fictions, pure and simple, from this marvellous volume; meaning by fictions, sheer inventions.

The kingdom of heaven or of God, is next viewed as the advent (*avènement*) of the poor. Jesus saw that the official world refused to believe, so he turned to the poor, and proclaimed that "the poor alone shall be saved, and that the kingdom of God is about to come." Does M. Renan believe that Christ ever taught "the poor alone shall be saved?" If he believes this, has he used proper means to avoid gross and dishonourable delusion? Is he not equally false to fact when he says that the Ebionites remained faithful to the primitive teachings of Jesus? No matter: at the end of the second century "these good sectarians" are regarded as heretics, and a pretended Ebion is invented to explain their name. We care not now whether Ebion is a real or a fictitious personage, but we do not see how M. Renan can harmonize his statements here and elsewhere. The Ebionites, according to Origen, believed in Christ and kept the law, and held that Christ came only for Jews by nature, but M. Renan has told us that Christ proclaimed his kingdom for many besides the Jews (p. 179), and for the world (chap. vii., etc.). Undoubtedly our Lord did emphatically "preach the Gospel to the poor," but it was no second thought, nor the result of rejection by the rich. Renan knows equally with ourselves that from the outset the gospels represent Jesus as teaching in this way. All this arose less from contempt of the rich than from contempt of worldly riches and a true estimate of the value of every man's soul. This elevation of the poor man's *soul*, was however unaccompanied by any attempt to reduce the rich man to poverty, or to encourage asceticism in anybody. St. Paul appears to us beautifully to catch the Saviour's idea when he says of some that they "use the world as not abusing it:" and this idea our Lord embodied in practice. M. Renan, who is enraptured with paradoxes, represents

Christ as the patron of the poor and outcast, and yet as keeping perpetual holiday, and enjoying heartily the amusements and good cheer of this world. He does *not* call him "a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber."

The new religion was in many respects a movement on the part of women and children, says M. Renan. So be it: God chose the weak things of this world to accomplish mighty purposes; and the "deutero"-Isaiah truly described the Coming One as "despised and rejected of men." M. Renan is never weary of his romance, of telling us how strong an attachment subsisted between Christ and the female sex—he reminds us of Solomon's Song occasionally. We are glad to find, as we advance, important concessions—Christ the friend of the outcast and despised,—of the poor and feeble,—of women and children, etc. Our only regret is, that this Friend is, to all these, viewed much like an earthly friend in the character of his affection. True, he promises them a kingdom of heaven, a paradise—but this promise:—did it rest upon any basis of power or of truth? Alas! our new teacher leaves upon our minds the impression that it did not. The kingdom was an earthly kingdom; the paradise an earthly paradise. One week sufficed to dissipate the lovely dream! We know what week is meant, and one sentence uttered during that week ought to have dissipated M. Renan's delusion,—“This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.”

“While joyous Galilee celebrated in fêtes the coming of the well-beloved, the unhappy John in his prison at Machero was worn out with waiting and desire.” He sent to Jesus, but it is unknown whether he lived to receive the reply to his message. It is hinted as probable that in any case John did not regard Jesus as fulfilling or realising the divine promises,—a very gratuitous supposition. However, a strict alliance ensued between the followers of Jesus and of John.

The miracle of loaves and fishes is explained as meaning, that owing to extreme frugality the holy company was able to live!

Jesus went almost every year to Jerusalem at the passover, and at length made an attempt to gain converts there. It is clear he did not like the place, and he could make but little impression upon it. Out of M. Renan's incessant episodes, so much is evolved, but no more, except that Jesus in effect ceases to be a Jew, and becomes the preacher of a religion for the human race.

The proofs upon which these successive developments are based, when they are mentioned, are gathered indiscriminately from all parts of the gospels. As we have before observed, our author treats with supreme indifference the chronology and the

topography of the gospels, and groups together what suits his purpose, wherever he can find it. No attempt is made to explain this arbitrary principle of selection, and indeed, no allusion is made to it.

The next chapter (xiv.), on the relation of Christ to Samaritans and Pagans, need not detain us; it is based on the principle just described, and treated as a consequence of the new ideas originated at Jerusalem.

Henceforth Jesus teaches that the law will be abolished, and by himself; the Messiah is come, and it is himself; the kingdom of heaven is about to be revealed and he will reveal it. He knows that he shall be the victim of his boldness, but he does not shrink, and utters the daring conception that, "The Son of Man after his death, will come with glory, accompanied by legions of angels, and they who have rejected him will be confounded." He allowed the title of Son of David; though he had no claim to it. He yielded to current opinions, and associated with his dogma of the "kingdom of God" whatever warmed men's hearts and imaginations. That he was born at Bethlehem was a grave difficulty, because his birth at Nazareth was matter of public notoriety, but he may not have been conscious of the difficulty. It is unknown whether he was acquainted with the legends which were invented to fix his birth at Bethlehem; and whether he authorized the fictitious genealogies which were imagined by his partisans to make him of the royal race. Possibly he knew nothing about these things. The legendary sprang up all round him by a sort of great conspiracy, and he could not, if he would, have cut short these popular creations, which were especially developed after his death. We suppose M. Renan calls this writing, history: we do not. He says Jesus never thought of passing for an incarnation of God, that John represents his equality with God as a calumny of the Jews, that he declares himself less than his Father, and that he was the Son of God,—as all men are or can be in different degrees. The transcendent idealism of Jesus never allowed him to have a very clear notion of his own personality. As we understand M. Renan, Jesus had no clear idea of a personal God, or of personal disciples, or of an objective universe, or of natural laws, or of the supernatural: "Intoxicated with infinite love, he forgot the heavy chain which holds the spirit captive; he crossed at one bound the abyss which is impassable to most, and which the mediocrity of human faculties traces between man and God." We are not told whether our author himself believes in any distinction real and essential between man and God, but he sometimes speaks as if he would deify man, and at others as if he

would humanize God. Ought he not to satisfy us by telling us in plain terms what his opinions are upon this subject? He leaves us in no doubt sometimes: for instance, as to his rejection of the Trinity in the orthodox sense; but he leaves us in the dark as to his conceptions of the Eternal himself.

Nor can we read without a shudder the audacious passages in which over and over again Christ is flatly accused of time-serving, and of insincerity, or rather of disregard of *truth*. Does M. Renan himself believe that anything great and good was ever founded upon fraud and falsehood, and consequent delusion? He almost says he does (p. 252, 254); "There is," he assures us, "*no great foundation which does not repose upon a legend*. The only culprit in such a case is the humanity which wishes to be deceived." *Success* then, and not sincerity, not truth, not disinterestedness, not anything which we vulgarly term a virtue, is the supreme criterion of merit. And this is philosophy!

The chapter on miracles is partly a repetition, and partly a development of previous ideas; Jesus wrought no true miracles, though he was persuaded or tempted to profess to work them. No miracles have ever been wrought,—certainly none have been proved, or are likely to be proved; apparent miracles can be accounted for. We do not know that any particularly new objections to miracles are advanced here, and as the subject would require an essay, we must waive its discussion now. We only protest against accusing our Lord of "illusion and folly."

Another change takes place in Christ's views of the kingdom of God: he regards humanity as coming to an end, an immense revolution as impending, the Son of Man as about to appear in clouds and glory, the dead about to be raised, and the judgment about to come. This vast catastrophe will be followed by an eternal paradise and an eternal Gehenna. Christ never defined the precise time for all this. He did not do, as the writer of the Apocalypse (in A.D. 68), fix the term at three years and a half!! He did expect the speedy coming of the end, by "an illusion common to all reformers," and so he "accepted the Utopias of his time." It seems, however, after all, that there was truth and power in our Lord's conception, and that his true spirit is "absolute idealism." If so, his teachings must not be urged in too literal a sense, and M. Renan himself will sometimes stand condemned.

"The institutions of Jesus," were, as is truly stated, but few. He was not so absorbed in his apocalyptic ideas as to lose sight of the future of his church. And hence, first of all, the appointment of the twelve. M. Renan says that the lists of the twelve



are full of uncertainties and *contradictions*. Like all the men of his tendencies, he delights in imputing "contradictions" to the sacred narrative, but, like most of his friends, he overlooks what the word means. With such men differences are contradictions; and differences not of substance, but of phraseology. We sicken of the incessant parading and refutation of what some men choose to call *contradictions*.

The apostles were the depositaries of secrets, for Jesus seems to have wished to surround himself with mystery, and hence his ambiguous phraseology before the public often. The apostles preached, taking advantage of oriental hospitality; "Take away oriental hospitality, and the propagation of Christianity would be impossible to be explained." Here we have a real novelty; a genuine discovery. Let it be promulgated far and wide:—the propagation of Christianity was due to, or is accounted for by, oriental hospitality! Not only so, but Jesus wished his followers to render their preaching attractive (*amiable*), by their kind and polished manners. They dealt in thaumaturgy, or theurgy as it is called, and this became more and more shocking as time rolled on.

Henceforth the germ of a church existed, but there was no system of morals or canon law, no theology and no creed, no sacred book. There was a sacrament,—the Eucharist.

The enthusiasm and exaltation of Jesus and his disciples went on increasing. The world was about to end, so property was forbidden, and those who entered the sect did not marry: at one time indeed Christ seemed to favour mutilation (Matt. xix. 12). A century was required to free the true church of this sect of "latter day saints." Jesus himself never got beyond this first monachal period, and utter renunciation and contempt of the world, of kindred, and of self. In this way, a fatal germ of theocracy was introduced into the world, the principle of asceticism and of monachism was laid down, and the monk is, in a sense, the only true Christian.

Having reached this point, Jesus had in effect sacrificed himself, and he seems even to have deliberately conceived the design of having himself slain (Matt. xvi. 1—23; xvii. 12, 21—23). M. Renan then, practically asserts the horrible doctrine that Christ was in effect a suicide! Nor is this profanity mitigated by the statement that Jesus sometimes viewed death as a sacrifice destined to appease his Father and to save men; that He had a singular taste for persecution and punishment, and that his blood seemed to him as the water of a second baptism, to which He hastened. Nevertheless, his views of the future were occasionally surprisingly grand. But, hurried away by this

fearful progression of enthusiasm, and commanded by the necessities of a preaching more and more exalted, Jesus was no longer free. The great vision of the kingdom of God turned his head (*lui donnait le vertige*), his work ceased to be one of reason and "faith," became his favourite word. Such was his state of mind, that it was time death should put an end to a like state of affairs, remove him from the impossibilities of a path without an exit, and by delivering him from too long a trial, introduce him henceforth impeccable into his celestial serenity.

Opposition to Jesus increased, and he was unable to meet it with the coolness of a philosopher; passion lay at the bottom of his character, and hence his alternations of gentleness and wrath, wherein he was like Lamennais. We may be thankful he found no law to punish insults upon a class of citizens. In connection with his differences with the Pharisees, we are assured that many men before Jesus, or at the same time, had taught religious doctrines more elevated and almost as evangelical. Upon the Pharisees he inflicted eternal disgrace, *and it was just* that this great Master of irony should pay for his triumph with his life.

The last journey to Jerusalem was undertaken; but we are reminded again of the dislike which he had for the place, and which the place had for him. But he found a retreat at Bethany. His teaching in this new world was much modified, and evidently deteriorated. For instance, he looks for *malentendus*; his argumentation is feeble when judged by the rules of Aristotelian logic, etc. Let us, however, note, that M. Renan (p. 348) pays due honour to the famous utterance, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's."

The enemies of Jesus plotted against him, but He continued his activity. At this point a great miracle was desired by his friends to produce an impression upon unbelieving Jerusalem. The miracle of Lazarus seems to have been the result. Lazarus was sick, and perhaps dressed out as a dead man, and laid in the family grave. Jesus was sent for and taken to the spot, and when the stone was removed Lazarus came forth. This was the resurrection of Lazarus: it was from first to last a fraud, and, as Jesus was no longer free, He was constrained to act the part he acted. M. Havet, one of the Renan school, speaks of this as the only resurrection accomplished by Christ; but Renan himself is too well informed to say this, and observes that two or three such deeds were already ascribed to him. This miracle appears to have hastened the end of Jesus. His death was resolved upon some time before it occurred, but he avoided his

pursuers. At length, however, he went back to Jerusalem, with ominous forebodings and sad at heart. His triumphant entry into the city was soon followed by his betrayal, condemnation and death. We decline to go into the details of the story as told by M. Renan, who is constrained to own amid the bizarre and heterogeneous sketches he gives, that the grandeur and glory of Jesus shine out during this last week in all their lustre. Nothing in this volume strikes us as more strange than the apostrophe at the end of the twenty-fifth chapter. It is in vain that we try to reconcile it with the general outline of the character of Jesus in the previous pages. No doubt it is the genuine utterance of the writer's heart, and shews that there are in him hidden springs, which sometimes break forth, induces the hope that he may in time employ his rare talents for nobler purposes, and almost persuades us that he is a Christian. No doubt that a keen criticism could find much in this passage to object to, but it is evident that even M. Renan is not insensible altogether to the power of the cross. He has just said that Jesus bowed his head upon his breast and expired, and he exclaims,—

“Rest now in thy glory, noble Initiator. Thy work is finished; thy divinity is founded. Fear no more to see the edifice of thy efforts fall through mistake. Henceforth, beyond the reach of frailty, from the height of divine peace, thou wilt be present at the infinite consequences of thy acts. At the cost of a few hours of suffering, which have not reached thy great soul, thou hast purchased the most complete immortality. For myriads of years, the world will depend on thee. Flag of our contradictions, thou wilt be the sign around which the most fiery battle will be fought. A thousand times more living, and a thousand times more loved since thy death, than during the days of thy passage here below,—thou wilt become to such a degree the corner-stone of humanity, that to pluck out thy name from this world, would be to shake it to its foundations. Between thee and God, men will no longer distinguish. Fully victor over death, take possession of thy kingdom, whither will follow thee, by the royal road which thou hast traced, generations of worshippers.”

The three final chapters of the volume, on Jesus in the tomb, the lot of his enemies, and the essential character of his work, offer many points for observation, but we do not care to take them up. With M. Renan, the life of Jesus ended on the cross. He lays the Saviour in the sepulchre, it is true, but he leaves Him there. The resurrection is but an hallucination of the enthusiasts who believed in Him after his decease. The final chapter is one upon which an essay would be required, so full is it of matters open to discussion. In it opinions of almost every shade appear to be combined, and the result is, an impression of

the most painful description. The bright lines do not relieve the darkness, but rather make it visible. Amid so much panegyric, we are appalled to encounter the declaration, for instance, that although Jesus did not know the names even of Buddha, Zoroaster, and Plato, and had read no Greek book or Buddhist Sutra, *there was in Him more than one element which, without his suspecting it, was derived from Buddhism, Parseeism and Greek wisdom* (page 454).

The religion of Christ is the universal religion—the religion for humanity; but to be this it must, it seems, be derived from the world at large, and be viewed as a natural consequence of what preceded it. But anyhow, the religion of Christ ceases to be original. The glory of Christ is henceforth but fortuitous,—he was the medium and agent for shaping and uttering the ideas and aspirations of the world. We must look for the remoter sources of Christianity to Buddhism, to the Parsees, and to Greek culture. The divinity of Jesus is no more than the apotheosis of a hero, if indeed it is so much, for his one idea of the kingdom of God, was often modified, and his career was not “on and straight on, nor turn nor bend.” His course was one in which he often stumbled, and was thus, more fully than most of us think, “found in fashion as a man.” His heroic death, however, and some things in his tragi-comedy of a life, justify M. Renan not only in throwing the mantle of charity over him, but in pronouncing his panegyric. It is in vain to tell us of the glory, greatness, and originality of Jesus, in the face of the oft-repeated charges of being neither great, glorious, nor original. We cannot exactly accuse M. Renan of removing him bodily from history, although, as we have looked upon the so-called sketch, we have been unable to recognize him; we have often been like Mary after the resurrection, when she “supposed him to be the gardener,” and we have been ready to cry out, “They have taken away our Lord, and we know not where they have laid him!” M. Renan, to change the figure, has gone to the grand old temple of the gospels, and has found it antiquated, imperfect, and unfitted for modern worshippers. He has ignored the divinity of its architect, and the supernatural guidance of its builders; he has denied the sanctity of its oracles, and the perfection of its Deity. He has broken down its porch of the incarnation, the buttresses of its prophecies, and the pillars of its miracles. He has taken down its walls of truth, and dug up its foundations of holiness. He has left no altar nor sacrifice for sin. He has overthrown its high tower of the resurrection. He has reconstructed a new house out of the old materials, so

far as he could shape them to his purpose, and he has added new elements of his own seeking. He has reduced the dimensions of the palace of the great king to the miserable proportions of a conventicle; and for a house not made with hands, he has given us one of his own construction.

We are reminded, as we write, of that fine passage in the "Living Temple" where the desolation and the fragmentary glory of the house are set forth. M. Renan's temple is somewhat like that, and our only consolation is, that he has found it utterly impossible to blot out all its glories. Still, here and there upon the fragments of the old gospels which he has had to retain, we trace in broken characters the evidences of former magnificence, and honour, that **HERE GOD ONCE DWELT.**

We have endeavoured faithfully to describe M. Renan's work very much in its own words, and we leave it to the common sense of our readers to decide whether or not that work is fitted to supersede the four old gospels as a more faithful portrait of the Saviour, as a more faithful narrative of his life and death, as a more credible account of the origin of the Christian Church, and as a more satisfactory basis for our belief in the everlasting Gospel.

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*Jewish Beauties.*—We have heard much of the beauty and amiability of the Jewish ladies, and our visit to the family of Mr. Farki shewed us that in this instance report had not exaggerated. The family consisted of a father, a mother, and four daughters. The mother was said to have been once singularly handsome, but she had grown so stout that all trace of beauty was lost. Two of the daughters were exceedingly pretty, which will scarcely be credited, when the decorating process is known which these ladies had gone through; their hair had been shaved off and replaced by a wig, their eyebrows were shaved off and replaced by a line of black paint traced upon their forehead, their cheeks were painted pink, their eyes were painted black, with a line extending nearly to the ears, looking like spectacles. In spite of this disfigurement they were pretty—very pretty, for nothing could disguise their delicately shaped features and the lovely gazelle-like eyes shaded with long black lashes. One, an arch little coquette of fourteen, knew very well how pretty she was, and seemed by no means displeased with the admiration she excited. She was as fair as an English girl, and though her features were perhaps less regularly beautiful than those of her eldest sister, her face was more attractive, from having been left to nature; her hair and eyebrows were of a bright, light brown, and as yet unshaven, for this spoliation does not take place until the wedding-day; our little friend, however, being fourteen, was to be married this year. Her next sister, who is about sixteen, brought her baby—a small thing a few months old. It was a wonder-struck child, looking like an old man in a perpetual state of astonishment, for the eyes were so blackened with antimony that it had the appearance of wearing a large pair of spectacles, especially as the line of black extended beneath the cap. The antimony is prepared with gum-water, and is applied to the lids with a piece of stick. It is generally used every second or third day, as it makes the eyes smart; but some have a theory that when the body is fed the eyes should be refreshed also, and apply the antimony after every meal.

**ÆTHIOPIC LITURGIES, HYMNS, etc.**

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(Continued from Vol. IV. (New Series), p. 131.)

THE following Form of Prayer is appended, at page 170 of the Roman edition of the New Testament in Æthiopic, to the three Liturgies already published in the two previous numbers of this Journal, and is probably intended to be used at the discretion of the Priest, in connection with, or as introductory to, the stated and invariable parts of the general form for celebrating the Holy Sacrament. Indeed the precatory part of all the Liturgies seems to be more or less variable in each, although the words of institution are nearly identical in all; and as an instance of this, a translation is now given of the Liturgy of Dioscorus, as far as the end of the words of institution—and the words of institution (as of most interest to Liturgists) from the unpublished Æthiopic Liturgies of St. Chrysostom, and St. John the son of Thunder, from MS. British Museum 16202. The Liturgy of St. Athanasius, with which that MS. concludes, is unfortunately incomplete; and the title of another Liturgy which is otherwise complete, is not given in full, but stands as the Eucharistic office of *our Lord Ts.* . . . fol. 69. I am unable to discover to what saint this initial can refer. It may possibly stand for *tsedug*, and so be a title of our Lord as “the righteous one.” The form of celebration used at Funerals is taken from the MS. marked G in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of considerable antiquity, written probably in the fifteenth century. The handwriting of the Eucharistic portion is different from that of the body of the MS., and the folios containing it wear the appearance of having been taken from some yet more ancient MS. The burial office itself is also given.

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In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God.

*Then the Priest shall say a Prayer, and offer the incense, and say the “Our Father” and “the Prayer of Thanksgiving.”*

*Then shall he again offer the incense, saying:—*

Accept from me, O Lord, even from me a sinner and offender, this pure incense for the forgiveness of our sins and for all Thy people. I ask, O Lord my God, and beseech of Thee as Thou didst accept the offering of Abel and the sacrifices of Enoch and Noah, and Abraham, and the incense of Aaron, and Samuel, and Zacharias, accept this pure incense from me as a sweet smelling savour *and* expiation of my sin. And pardon Thou

the offences of Thy people, for blessed art Thou, and due glory and praise, now and ever, world without end.

*Then he says thrice*,—Halleluiah to the Father, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end.

*Then say*,—Psalm

*And after this*,—The grace of the Father, and the grace of the Son, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, to the prophets, and apostles, saints and martyrs, and monks, of our lady Mary, of the watchful angels of the patriarchs, of God the Father, be with me, and all. Amen.

*Say thus, thrice, going round the tabernacle*,—God our blessed and holy patriarch Abba N, and our blessed and holy bishop Abba N and all patriarchs, bishops, archdeacons and deacons, the prayers which they pray, offer up the incense which ascends to the lofty heaven, the wrath of God. Amen, Amen. God grant to our beloved of God, to accomplish the thought of his heart, his enemies and foes near and afar off, subjected to him, the might of the cross of Jesus Christ. God grant Christian people, the fear of his name, the beauty of his name, and the grace of mercy. Amen. God still His anger, and forth His compassion and mercy upon the earth. And bid you shew forth the grace of the Holy Spirit. Make with me, and with you all, and with Selasse.\* Amen.

*Then say*,—I will offer incense unto Thee with thyme, and myrrh and gum, and cassia. Amen. Thy grace, etc.<sup>b</sup> Accept my prayer as incense before Thee. Again offer to Thee this incense in Thy presence for my sins, the sins of Thy people, that Thou mayest forgive them, and have compassion on them, for Thou art the Merciful. To Thee be laud for ever and ever. Amen.

We will praise Thee, O Lord, Ruler of all the world, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We speak of Thee the manner of man who is but flesh; pardon us, and be angry with us for ever, but multiply Thy mercy upon us, and speedily send forth thy mercy upon us.

We ask, O Lord, and beseech Thee, for the suffering sick, that Thou wouldest heal them.

For sinners and transgressors, that Thou wouldest forgive their sins and offences.

\* Selasse was one of three other monks, who came over to Rome with Zion.

<sup>b</sup> The text is probably corrupt; this word from the Psalm is perhaps the first of the Psalm, and an indication that the whole is to be chanted.

For righteous men and women, that thou wouldest not bring their thoughts to nought.

For those who lie upon their beds in sore pain, and who are in anguish, that Thou wouldest heal them.

For the dead, that Thou wouldest preserve their souls in righteousness and peace.

For women in child-birth, that their time may be without distress and pain.

For those who are born, that Thou wouldest bring them to man's estate, and for those who grow up, that Thou wouldest preservethem, and repel the evil works of Satan from them evermore.

For all the guardian angels, who pray for mercy for all creation. Hear their prayers.

For the heathens who are converted and gathered within Thy holy baptism. Preserve and strengthen them as the flock of Christ.

For Thy holy Church, that Thou wouldest strengthen its foundations and establish it by the overshadowing of the might of the Holy Ghost, and bless it evermore with the blessings of heaven and earth,—with the blessing of the watcher angels,<sup>c</sup>—with the blessing of the prophets and apostles, and that Thou wouldest sanctify it by Thy holy and precious blood.

For those who journey, that Thou wouldest journey with them, and cause them to return in safety and in peace.

For rain; that Thou wouldest send rain upon all the earth, which Thou hast created for sowing and harvest.

For the fruits of the earth, that Thou wouldest bring them to their full growth and make them fertile, and multiply the fruits of the earth for our food, and for the repletion of the souls of all flesh.

For the waters of the rivers, that their waters may ascend and diffuse themselves over all the face of the earth, for the thirsty.

For our king N, that Thou wouldest preserve his kingdom, in righteousness and peace; his palace and his armies do Thou preserve.

For those who bring offerings—of those who bring offerings in purity, do Thou accept the offerings; and purify Thou the offerings of the impure.

For the neophytes (catechumens) of Thy people, that Thou wouldest keep and strengthen them, and remove from them all remains of idolatry. Put thy law and thy commandments into their heart.

For peace; King of Peace, give us peace, for Thou hast

<sup>c</sup> For an account of the *ἐγρηγόροι*, or watchers, see the Book of Enoch vii. 1; and x. 13, etc.



given us all things, O Lord our God. Take us as Thy heritage and deal graciously with us, O Lord, for we acknowledge none save Thee, and will make mention of and call upon Thy name. Send down Thy peace out of heaven into our hearts.

For the presbyters, and deacons, and anagnosts, and deaconesses, and for children, and the aged, and for nuns, and widows, and for men and women, and for all creation. Have mercy, O Lord, upon Thy work, and forget not the cry of Thy servants.

For our patriarch and bishops, that Thou wouldest keep them, and take charge of them all their days in peace, that they perform and accomplish the priesthood which they have received of Thee.

For our congregations; grant us that they may be a house of prayer, a house of joy and rejoicing, henceforth and for ever.

Let us pray to our good shepherd; have mercy upon us, and spare us, and those who offer to Thee this sweet incense of Thy holy Church, which do Thou accept from them.

Ordain us not unto perdition.

Save us, and exchange our heavy burden of sin for Thy light burden.

Deliver us from every evil work, for ever and ever. Amen.

### *The Prayer of the Incense.*

We ask, O Lord, and beseech of Thee for those who are in bonds, that Thou wouldest set them free; and for the afflicted, that Thou wouldest console them, and for the sorrowful that Thou wouldest give them joy.

For the naked that thou wouldest clothe them; for the poor that Thou wouldest enrich them, and for the rich that Thou wouldest preserve them.

For those who journey, that Thou wouldest journey with them, and prosper their journey, and for those who are engaged in war, That thou wouldest cause them to return in peace.

For infants, that Thou wouldest rear them, and for those who are grown up, that Thou wouldest keep them.

For the sick, that Thou wouldest visit them, and for the suffering, that Thou wouldest heal them.

For those who labour, that Thou wouldest bless the fruit of their toil.

For our patriarch, bishop, bishops, and monks, that they may not defile their stole.

For presbyters and deacons, that they may not defile their office.

For kings, that they may guide their kingdoms aright, and

for judges, that Thou wouldest give them good counsel whereby they make take heed unto themselves upon the earth.

For sinners and transgressors, that Thou wouldest pardon their sins and offences.

For the dispersed that thou wouldest gather them together.

For the Churches, that their foundations may never be moved, after the manner of the Jerusalem which was builded: for those who have fallen, that they may rise again, and for those who have not fallen, that Thou wouldest not cause them to fall.

That Thou wouldest open to us the way of righteousness that is closed, and close the way of sin that is opened.

Thou who didst pour forth Thy mercy in the days of Thy servant Moses, in like manner pour out Thy mercy upon us in this world, and in the world to come. Amen.

And afterwards Thou shalt say: Jeremiah prayed in the temple, and said, Holy, holy, holy art Thou, sweet and pleasant unto man—a light that hath indeed shined upon us. We have come into Thy presence to make our petition concerning Thy people, and for the advocacy of the seraphim, and for the sweet incense of the seraphim; we ask of Thee, O Michael, skilled in singing, righteous angel, who openeth the gates of paradise that He may bring us in: we beseech Thee, O Lord of the universe, who ruleth all, and created all things visible and invisible, who perfected all things. And all creation was a mystery with them, ere yet the secret things were made.

*Prayer over the Balsam and the Incense.*

We render thanks unto Thee, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for this sacred odour, for thou hast not given it alone to us, but the holy odour of the Holy Spirit. We render thanks unto Thee for this marvellous work, and for all the grace wherein Thou hast been gracious unto us in Thine only Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, for ever and ever. Amen.

*A Prayer at the Distribution.*

O God, Jesus Christ my Lord, and the Holy Saviour, hear this, my prayer, and accomplish all the desires of me, Thy servant *Tesfa Zion* in the riches of Thy glory, and in the abundance of Thy mercy: take not away that which Thou hast given me, O Lord; give me grace, and life, and might, and strength, and that I may subdue my foes and enemies: and forgive me all my sins, and write my name in the Book of Life, and remember me in Thy kingdom with all Thy servants who have been well-pleasing to Thee in their lives—even me, Thy servant *Tesfa Zion*, for ever and ever. Amen.

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## THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE OF DIOSCORUS.

May his prayer be with his servant Arca Selus for ever and ever. Amen.

Before the world was, and for ever, is God in His kingdom, God in His Trinal Being, God in His Deity. Before the dawn and morning, before day and night, before the angels were created, was God in His kingdom. Before the heavens were stretched out, and ere the face of the dry land appeared; before the mountains uprose, and before the herbs grew, was God in His kingdom. Before the sun and the moon and the stars, before the rising and setting (lit., *turnings*) of the luminaries, was God in His kingdom. Before man was created in His own image and likeness, and before his *creative* behest was given, was God in His kingdom. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and ever, world without end.

*The Deacon*,—Pray to the blessed one.

*Priest*,—Let the heaven listen, and the earth hear, and let its foundations quake. By the will of His Father He came down to Mary, and made His tabernacle in her pure virginity. God was born.

*Deacon*,—Ye who are seated arise.

*Priest*,—He was placed in the cave,<sup>\*</sup>

Royal presents were offered to Him,

Like other babes He wept,

Food craved He from His mother's breasts.<sup>†</sup>

*Deacon*,—Turn to the east. He came forth to public view. He grew up by degrees. At thirty years of age He was baptized in Jordan. Let us behold.

*Priest*,—As a man didst Thou fast;

In the desert He sojourned;

By the devil was He tempted;

By the might of His Deity He drove the demons into darkness.

*Deacon*,—Respond.

[*Priest and People*],—Holy, holy, holy, is God in His Trinity. He is the king who manifested His humility as a servant.

*Deacon*,—Respond.

*Priest*,—He stretched forth His hands to the Passion. He became in fashion as a man, that He might liberate man from the yoke of sin. On that night when they betrayed Him,

*Deacon*,—Arise.

<sup>\*</sup> i. e., The φάτνη of St. Luke. Thus rendered in the Æthiopic New Testament.

<sup>†</sup> These four lines, like the following priest's part, are in rhyme.

*Priest*,—He took bread into His holy, blessed, and immaculate hands; He looked up to heaven, to Thee His Father; He gave thanks; He blessed and brake, and gave it to His holy apostles and pure disciples, and said to them, Take, eat; this bread is My body which is broken for you for the remission of sins: and as often as ye do this, ye make a commemoration of me.

And again, after supper, He mingled wine and water; He gave thanks, He blessed and sanctified, and delivered it to His pure apostles and holy disciples, and said to them, Take, drink of this cup which is My blood, which is shed for the ransom of many.

Then the Jews apprehended and placed Him at the bar of judgment, to whom archangels bow down with fear and trembling; they crucified Him on the tree, and nailed Him with nails and smote His head with a reed; they gave Him vinegar to drink for His thirst, who had given Israel to drink from the square rock, to each a fountain.<sup>s</sup> He who cannot die, died; He died that He might abolish death; He died that He might give life to the dead, that He might give them hope by the word of a covenant. They took Him down from the tree, and wrapped Him in linen clothes, and buried Him in a new tomb; on the third day He rose again from the dead; He went where His disciples were assembled, and shewed Himself to them in the temple of Zion, and in forty days ascended up into heaven, having commanded them, saying, Await ye the promise of the Father; and in fifty days He sent down upon them the Holy Ghost like fire, and they spake in the speech of all the lands. Even so in like manner send down the same Holy Spirit upon this bread and upon this cup, that He may make the bread the holy body, and this cup the blood of Thy side,<sup>a</sup> even as thou didst say, He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood shall be with Me, and I will be with him.

*Deacon*,—With all your hearts.

*Priest*,—Grant that this Thy communion may be to all Thy people for sanctity, and for cleansing from pollution, and for eternal salvation. Amen.

The prayer at the fraction, etc., etc., etc.

<sup>s</sup> In the original are the following words, "from the four (thus) stones, to each a fountain." This may allude to the Rabbinic tradition adopted by the Muhammadans, and mentioned by Sale in his notes to the Koran in Suras ii. and vii., that such was the stone which Moses struck with his rod, and that "*every tribe knew their drinking place.*"

<sup>a</sup> The text reads, *eloquent side*; but the Æthiopic word is so difficult to decipher that I have omitted it in the translation.

THE WORDS OF INSTITUTION, FROM THE ÆTHIOPIC LITURGY OF  
ST. CHERYSOSTOM.<sup>i</sup>

He took bread into His holy, pure, and immaculate hands. He looked up to heaven to Thee His Father, the God and Lord of all, Most High; He gave thanks; He blessed, and brake, and gave it to His disciples, and said to them, This is my body, the food of very righteousness; He that eateth of it shall live for ever. Take, eat it.

And in like manner the cup. He mingled water and wine: He gave thanks: He blessed, and sanctified, and delivered it to His disciples, and said to them, This is My blood, the drink of very life; He that drinketh of it shall live for ever. Take, drink ye all of it. This is a sign to you, and to those who come after you; and thus celebrate ye My commemoration till I come again.

In the Liturgy of St. John the son of thunder, the Æthiopic text has simply, THIS IS MY BODY, THIS IS MY BLOOD; and in the Liturgy mentioned in the introductory note, p. 363, it reads, TAKE, EAT, THIS IS MY BODY (but the Æthiopic word for bread has been inserted in a very minute but more recent hand after the word *this*), THOU GAVEST THEM THY VERY BLOOD. Also, at fol. 48 of MS. Brit. Mus. 16202, in a Liturgy for common use, the words of institution occur without any addition.

THE FOLLOWING OFFICE IS THAT USED AS PART OF THE FUNERAL  
RITE.

*The Priest shall say*,—The Lord be with you all. Lift up your hearts.

*People*,—And with Thy Spirit.

*Priest*,—Praise ye our God.

*People*,—It is meet and right.

*Priest*,—Holy things for the holy.

We praise Thee, O Lord, in the love of Thy Son, our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom in these latter days Thou hast sent to us as our Saviour and Redeemer, the angel of Thy counsel, the word who *proceedeth* from Thee, by whom Thou hast wrought out all Thy will.

And to us and to all Thou hast given rest of their souls, and hast had mercy on them.

Who hast sent Thy Son from heaven into the womb of the

<sup>i</sup> It will be seen that this text differs from the text of the words of institution, as given by Dr. Neale, p. 135, and the Paris folio edition of 1560.

Virgin, who became flesh, and was made known as Thy Son by the Holy Ghost.

Thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand angels and archangels offer praises in Thy presence, and the venerable beasts with six wings, the seraphim and cherubim: with twain they cover their faces; with twain they cover their feet; with twain they fly from one end of the world to the other: with all these then who sanctify and praise Thee evermore accept this our ascription of holiness while we say, Holy, holy, holy, right full are the heavens and earth of the sanctity of Thy glory, through our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Holy is Thy Son who was born of the Virgin, came to fulfil Thy will and acquire a people for Thee, stretched forth His hands to the passion. He suffered that He might deliver those who suffer, and destroy death, and break the bonds of Satan, and tread down hell; He led forth the saints, fulfilled the law, and made known His resurrection; and on the same night whereon He was betrayed took bread into His holy hand.

He looked up to heaven unto Thee, unto His Father, gave thanks, blessed and brake, and gave it to those His disciples, saying to them, Take, eat, all of you, this bread which is My body, which for your sakes is broken for the remission of sins. And in like manner the cup: He gave thanks, and blessed it, and sanctified it, and said to them, Take ye, drink all of you of this cup which is My blood, which is shed for your sakes for the remission of sin.

For as often as ye perform this, ye will celebrate (do) my commemoration. We remember, therefore, His death and resurrection: we put our confidence in Thee: and we offer to Thee this bread and this cup: we render thanks to Thee who in Him hast made us meet to stand before Thee: to Thee do we perform this priestly office: we ask and beseech of Thee, O Lord, to send down Thy holy Spirit and power on this bread and on this cup, and make them the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Infuse<sup>i</sup> into us of Thy Holy Spirit, and grant to all those who partake hereof that it may be to them for sanctity, and for the strengthening of their faith, and for the fulness of Thy Holy Spirit.

Blessed be the name of the Lord, and blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, and blessed be the name of His majesty.

In the Liturgy used probably by the monks of Abba Tecla Haimanoth, at fol. 57 of the MS. Brit. Mus. 16202, a similar form of the words of institution occurs.

<sup>i</sup> Lit., *mingle*.

## AT THE BURIAL OF YOUNG GIRLS. HALLELUIAH. PSALM ciii.

He hath placed me in the lowest pit, in darkness and the shadow of death.

Unto Thee, O Lord, do I cry.

They have cast off their brethren like an unclean corpse.

Cast not Thou me off, O Lord my God, and be not Thou far from me.

They have displaced me from their hearts like a dead man *out of mind*; and I have become like a broken vessel. Deliver me then for Thy mercy sake, and put me not to shame, O Lord, for I have called upon Thee.

1 Cor. xv. 50—58.

*And before the Gospel.* For I am a stranger on earth, and a sojourner with thee, as all my fathers were. Refresh me that I may find rest ere I go thither, whence I shall not return.

Matt. ix. 18—31. *Then is said the Agios, and the prayer: afterwards the Gospel of the three children and the Creed. And after it is said this prayer:—*

We beseech Thee, O our High Priest and Lord Jesus Christ, the doer of good and lover of mankind, be gracious to this Thy handmaiden, a virgin and child N. She hath now quitted her body, as all her friends and fathers have done, and hath gone to Thee, the eternal God. May her coming to Thee be well-pleasing; enlighten her with that torch which cannot be extinguished, and number her with her fathers and her associates, the virgins whom Thou hast made first at Thy table, in the joy of those who have pleased Thee; and raise them up again according to the hope that cannot lie, in the resurrection of the righteous dead; that she may receive her portion and inheritance in Thy kingdom. To Thee be praise, and to Thy gracious Son, and the holy life-giving Spirit, who is equal with Thee, now and always, world without end. Amen and Amen. May it be. May it be. Forgive me.

## AT THE DEATH OF AN INFANT.

Be thou my help, and cast me not off, and despise me not, O my God and Saviour.

Though my father and my mother cast me off, the Lord will receive me. I believe that I shall see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. *The Halleluiahs are here chanted.*

Blessed is He whom Thou choosest and acceptest, and causest to dwell in Thy courts: satiate us with the blessings of Thy house, of Thy holy courts, and . . .

[The MS. has here lost a folio.]

O our God, who art verily the word of the Almighty Father, and Lord of every creature, inseparable from the bosom of his Father, our Lord, Saviour, and Benefactor to us all, Thou knowest the secrets of men, and that which man comprehendeth not. Of Thee, therefore, do we ask, and to Thee do we look up, O Thou lover of men, according to the greatness of Thy goodness and mercy and compassion, to receive at our hands this infant, free from *actual* sin, this Thy servant N, who hath not finished his life on earth, nor enjoyed its good things, and not given or received aught but milk, and not strong drink, and hath not polluted his garment or violated his virginity; we implore Thee to give him rest and receive his soul; for if Thou shalt retain sin there is none that shall be pure in Thy sight.

Even if their span were but a single day upon the earth, yet out of Thine own mouth hast Thou been good and gracious to infants when Thou didst say, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones. I tell you that in heaven their angels do evermore behold the face of my Father who is in heaven;" so now number the soul of Thy servant N among the number of infants who are assembled in His presence in the place of rest in Thy kingdom, the one hundred and forty-four thousand, and clothe it with them in pure and undefiled raiment, in the repose of light which Thou hast prepared for those who have been well pleasing to Thee. We make our humble suit to Thee, O Lord (who searchest out our minds and triest the heart, and knowest all, whether hidden or open, that is therein), for this Thy servant, his father and his mother, that Thou wouldst hear their cry and the trouble of their heart with weeping and grief.

For Thou, O God, and lover of men, didst go to the city of Nain, and didst raise up the widow's son: so raise up for them another seed in his stead, that it may rejoice the eyes of their grief, for Thou art He that dispellest our grief from us, Jesus Christ our Lord. To Thee be praise, with Thy beneficent Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

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*The people then say the Pater Noster, and the Priest the Prayer for Repentance, or "Lord have mercy on us" (Psalm xl. 11, ad. f.); and afterwards "I bury him." Then the Priest says "The Prayer of the Grave," and "the Absolution" over the grave a second time.*

*On the third day the "Halleluiahs" shall be said, and incense offered over the grave, and St. Paul be read till a month is completed.*

*Before the Gospel, "Their brethren have cast him off as an unclean corpse."*



*St. John.* "Then Jesus wept;" "Lazarus;" "the Creed," and the following prayer:—

Grant unto us, O our High Priest, who are unworthy to mention before Thee Thy servant N, for this is the third day since he hath gone to his rest.—Grant him grace and mercy, for he hath departed forth from his body, and rests from the troubles of this world.

We beseech Thee, O our High Priest, that as Thou hast given him rest from this passing world, and hast taken him to Thyself, so vouchsafe him a place of rest according to Thy good pleasure, for Thou art the Saviour of us all, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the life of us all, and the deliverer and hope of us all, and the resurrection of us all who believe on Thee; make us all pure; for to Thee is due glory and power, to Thy Father the Beneficent, and the Holy Spirit the Life-giving, now and for ever, world without end. Amen and Amen.

*On the seventh day this shall be said over the Grave: the Eucharist, and incense shall be offered, and St. Paul shall be read to the end of the month; and before the Gospel, "My strength is dried up like a potsherd."*

Gospel of Luke xx. 27—38. Prayer:—

We worship Thee, O holy Father, we worship Thee, O only-begotten Son, we worship Thee, O Holy Ghost, and make request to Thee for Thy servant N, who hath quitted this world as all his fathers and brothers have done, that he may have rest and tranquillity in his passage to Thee, O God of all spirits, and Lord of all flesh, for Thou art the treasure-house of mercy, goodness and compassion, and rest.

*This office shall be said at the end of the month, and at the half year, and at all commemorations of the Dead; and the Eucharist shall be offered and incense, and St. Paul to the Colossians shall be read (i. 12—22).*

"They have put me out of heart like him that is dead, and I have become like a broken vessel" (Luke xiv. 7—15).

As Solomon hath said, The pitcher is broken at the well, and the colour of the silver is changed, and the beauty of the gold is injured, and the song of the damsels who go about the streets is still, and those who chant, and still are they who ground at the millstone. Dust returneth to dust, and the soul faileth before Thee, our Creator and our God, and our comforter in all our sorrows, which greatly enslave us. Our flesh is dried up, and our strength vanisheth away; the heart ceaseth to beat, and the

thoughts of the heart become vain, and the ear is sealed up, and the throat is choked, and the eyes fail which have looked upon the brightness, that eye which gleams like the lightning; and the power of smelling is taken away, for the nostril and speech is bound, and mutual converse; and bound are both the hands, and the feet fail to stir, and the vision which saw from afar is cut short: for the soul cometh unto Thee to receive its recompence. But if Thou, O Lord, shalt enter into judgment with us, and shalt contend with us sinners, O Lord, who shall stand before Thee? But since Thou art the compassionate, have mercy on all Thy handiwork; spare us at all times, as a father hath mercy on his beloved sons, who spareth his sons, the youngest of them as well as the great, the servant and the lord, for they are all partakers of the flesh of Thy only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. To Thee be praise with Him, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

We beseech Thee now, in the presence of Thy glory, and humble the sluggishness of our hearts before Thee, who hast fashioned man without and within, for we are Thy servants, O Lord Almighty. We make our suit unto Thee of Thy goodness, who art full of mercy, on behalf of the soul of Thy servant N, and having regard to Thy command, which bestows life through Thy good pleasure, who art evermore full of blessing. Let Thy *will*, which is all compassion, be done, and give him a place of refreshment, and quiet, and repose, and the dwelling of the saints until the resurrection of the just, when Thou shalt reward every creature according to his works, at the appearing of Thy anointed, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom, to Thee, with Him, and with the Holy Ghost, be laud and power, now and world without end. Amen.

[To be continued.]

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## THE TREE OF LIFE.

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. PIPER.

WE cannot hear the word paradise mentioned, without being filled with deep and awful impressions of the glory which the first works of God had as they came fresh from his hand—that garden which he planted, and the first man whom he formed after his own image. If we take a nearer survey, however, emotions arise that are quite contradictory in their nature; for, on the one hand, enveloped in the haze of creation's morning, the sacred precinct and all that it encloses seems carried away to an infinite distance from us, and in vain we seek for its trace on earth; on the other hand, the events and the actors appear to us quite familiar; they are the great ancestors of our race; what they do and what they suffer perpetuates itself in their children, and we read their story as if it concerned ourselves. And then again, when we attempt to penetrate to the secret springs and causes of the events recorded, difficulties perplex us at every step, and we feel conscious that the primeval record of mankind points to a concealed connection with the supernatural, and that it loses itself in the history of the world of spirits.

These contrarieties, which have their origin in the subject itself, on a one-sided view have led to very opposite explanations. At one time the events, though recognized as real, have been described as entirely supernatural—an opinion chiefly maintained among the fathers by Origen. How very far back in the antehistorical period he set the whole story of our first parents in paradise, may be seen from his understanding their being clothed with the skins of animals after the fall,—an event which took place late in the period of their sojourn, to signify the imprisonment of the souls of the fallen angels in human bodies—a very bold interpretation to put upon Gen. iii. 21, and which became one of the chief articles of accusation against him. He farther maintains paradise to be the same third heaven to which Paul was raised, and its two trees to be the angelic powers. On the other hand, it has been a favourite view of the rationalism which has sprung up since the last century, to regard the whole narrative as symbolical and descriptive of an internal procedure: and accordingly, as the action of the conscience, the neglect and contravention of its dictates, and the accusatory thoughts which follow. This symbolic sense is certainly to be found; but it does not affect the historic reality.

ro It is indeed impossible on reading the Mosaic narrative, stricken the mind is void of preconception, to get rid of the im-

pression that we have historical events before us, or at least that the writer so regarded them. The sacred record speaks right out from the soul of primeval mankind, with whom the extraordinary was the natural; the narration is direct and simple, and adapts itself to the events, which are read off as if from a tablet. It leaves no room for a suspicion of design and invention; at the same time they have too substantial a character to admit of their being interpreted as belonging to the indescribable, or the unutterable (such as Paul saw in his trance, and which he could not utter), or as if they were the bodily forms of ideas which are far remote from daily life and experience. Just on this very account do we owe it to the author, even although he were not a great prophet, to follow him in the spirit in which he has conceived the events, so long as no internal contradiction gives us cause to seek another path. So long only can our steps be safe, so long only will they rest on the ground of history. If once we leave this solid track, we shall scarcely be repaid by the interpretation of "a hieroglyph."

Setting out with this general conception of the record, and giving no decision as to its details, we intend to single out one object which it sets before us for special consideration—*THE TREE OF LIFE*, and, so far as it is connected with it, *THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE*.

The latter has at all times been the subject of much discussion; it belongs equally to sacred history and to theology; a full apprehension of it being requisite to the understanding of the fall. Less has been said of the tree of life,<sup>a</sup> which men only name, without attempting to trace its connection with the events, and then immediately it is allowed to fall back into obscurity. Yet although dogmatic Christianity silently passes the subject over, it still remains a question in sacred history, as well as in Biblical theology. Nor are aids to the interpretation of the tree wanting. Of especial value to this end is the comparison of it with the tree of knowledge, and the use which is made of it in both Testaments; while the treatment it has received in profane literature must not be neglected; nor, finally, the conception formed of it in the Church, wherever it has been clearly developed, in doctrine, in worship, and in art. All covered with enigma as the tree appears to be, yet we shall find a reflex of its real shape and significance; provided we only follow closely the conceptions formed of it at different periods, and trace the changes it has undergone from different hands.

Our purpose then is to treat of the paradisiacal tree of life;

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<sup>a</sup> The literature and history of its interpretation will be given below.

I. First of all as Scripture presents it to us ; II. To give a history of its interpretation in the church, with especial reference to the application made of the tree to the person and cross of Christ ; III. To glance at the position it has held in public worship, and in morality ; IV., and finally, to consider its artistic representations.

I. *Explanation of the tree of life according to Scripture.*—

1. Of the trees which God made to grow in the garden of Eden, two are specially named ;—*the tree of life* in the midst of the garden, and *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*. The history of the fall and of its immediate consequences is connected with both. The first comes again to be spoken of, but only with the view of making the consequences of the fall manifest ; God now expressing his purpose of preventing Adam from eating of the tree of life, and living for ever. Accordingly, after the expulsion from paradise, the way to the tree of life is guarded by the cherubim with the sword.

The expression "*tree*," or "*wood of life*," occurs again more than once in the Old Testament ; without any reference to the tree of paradise, although in connection with a similar idea.

2. We remark at the outset, that the language of the Bible not only associates the idea of life with objects within the vegetable kingdom, but extends it to other objects upon the earth's surface. Water especially adapts itself to this idea of life. As in life there is no such thing as *standing still*, but continual motion, so flowing water is called "*living water*" (Lev. xiv. 5, 6) ; and since vitality has the ground or cause of its movement, not in anything else, but in itself, spring water that flows forth in irrepressible streams, is all the more called living water<sup>b</sup> (Gen. xxvi. 19 ; Song of Solomon iv. 15). The representation finds a ready application in that which is moral and spiritual ; nay, it is used to furnish an image for the first cause of all life. The living fountain is found in the mouth of the righteous, and in the doctrine of the wise (Prov. x. 11, 13, 14), in understanding (xiv. 22), and in the fear of the Lord (xiv. 27) ; finally, in God himself (Psalm xxxvi. 9) ; he himself is the fountain of life,<sup>c</sup> or the source of living water, in contra-

<sup>b</sup> Its inexhaustibleness is very well put by Macarius Chrysocephalus, in a simile which he takes from the river which went out of Eden to water the garden (*Orat. in exalt. crucis, in Gretseri Opp.*, t. ii., p. 152, A.B.), "Should any one come to a fountain, he would naturally wonder at the greatness of the wonder ; but if he would see the whole of the water, he would never be able to behold it, however long he might look, for he would see it continually flowing forth, but not the origin of the stream."

<sup>c</sup> These passages, however, can only be quoted in this reference, when in the phrase, "*the fountain of life*," the genitive is taken, not as the object (to be translated *fons salutis* according to Gesen., *Thesaur.*, s.v. *chai*), but as the pre-

distinction to the broken cisterns which men make to themselves (Jer. ii. 13; comp. xvii. 13). Still farther, the *way* of life is spoken of (Prov. ii. 19; v. 6; x. 17; xv. 24).<sup>4</sup> This way, on which there is no death but life (xii. 28), leads to life (v. 5, 6); by which not only existence, but all that renders existence valuable, health and weal are understood. And this water in which there is life, is fraught with life-giving powers. We see then that the tree of life is so called, because life is in it, and comes from it, as also because it bears the fruit of life, and nourishes with vital powers.

Still farther, the idea of a tree of life has been incorporated into the figurative language of the Old Testament, especially of the Psalms and of the Proverbs, the latter employing the very name. Following this, the prophets have given of the tree of life a description which has been transferred into the New Testament.

As it is said of the dwelling of the upright that it shall be ever flourishing (Prov. xiv. 11), so the righteous man himself is compared to a tree, and the people of God to a garden of God. David comforts himself that he shall be like a green olive-tree in the temple of God (Psalm lii. 8). Of the godly man it is said in the Psalms, "He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; whose leaf also shall not wither" (i. 3); he "shall flourish like a palm-tree, and grow like the cedars of Lebanon," etc. (xcii. 13—15). In like manner in the Proverbs: "the righteous shall flourish like a branch;" "the root of the righteous shall not be moved," and "it yieldeth fruit" (xi. 28; xii. 3, 12). It stands in connection with the whole range of this figure; if "the tree of life" appears as a name for the righteous, inasmuch as his fruit is described as the fruit of this tree (Prov. xi. 30), a single virtue, "a wholesome tongue," is also so called (Prov. xv. 4). Above all, divine wisdom is extolled as "a tree of life to all that lay hold on her" (Prov. iii. 18).

In accordance with this, we find that the image of the tree of life bears in the prophets a twofold sense. On the one hand it is used for the godly man, whom Jeremiah compares to a tree planted by the waters, and which spreads out its roots by the rivers, whose leaf shall be green even when heat cometh, and "shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease

dicare, as Umbreit on Prov. x. 11 shows—as the contrast expressed in the words that follow requires.

<sup>4</sup> And so in the New Testament, Acts ii. 28, ὁδὸς ζωῆς, and Heb. x. 20, ὁδὸς ζωῆς; see on the last, H. Delitzsch, p. 479. The other expressions, "water of life" and "tree of life," have themselves also passed into the New Testament.

from yielding fruit" (xvii. 8). Isaiah also calls the righteous of the New Jerusalem, "the branch of the Lord's planting" (lx. 21); and the redeemed mourners from Zion "trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord that he may be glorified" (lxi. 3). These are trees that are green after a thousand years. On the other hand, it is used in a sense somewhat different by Ezekiel, who under this image describes the glorified state of the Church of God. In view of the city of God and the new temple, he describes the Holy Land as traversed by a river, on the banks of which, on both sides, there grew fruit-trees of every kind, "whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed; it shall bring forth new fruit according to his months, because their waters they issued out of the sanctuary; and the fruits thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for medicine" (xlvi. 12).

This representation points plainly to the paradise-tree, which is all the more a tree of life, since it bears fruit without ceasing; and it confirms the conception that to the eating of its fruit life and blessedness are attached. This was its appointment in paradise, even although it reached not the fulfilment. That, however, which in the beginning was not reached or was denied, namely, the paradise with its fruits, is again opened up in the completion of the kingdom of God, after the contest which the fall introduced has been victoriously ended. After the dying Redeemer proclaimed to the repentant thief his reception into paradise, the revelation of John repeatedly conjoins the state of paradise, and especially the tree of life, with the representations of eternal blessedness; first, directly, when "to him that overcometh" the promise is given to eat of the tree of life (Rev. ii. 7); then, after Ezekiel, in the representation of the holy city in which, by the river of the water of life which flows through its streets, there stand the trees of life which bear fruit every month, that is, not once a year, but continually, as they are also eternally green (xxii. 2). As disobedience had, as a consequence, banishment from paradise and withdrawal from the tree of life; so those are extolled as blessed who keep the commandments of God, who enter in through the gates of the city, and have a right to the tree of life (ver. 14). This tree of life, the duplicate image of the tree of life in paradise, is indeed only a symbol; it is "the powers of the world to come" (as in Heb. vi. 5, they are called), and the gifts of holy communion with God which are thereby meant.

But here the question presses itself upon us with redoubled force, what signifies the tree of paradise, especially in the contrast which it sets forth between symbol and reality? Let us

hear, first of all, what deliverance and interpretation the Church gives upon this point.

II. *History of the Interpretation.*—1. We direct attention first of all to two representations external to the Church. These appear to be taken from the tree of paradise, and accordingly they may be regarded as testifying of it. The one occurs in a faith and ritual outside of revelation; we refer to the adoration paid to a tree of life in the religion of Zoroaster. The sacred writings of the Persians speak of the tree *Hom*, which is called the head of the trees; it is regarded as the tree of immortality, the juice of which will again confer life on man at the resurrection. This tree is a shrub which grows in Persia, and which resembles the tamarisk.<sup>6</sup> Employed in all great sacrifices, it was itself an object of worship, fire and water being offered to it, and it is thus in all probability the same tree which appears in a similar connection on many of the Assyrian monuments.<sup>7</sup> We shall return to it when we come to treat of art representations.

Besides this, there is a description of a tree of life in a Jewish work, written before the Christian era, the *Book of Enoch*.<sup>8</sup> The author, in an account of his journey through heaven and earth, makes mention of seven mountains, situated in the southern part of the earth; the mountains formed of precious diamonds; the centre one resembling a throne and surrounded by sweet-smelling trees. Amongst these is the tree of life, the scent of which was like to that of no other; its leaves, its blossoms, and its wood fade not throughout eternity, and its fruit is lovely; it resembles, however, the fruit of a palm-tree. In answer to his inquiry the archangel Michael gives him the following information: "Upon this mountain the great and holy one, the Lord of glory, the eternal King, will erect his throne when he descends to visit the earth with a blessing. And this tree of delightful perfume no mortal is allowed to touch until the time of the great judgment . . . Its fruit gives life to the elect."

2. In the literature of the Church, the usual place where the tree of life is spoken of is, as might be expected, the Mosaic record. Still, at an early period, paradise itself was made a subject of independent treatment, and then the two trees were also discussed; chiefly in the fourth century by Ephraem Syrus<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>6</sup> *Anquetil du Perron*; Append. to *Zendavesta* by Kleuker, i., 1, p. 120—123.

<sup>7</sup> Bötticher; *The Worship of Trees by the Greeks*, p. 506 and 516.

<sup>8</sup> *The Book of Enoch*, translated by Dillman, chap. xxiv. and xxv., p. 14, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Ephraem Syrus, twelve poems, Opp. (etc., 598). Compare Uhlemann on Ephraem's views of Paradise, etc., in Illgen's *Journal of Hist. Theol.*, i., 1, p. 129.



Ambrose.<sup>1</sup> At a later time we have an ostensible treatment of the same subject by a Syrian writer, Moses Barcephas,<sup>2</sup> who frequently quotes a sermon of Philoxenus of Mabug, on the tree of life. Dionysius Barsalibi (died 1171) also wrote a special treatise on it. In the Latin Church of the middle ages, the question (besides holding a place in Scriptural exegesis), was treated as a dogma, when once Petrus Lombardus in his "Sentences" gave the initiative. Towards the end of the same period Tostatus, Bishop of Abula, in his commentary on Genesis, about the year 1486, handled the matter at length. In this state it remained till, after the Reformation, the great dogmatic systems of the seventeenth century, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, included within their sphere a consideration of the tree of life.<sup>3</sup> In times that are very recent, the doctrinal creed, which since Schleiermacher has relieved itself of much controversial matter, has quietly laid this point also aside.

The chief difference in the ancient Church, that is to say, the Church of the fathers, *lay here*, whether the tree of life was to be held as a real tree or as a mere object of thought. The oldest Christian writing which mentions it along with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, is the letter to Diognetus, (in the last chapter, indeed, which is spurious): but there is no more than an allegoric application of it to the relation which life and knowledge bear to the faithful, nor does there appear to be any accurate comprehension of the thing itself. Origen speaks in very decided terms against the literal interpretation:<sup>4</sup> "Who is so foolish," says he,<sup>5</sup> "as to believe that after the manner of a farmer, God planted a garden in the eastern part of Eden, and sat therein the tree of life visible and reachable, so that whoever might eat of it with his corporeal teeth should be endowed with life? and farther, that one should taste of good and evil who did eat of the other tree?" The same opinion is held by Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>6</sup> In no manner can the perishable and vain nourishment of this world be conceived of in reference to the life in paradise. But to the wise-minded it is not unknown what all that signifies, the fruit of which is life. Especially in the words "of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat," we find the tree of life pointed out. In aid of the interpretation, he calls on "the great David and the wise Solomon," who both recognize in the permitted enjoyment of paradise one gift of

<sup>1</sup> *De Paradiso, Opp.*, i., 145—182.

<sup>2</sup> *Comm. de Paradiso, Bibl. Patr.*, xvii., 458—500.

<sup>3</sup> Special treatises on the tree of life are referred to in Cotta's Notes, p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> He designates it a myth; *Selecta in Gen.*

<sup>5</sup> *De Princip.*, iv., 16.

<sup>6</sup> *De Homin. Opific.*, c. 19.

grace, which is the partaking of that which is actually good in itself; David, when he says, "Delight thyself also in the Lord" (Psalm xxxvii. 4), and Solomon, who calls wisdom herself, who is the Lord, a tree of life (Proverbs iii. 18).

A middle position, according to Severus' preface, is taken up by Moses Barcephas, who indeed combats the exclusively spiritual view taken by Gregory of Nyssa,<sup>o</sup> contending that the tree of life is a real tree. Still he appears to see nothing more in the name than a metaphor, for he regards the tree itself as without significance and effect: the design of God in pointing to it was merely to make the reward of obedience perceptible to Adam; which reward, in condescension to his still untutored state, is clothed in the idea of an imperishable life.

Quite otherwise speak the great exegetes of the school of Antioch, who hold fast by the historical sense. First of all comes Ephraem Syrus, who, in this sense gives a description of the glory of the tree. "It is by its brightness, the sun of paradise; the rest of the trees bend themselves in the breezy airs, as though they would prostrate themselves before the one whose strength is great, and who is the king of the trees." After him Chrysostom and Theodoret expressly declare against the allegoric interpretation. The former, after mentioning the two trees and the rivers of paradise, observes upon the latter, "Those who would trumpet forth their own wisdom, will not admit that the rivers are rivers, or that the water is water, but expect their hearers to imagine to themselves something different:" whereas he counsels them to give no heed to such things, but to follow the Scriptures. As to the tree of life, he is satisfied to know that the eating of it would have secured eternal life, while at the same time he admits his inability to explain the name. Theodoret has a whole chapter upon the question whether the two trees are to be understood spiritually or sensibly. In favour of the latter view he appeals to Gen. ii. 9, where it is said that the trees grew out of the ground, from which he infers that they were the same in nature as other plants; nor does the name imply that they were different. He maintains that the tree of life was a kind of prize<sup>p</sup> which would have been awarded to Adam if he had withstood temptation. It hence appears that according to either of the above views our first parents had not eaten of the fruit of the tree.

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<sup>o</sup> He freely confesses, however, he does not know, nor has ever read what sort of a tree this tree of life really was; while in regard to the tree of knowledge, he expresses his concurrence with those who held it to be a fig-tree.

<sup>p</sup> In the same spirit Severianus called it *βραβεῖον*, as opposed to the tree of knowledge.

The historical conception is the prevailing one also in the Latin Church; excepting only that Ambrose will not admit the food to have been of an earthly and perishable nature. As in the eating thereof there is neither reward (since God does not recommend it to us,) nor danger, (since that which entereth into the mouth defileth not the man), he concludes that the fruit to be eaten in paradise has a higher significance, like angels' food, (Psalm lxxviii. 25), and the meat of Christ (John xix. 34); that the living bread and the bread of heaven is the Lord Himself (John vi. 55), and that the tree of life in the midst of paradise points to the life hid with Christ in God (Col. iii. 3). Jerome and Augustine, however, set themselves against any allegorical explanation which denies the historical reality of paradise. The tree of life, says the latter, presented bodily fruit, so that the body of man might be endowed with lasting health, so that it should neither deteriorate through weakness or age, nor be destroyed. He is singular in the opinion that Adam and Eve in paradise had certainly eaten of the fruit of the tree of life; nay, he maintains that they chiefly lived upon it, and declares it absurd to deny this. It must be confessed that, in this way, the significance of the fruit, as well as the life which it works, is depreciated and lowered. It has a more material, or so to say medicinal power, as indeed a writing under the name of Augustine maintains: "The tree of life hinders, after the manner of a medicine, the dissolution of man."

3. This is the position which the interpretation maintains in the middle ages; the above quoted passage of Augustine, on the effect of the fruit on the body of man, being the regulative of the general opinion. For Beda in the eighth, and Rhabanus Maurus in the ninth century, have incorporated it word for word in their commentaries on the Scriptures without once naming him; and Petrus Comestor, in the twelfth century, has done the same in his history of the Bible. Petrus Lombardus, of the same era, has made use of it in his sentences, expressly quoting Beda (and Strabo). But these are the handbooks of the middle ages. Upon this basis the question is here and there in doctrinal works referred to; there is a very intelligible account of it in the *Elucidarium* (among the works of Anselm) between master and scholar. To the question, What is paradise? there follows the answer: "A most delightful place in the East, where trees of different sorts afford security against many ills; for example, should a man at the right time eat of one of them, he would no more hunger; of another, he would no more thirst; and again, of a third, he should no more get weary; finally, should he eat of the tree of life, he would never grow old, nor would he be

subject to death." This is explained in the following chapter in this way; that if man had remained in paradise he would at the time appointed by God have eaten of the tree of life, and from thenceforward continued in one unchangeable state. More closely is the question argued by Thomas Aquinas; whether man in a state of innocence would ever have reached immortality through the tree of life. He maintains the negative, contending that the fruit of the tree could not have been the cause of immortality, as it was itself perishable, like all other food; besides natural effects could only proceed from natural things: if it could have produced immortality this must have been natural. To this reasoning, however, he opposes the authority of Scripture and of Augustine, and maintains a conditional immortality as the effect of the tree. Principally by means of physiological distinctions, objections are at one time answered, and at another admitted, but he is confident of this, that as the strength or virtue of the tree when eaten of was finite, so it only preserved against dissolution for a finite period, after the lapse of which, man must have been either elevated to a life that was spiritual, or he must have anew eaten of the fruit.

So strongly was this view of the material virtue of the tree maintained, that it was thought that even had man eaten of it after the fall, it must have given immortality to the body, as in the twelfth century, Rupertus of Deutz and Richard of St. Victor assert. And this is admitted too by Bonaventura in the thirteenth century, only with the restriction that the tree of life was capable of conferring a certain strength and perpetuity, but not unlimited; this is, however, nothing more than what Thomas Aquinas maintains concerning it.

Besides these divines, we must also hear what the poet says. Dante places the tree of life (as well as the tree of knowledge) upon the purgatorial mountain, and in its sixth circle where the souls of the penitent cry, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness." This hungering and thirsting are caused by the tree that is studded with perfume-breathing apples; and by the water that, falling down from a lofty rock, spreads over all its branches. The voyagers, Dante and Virgil, approaching the tree, hear a voice calling from its branches, "On this food ye will starve,"<sup>9</sup> and they learn from a penitent:—

<sup>9</sup> [Dr. Piper uses a German version of Dante; the original passage is in the *Purgatorio*, canto xxii. :—

"Ma tosto ruppe le dolci ragioni  
Un' alber che trovammo, in mezza strada,  
Con pomi ad odorar soavi e buoni.

"The scent which these sweet fruits do cast around,  
The waters fresh with which its leaves are drenched,  
Inspire the breast with longings never to be quenched."

And thus the souls are led circling round the mountain:—

"For the same impulse leads us to the tree,  
Which brought the glad Redeemer to the cross,  
Where He from us averted shame and loss."

By the longings after this heavenly food the souls are consumed while they are at the same time refined. This is only an imaginative representation, but it points us plainly enough to the antitype, the tree in paradise, while the other tree which is therein presented to us, is expressly called a sapling of that whose fruit Eve plucked and eat.'

The scholastic view and treatment of the subject in the Bible commentary of Bishop Tostatus already alluded to, comes now to be mentioned. He goes farther, and maintains that the fruit of the tree not only effectuates long life, longer than usual, as for example, more than a thousand years (qu. 166), but imperishable life; and this he argues from the words of God, which state the purpose of the banishment from paradise, while at the same time he adds the physiological explanation, that the food thoroughly assimilates itself to the body; a confirmation of which, according to him, is to be found in the sojourn of Enoch in paradise, who up to this time (the year 1436), has supported his life on that tree for five thousand five hundred and twelve years, without aging during the period (qu. 167).

4. Upon the basis of a historical conception, in so far as the existence of the tree is concerned, the Reformers take up their position; but in respect of its effect, they depart from the materialistic view which prevailed in the middle ages, and assume more or less a spiritual sense. Luther, while he expressly

E come abete in alto si digrada  
Di ramo in ramo, cost quello in giuso,  
Cred'io, perchè persona su non vada.  
Del lato, onde'l cammin nostro era chiuso,  
Cadea dall' alta roccia un liquor chiaro,  
E si spandeva per le foglie suso.  
Li due poeti all' alber s' appressaro;  
Ed una voce per entro le fronde  
Grido, 'Di questo cibo avrete caro,' etc.

The quotations which follow in the text are from canto xxiii.—*Tr.*]

' [The reference is to canto xxiv. :—

"E noi venimmo al grande arbore ad esso  
Che tanti prieghi e lagrime rifiuta.  
Trapassate oltre, senza farvi presso;  
Legno è più su, che fu morso da Eva,  
E questa pianta si levò da esso."—*Tr.*]

declares against the allegoric interpretation, yet holds instead of it that the tree, as a medicine, would have preserved mankind in perpetual youth, and all their powers in freshness; he reads in the text itself that Adam, had he been admitted to the tree after the fall, would have regained that life which he had lost, nor would he have died afterwards, but would have been transferred from the corporeal into the spiritual state of existence. He rejects, however, the opinion which ascribes the life-giving power to the nature of the tree; according to him it was a life-giving tree, solely in virtue of the power of the Word. Calvin explains the name of the tree hence, namely, that it should be a symbol and memorial (*symbolum ac memoriale*) of the life received from God; not that internally in the tree there was any power, but in so far as the grace of God was sealed to man in the use of it, he constituted it a tree of life. And man, as oft as he partook of the tree, was to remember from whence he had life. After the fall, however, God took away from him at once the sign and the pledge of life with life itself; in this connection a reference is drawn to the sacraments generally.

With this turn of the subject we may rest, and append to it our concluding explanatory observations. In making these, we shall receive small help from the allegoric and mythic interpretations so much in vogue in the period of enlightenment, which began in the preceding century; for if paradise itself and the whole history of its epoch is to be struck out by a few general sentences, the trees of paradise can no longer be a subject of inquiry; and the difficulties of the narrative remain precisely where they were. The more modern interpretation, however, having been justified by the investigation and recognition of its historical basis, we have a foundation laid for the remarks which follow.

### III. *Critical remarks and the result of Interpretation.*

The interpretation of the tree of life which prevailed in ancient Christianity, and in the middle ages, and which adheres to the corporeity of the tree and goes no farther, came to be questioned by the scholastic divines; on the ground too of their authority, Aristotle, who in his *Metaphysics* (ii. 4), ridicules the heathen fables, according to which, the gods, by eating of a particular food, became immortal, while others who did not eat thereof were subject to death: and this objection they by no means satisfactorily dispose of. If we take, however, Holy Scriptures for our guide, consulting the use and wont of its language, and gauging the circle of its ideas as has been above

done, we shall by no means find this view confirmed; on the contrary, we shall see that in both the Old and New Testaments, wherever the idea of tree and of the tree of life itself occurs, they are always employed in a moral or spiritual sense. It is true the opposite conception is grounded upon the words of the original record, and more particularly on the language of God employed at the expulsion. But this is misinterpreted; the true sense will appear by a comparison of the two trees, and by deriving a criterion of the inner and spiritual sense from what is related as matter of fact.

Opposed to each other in their effects, stand the tree of life, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, as the tree of death. By eating of the latter our first parents became subject to death corporeally. It appears, however, from the circumstance that the warning against eating of the tree bears that on the day on which they should eat of it, they should surely die, though on this day they died not bodily, that spiritual death was originally held in view as the ground of corporeal death; for in consequence of the separation between soul and spirit, and the decomposition of the powers of the soul, the bond between the body and the soul will be loosened, and the former will finally fall to pieces of itself. It agrees with this, that in regard to the tree of life, the effect of its fruit was to produce first and directly the life of the spirit in God, and the life of man with God, and thereafter internally and by its nourishing and strengthening powers, to secure the life of the body and defend it against decomposition. For the fruits of the other trees of the garden were already sufficient for the mere sustenance and support of the body; and besides, a special tree of life which did neither more nor less than the others (and a perishable food could not produce an imperishable life) would have had no object.

Nor is this purpose of the tree controverted by the reason, wherefore fallen man was removed from the tree of life, viz., "lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever;" as if God would prevent his obtaining eternal life in the body. This was unnecessary. For it is certain that no tree in the world could bear such fruit—even the cross itself has not borne any such fruit—whereby the divine order should be overturned, and the consequences of sin produced by an internal organic and moral necessity should be frustrated; although there are some doctors in the Church, as we have seen, who hesitate not to ascribe a magical power such as this to the tree of life. The reason referred to rather confirms the view which holds that the fruit of the tree of life was to nourish the

spiritual life. For when God means to prevent Adam from eating of this tree and living for ever, after he has just before said, "Behold, the man is become as one of us;" the connection shews the purpose to be to prevent Adam from eating of the tree of life and living for ever, as one who has become as God. This too he had become, since he had set himself free from God, and had opposed himself to him as an independent being. But now, through eating of this tree, he must not render the position he had taken against God eternal. For if the tree had the power of communicating everlasting life, then it must, taken up into the life of sin, have conferred on it *duration*, and under these circumstances, the eating of the tree of life would have been an "eating to condemnation." This necessarily follows from the *matter* itself. But more, since in the *representation* of fallen man, the tree of life might give him a new impulse, and lead him deeper into error and sin if he believed that the sensible eating of the fruit could again make good the loss which, according to appearance, the sensible eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil had produced; it would be that as sin, so salvation, through a misunderstanding of the word of God, was placed in the eating of material food from the one tree and the other, or a life-giving power would be ascribed to the tree of life itself apart from the power of God. Both must have had the effect of removing man farther from God, and of confirming him in his ungodliness, *i.e.*, in his independent position against God. According to this, the prohibition against eating of the tree of life had this meaning;—man shall not lead an eternal life of sin, and thus escape that judgment of obduracy to which "the murderer from the beginning" was subjected.—There is then in the words of God nothing less than irony; but at the same time not the intention to prevent a contradiction between the divine promise and threatening; that the eating of the one tree has life, and that of the other death as a consequence; if man had partaken of both, then in case of death would the first have been made to appear ineffectual, and in case of life the other. For the promise which lies in the name of the tree of life is not given with this sense attached to it, and would not have prevented the eating of its fruit from strengthening the effect of the transgression of the commandment.

But this is its purport; if the banishment from paradise is looked on not at all in the light of disfavour on the part of God, but as an act of divine clemency; a view embraced by the oldest divines (although they chiefly regard the eternal life of the body). Thus Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in the second century, expresses himself: "in this God has done man an act of great



benevolence by taking away eternity from him when he was in sin." In the same manner Ephraem Syrus explains the divine intent; "that they might not, if they did eat of this tree and lived for ever, perpetually remain in this dreadful state." Chrysostom likewise sees in the good-will of God to man the cause of the expulsion; "it was much more a matter of careful providence than of disfavour." In like manner in opposition to the effect which the nearness of paradise generally might have exerted on the consciousness of fallen man, the removal from it is granted in the Christian oriental book of Adam, although with some mythic embellishment.<sup>1</sup> "When the Lord drove man forth from the garden, he would not suffer him to dwell on its southern boundary, because the north wind when it blew would have carried the sweet fragrance of its trees towards the southern side; and Adam was not to smell the sweet perfume of the trees, and forget the transgression, and console himself for what he had done, and, satisfied by the fragrance of the trees, neglect repentance for the transgression. The merciful God, therefore, the rather made Adam dwell in the region west of the garden."

But the opinion that the fruit of the tree of life should effect immortality of the body, can alone find a shew of support in the words of God used at the expulsion from paradise. For this effect is not expressed in the name "THE TREE OF LIFE" (and we have nothing else to build upon); just as little as it is expressed in "the WATER OF LIFE" which Christ promised to give (John iv. 14). This water, however, is only meant in a spiritual sense. But if the tree of life was a real tree, no matter of what kind, or *sui generis*, the question is, How could this material fruit produce a spiritual effect?

2. The opposing question will lead the way to the answer: How could the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil have that effect which it manifestly possessed? Now it is clear that the tree of the knowledge of good and evil received its character from the word of God, which set it on the dividing line between good and evil; and that it became destructive through the choice of man, who transgressed the command. Thus the tree takes up the position merely of a material means between the divine word and the human act. It is the ancient and general conviction amongst the theologians of the church, that it was not the fruit of the tree which caused the harm, but only the transgression. It agrees with this, that in the tree of life it was not the mere fruit which profited, but the obedience and the gift of grace. Therefore, if the tree of life had the power, in

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<sup>1</sup> From the Ethiopic translated by Dillmann. Göttingen, 1853, p. 13.

virtue of the divine word, to afford nourishment to everlasting life, this its fruit afforded; and it would have had this effect if man had partaken of it in faith in this word, and after he had of his free will resolved to tread the path of life. We see then, that the tree thus presents itself as a material means to a spiritual end, or as a sign to which grace is united.

But this is the very idea of the sacraments. And the comparison with the sacraments of the New Testament was employed in the oldest times to illustrate the power and effect of the paradisiacal tree of life. Thus Theodoret explains it, "as the water of baptism is called *living water*,—not as if it had another nature, but because by means of this water, divine grace bestows eternal life; in like manner has *the tree of life* been so called by God. A comparison with the Lord's Supper leads in the same direction; to that indeed the ancients gave the name "medicine of immortality" (*φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*).<sup>\*</sup> We are here reminded of a similar sentiment expressed by Jacobus Sarugensis in his sermon on the expulsion of Adam out of paradise (in which Philoxenus of Mabug concurs);<sup>†</sup> the tree of life could have given him eternal life if he had eaten of it, because the mystery of Christ was concealed in it; although the nearness of Christ is here rather meant personally than sacramentally. It is contrasted with the sacrament, as shewn by a famous expression of Augustine's in reference to the partaking of this fruit; for his words, according to the mode of speech then used, are to be taken in a wider sense." But Bonaventura understood this sentiment in a narrower sense, in reference to the sacrament, and accordingly he comments thus: the tree of life would have given immortality (exclusively of a power thereto disposing, after the manner of the balsams which preserve the body from corruption) by divine power resting in it as in a sacrament, just as it is said of the sacraments, that they communicate grace although they do not themselves produce it. This sacramental significance is farther developed in the explanations of the reformers above alluded to, especially Calvin; so much so, that the difference between the sacramental doctrine of the Lutheran and Reformed churches (here indeed that of Zwingli) reflects itself in the diverse interpretations. The latter appears bare enough, if, according to Calvin, the tree is only a symbol and memorial of the life, which those who partake have received from God; so that it bears simply the name without

<sup>\*</sup> Ignat. *Ep. ad Ephes.*, chap. xx. He has also the opposite expression, *θανάσιμον φάρμακον*, *Ep. ad Trall.*, chap. vi.

<sup>†</sup> Both in Moses Barcephala (who, however, opposes this view), *Comment. de Paradiso*.

<sup>‡</sup> In lignis ceteris erat alimentum, in illo autem sacramentum.

any independent significance: yet it means somewhat more when he immediately afterwards calls it a pledge (*pignus*). According to Luther the tree had certainly a life-giving power in itself (if only in the material sense); not because of its nature, but "since the word was resident in the tree." The appreciation of the tree of life according to this analogy has found considerable acceptance, especially among the Calvinists, but also in the Lutheran and Catholic churches. It is also fully justified, notwithstanding there is a difference of ground, which may not be ignored between this import of the tree of life and the two sacraments; according to which the former could have availed to the preservation of man not fallen, while the latter are offered for the redemption and regeneration of man who has sinned; with this difference in their appointment, the reality—that grace is coupled to a material means—is not touched.

3. If this be the sense, it cannot be expected that the first man should have eaten of the tree of life: nor is it said in the Mosaic account that he did eat of it, although in the planting of the garden in which Adam is placed, the two trees are named. But neither in the words of God to Adam in regard to the allowed and the forbidden fruit, nor in the words of Eve wherein she repeats them, is there any reference to the tree of life. And even if it were included in "all the trees" of which they might eat, yet the last discourse of God after the fall, besides the ordination which keeps man away from it, seems to assume that he had not previously eaten of it. If this accident is excluded, how, it may be asked, should he have recognized it at all? He could not distinguish it in itself, since neither the opposition between good and evil, nor that between life and death, was yet developed to his consciousness. It was only after the tree of knowledge of good and evil had become, by his eating of it, a tree of death, that the conception of life and of the tree of life could arise in his mind. He must also have experienced it in the tree of knowledge of good and evil through the prohibition, if he had withstood the temptation, and thus placed himself on the side of good in the opposition between good and evil. Till then, as long as he remained in immediate relation to God, he was not in a state which fitted him for a communication of divine life; he did not require the fruit of the tree of life; it would have availed him as little as it would a child who "distinguisheth not," to have received the consecrated bread and wine of the supper (1 Cor. xi. 29). On the other hand, this fruit appears as the reward of victory, if man had withstood temptation—as Theodoret says, and after him the later Greeks: it would have been at the same time a means of strengthening

him, as he proceeded on the way of life upon which he had already entered.

Here the difference shews itself between this tree and that of the knowledge of good and evil, in that the fruit of the latter irrevocably produced death, when once eaten of, while the fruit of the tree of life would have required renewed partaking of. For through one transgression the breaking of the law generally took place, and the rupture of communion with God was effected, which is itself death; whereas the life of the spirit, as also that of the body, requires continued nourishment; and that too in the religious, moral development, in order to arrive out of the isolation of its motives and their conditioned consequence, at the absoluteness of the holy everlasting life. Upon this path, if the decision respecting the tree of knowledge, instead of being to death had been to life, the fruits of the tree of life might have been a means to arm with ever fresh powers, until the transit into a higher sphere had elevated the soul above the sensible sign, and placed it in uninterrupted communion with God. To this points the symbol of the tree in the Revelation of John, with all its monthly fruits, which invite to their continual enjoyment. And this too is developed in the conception of the ancient church, that after the isolated partaking of the Holy Supper on earth, the members of the Church expect some day an eternal repast.

Midway between these boundaries, which reach from paradise to the completion of the kingdom of God, is the coming of the Son of Man in the flesh, who was sent to do away the consequences of the first sin, and to introduce into blessed communion with God. Thus the fruits of the tree of life, which is in the city of God, are his gifts; that is, above all, the communication of himself, the partaking of the life, which comes from God; and the tree which bears such fruits is nothing but Himself. Accordingly, the tree of life in paradise, notwithstanding its historical reality, is a type of the person of Christ. This symbolization we have to consider more closely according to its development in Scripture and the ancient church.

[To be continued.]

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## SOME OF THE MORE MODERN EXPLANATIONS OF THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

It will scarcely be denied that England has now fairly entered on her career of religious scepticism. She has indeed never been without sceptics; who have moreover given to the world, in forms more or less complete, the reasons of their doubts, and the conclusions, positive or negative, at which they had arrived. But these thinkers and writers were comparatively few; they were not in sympathy with any considerable class of society, and they were answered not by arguments, but by contemptuous silence or persecution. It was assumed that they must be in the wrong, and wholly in the wrong; that Christianity was so plain, and the proofs of it so convincing, that it was impossible for any body to doubt its truth unless he had some base reason, amounting almost to a moral insanity, for *wishing* it to be untrue. The public utterance, in speech or print, of disbelief or doubt was regarded as an insult to the British understanding, an immeasurable injury to public morality, and even a breach of the common law of the land. Divines taught their hearers to resist the attacks of infidels by no armour so feeble and unproved as logic and criticism, but rather by the prayer, "O turn away mine eyes, lest they behold vanity, and quicken Thou me in Thy way." In truth, divines themselves had eyes that were not well fitted for a close inspection of those vanities which "infidel" writers presented to them for examination; nor, with a few great and illustrious exceptions, were either their tempers or their beliefs at all likely to emerge with honour from a conflict with scepticism. Even though their enemy might not win, it was quite certain they themselves would lose; and perhaps the very best thing such defenders of the faith could do,—was to do nothing.

It is not the object of this paper to investigate the causes which have increased the number, not only of thinkers and writers who find it impossible to accept the creed of Christendom, but also of those in all classes of society who give to such thinkers and writers a ready and half-sympathizing attention; and which have entirely changed the method of their treatment. It is at any rate certain that causes have been operating which have produced that effect. It has often been asserted, that the Reformation itself in this country was simply one form of rationalism; that it consisted essentially in a denial of what was deemed unreasonable in the Popish system, and that it made the Scriptures, provisionally at least, the test of what was or

was not unreasonable. Unquestionably Protestantism is a form of rationalism ; though it is by no means true that it consists essentially of denials. Its place in the history of opinions determined both its name and form ; but it is substantially a protest *against* denials, and a denial of *negations*. It is founded upon the belief that the Popish system had obscured the truth, had interrupted the free intercourse of human spirits with God, and that it was based upon the assumption that God and man were not united in the incarnate Word. Under the form of a protest, the benefit which it really accomplished was this ;—it removed the veil by which Popery was hiding the truth ; it restored that access into the Divine presence which priestcraft had interrupted ; it re-affirmed the union of God and mankind in Christ, by denying those doctrines and abolishing those ceremonies which implied that that union had yet, by some ecclesiastical or priestly devices, to be brought about.

At the same time, the fact that Protestantism, though essentially positive, was negative in form, has had a very marked effect upon the course of theological speculation in all Protestant countries ; and the substitution of one test of reasonableness for another, was plainly an example that could be followed to almost any extent whatever. General councils are a better test than the opinions or decrees of individual Popes. The councils of the first three centuries are a better test than the councils of the centuries, turbulent and unprincipled, which followed them. The Scriptures, said the Protestant reformers, are a better test than either councils or Popes, whatever century they may belong to. But is it not obvious, that the question must sooner or later have been asked, What is it by which all these tests are themselves tested ? How do we know, by what criteria do we determine, that councils are better than Popes, and the first three centuries more trustworthy than the fifth three ? By what tests can we ascertain that the Scriptures are superior to the canons and articles of religion, that have been elaborated and authorized by the Church ? Why should not those who have questioned, one after another, all the recognized organs of truth and infallibility, be themselves also questioned, and compelled to justify those pretensions of authority which they put forth on behalf of the Bible ? The historical conditions of Protestantism have produced this result—that in almost all Protestant countries, reformation must take the form of revolution ; and our religion itself, like Socrates, goes about making men doubt, and leads them to the knowledge of truth through the perception of their own ignorance and mistakes. So it has come to pass that a kind of Biblical criticism has at last become prevalent, and is

receiving at last a hearty welcome in this country, which may well be called *rational*, because it aims not at certain predetermined conclusions, but at the reasons on which they are based; and *sceptical*, because without pledging itself either to affirm or deny, it insists upon thorough examination and satisfactory evidence. This kind of criticism is now adopted, at least professedly, both by the orthodox and the heterodox; and by both parties a criticism, even of the Bible, would justly be considered contemptible, which should be content to be irrational or blindly credulous.

This is admitted not for Protestantism only, but for Christianity itself, by some of those who most firmly believe the Christian Scriptures, and who are thoroughly persuaded that those Scriptures are sure to gain the confidence and reverence of mankind by a complete and scientific examination. "The very nature of Christianity," says Dr. Ebrard,<sup>a</sup> "involves the introduction of criticism into the sphere of theology. For if it be truly the redemption ordained by God from all eternity, but brought to completion at a certain time and in a certain place; though the need of redemption must exist in every man, and therefore the postulate of redemption develop itself with more or less purity apart from the historical fact; yet this fact could never be made known to distant nations or succeeding ages in any other way than through the ordinary channels, viz., oral tradition or written records. But these writings, together with their contents, necessarily come within the scope of the same *historical criticism* as every other monument of history. And the same questions must be asked and answered respecting authenticity, credibility, integrity, and age." These questions then are in this country beginning to be asked; and they are asked, as they ought to be, by those who occupy the position of religious guides of the nation. The books that a few years ago would have been considered infidel are written now, not by men of lax principles and vicious lives, but by bishops and priests—men who cannot be suspected of any dislike to religion, or any cynical contempt even for the mistakes of their fellow-creatures. Still there are many things which combine to render the rational scepticism, the wise and reasonable enquiry at which this country has now arrived, exceedingly perilous. The great majority of Christian people have been taught not to accept the Bible because it contains the truth, but to accept the truth because it is contained in the Bible. They have not been taught to expect a revelation, because the knowledge of God granted to every

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<sup>a</sup> *The Gospel History*, page 17. Translated by James Martin, B.A.

human spirit is of a kind to render it probable, if not certain, that yet further knowledge of Him will be granted; but they have been taught that without the Bible they would have no knowledge of God at all. They have almost come to believe, though they do not see clearly that they are believing it, that they depend upon the Bible for God, not upon God for the Bible; and that therefore if any part of the Bible were proved to be inaccurate or fallible, the very foundations of all religion and morality would be destroyed. Unquestionably, if the *truths which the Bible contains* could be disproved, the foundations of morality and religion *would* be destroyed. But those foundations are laid not in any printed book, but in the Being of God and the nature of man. The beauty and truth of Scripture could best be seen in the full light of perfect knowledge; and knowledge, in this world at least, is the knowledge of good and evil, of *pro* and *con*, of friend and enemy. Our knowledge of what the Bible is will be all the fuller and deeper if its enemies accuse it of being something else, and if their accusations can be proved false. In the canonization even of the inspired writers we can scarcely afford to dispense with the services of a devil's advocate. But Christian people have been encouraged to believe that all enquiry which assumes the possibility of the Bible being mistaken, is dangerous, and even sinful. It is allowable to interpret the Scriptures, and even in some cases adroitly to explain them away; but whatever is furnished by a careful exegesis, and which cannot be removed by any critical casuistry, *that* at any rate must be held "for better for worse, for richer for poorer." One of the very numerous ill effects of this method of treatment is, that very many people commence even a reverent and prayerful examination of those many Biblical questions which are becoming more popular and pressing every day, with a troubled conscience, a fear that they are doing wrong, a foreboding of disaster to their spiritual life, which too often produces the very evil that is so much dreaded; an utter incapability of impartiality, and not seldom a reactionary extravagance either in the direction of disbelief or superstition. Timid people, whose piety is far greater than their intellectual power, may well be reminded that their experience of the love of God, and their actual deliverance more and more from sin and from superstitious terrors, are rendered in no degree less real by any of the battles of the critics, which ever side may win. They should be encouraged, where the two are in conflict, to trust their personal experiences, about which they cannot be mistaken, rather than their literary judgments, which are much more likely to be wrong than right. The truths of Scripture commend themselves to every man's



conscience in the sight of God; the place which the Bible occupies in literature, its antiquity, its authenticity, its genuineness and the like, can be determined only by the scholar. But if any man, layman or divine, possesses the necessary literary qualifications, in proportion as he possesses them, Biblical criticism of the very boldest kind is neither unlawful nor unsafe. The only necessary condition, and one to be in all cases rigorously exacted, is, that it *be* criticism, and not dogmatism; and that conclusions, whether orthodox or heretical, shall be not assumed but proved.

Much Biblical criticism,—criticism of all parts of the Bible, has been imported into this country from Germany, for which we owe Germany many thanks. But the criticism, the native English criticism at present attracting most attention, is occupied with the earlier portions of the Old Testament. It is not difficult to understand why these should have been chosen as the first points of examination; for to say points of attack would imply the charge of a hostile spirit, which cannot fairly be brought against our most conspicuous English critics. But the question has already been raised, and is every day becoming louder, What is the relation of these early books to the New Testament? Can the miracles in Egypt, and the wonders wrought by Joshua, be rejected *simply as miracles* upon any principles which would not require us to disbelieve the incarnation, the miracles, and the resurrection of the Son of God? Nay, is not Jesus Christ Himself the one comprehensive miracle of all history? Does He not enter into the course of events in a manner wholly supernatural? The mystery in His case is not in the things that He does, but in what He himself is. If He were removed from history, if the Christ of Christendom were changed into an idea or a mistake, it would be a matter of importance, microscopically minute, what became of the five books of Moses. In fact, if this change could be effected, not for the few, but for the many; if the Christ of the apostles and the evangelists, with all that has proceeded from Him, could be removed from Church and State, from society and the individual, even from art and science and trade; if all that is distinctively Christian could be completely abstracted from all literature and experience and life, a revolution would have been effected, with which all other revolutions, social and political put together, would not be worth comparing. The Cross even would be no longer a symbol of human perfection and self-sacrificing love, if the Crucified One were no more than a well-meaning but unhappy fanatic, reaping the fruit of his own delusions and mistakes. It is the love of Christ, being who He was; it is the poverty of One so divinely

rich ; it is the condescension of One so infinitely glorious, which has turned the world upside down.

It must surely be satisfactory even to such writers as M. Renan, Mr. Mackay, and the Westminster Reviewers, that their books and criticisms have given the acutest pain to almost all Christian people who know anything about them. We are being continually urged to read such books as M. Renan's *Vie de Jésus* without bias ; but that elegant and accomplished writer cannot possibly expect, nor even sincerely desire this. We must surely believe him to be an earnest man writing from the love of truth ; we must take it for granted that he is zealous in the pursuit, and bold in the utterance of truth, because he has perceived the intimate and indissoluble connection between truth and goodness, a sound theory and a correct life ; but anybody who is himself in earnest, must needs desire the sympathy and confidence of those who are in earnest themselves. M. Renan would scarcely care to be met by some such answer as this, after he has taken the trouble to write a book, 'My good sir, you write extremely pretty French, you are no doubt a very clever, brilliant sort of man, and at any rate you have managed so successfully to hit the popular taste, that your copyright must by this time have become a very considerable property ; but you surely don't expect us to be at all seriously concerned by what you have written. You well deserve all the pecuniary profit your work will bring, for furnishing us with a new sensation in these somewhat dreary times ; you have a charming style, and it's really quite delightful to hear you say so coolly what will drive all good people into a towering passion, and disturb the peace of many a simple soul. At the same time, those poor creatures who are so much moved by what you have written, are hardly worth your cleverness, for they don't clearly understand the merits either of their own position or of yours ; and we who do—well, to tell you the truth, we don't care a single straw about the matter. You may do exactly what you like for us with the life of Jesus. If you choose to rest in the pretty theory contained in your book, by all means stop there ; if you like to go back again to the old Catholic creeds, by all means go ; it will only be giving the world another new sensation ; or if you would like to plunge into sheer chaos, pray take the plunge without a moment's hesitation ; for our own part, though it may not sound flattering, we would not give a pin to choose which you do.' It is not for men gifted with so philosophical an indifference that such a man as M. Renan would care to write. So he will not be surprised, and he ought not to be offended, that his book has been received with profound horror

and unspeakable aversion, by people who are in such unmistakeable earnest that they are, at the least, foes with whom he need not be ashamed to fight, and whom it would be a genuine triumph to conquer.

To the majority of Christian people in this country, whether churchmen or dissenters, Jesus Christ is not a theory or a doctrine; He is a personal friend. It may be very silly and mystical; it may be a relic of those exploded absurdities which ought to have died away with the old philosophies, when the world was glorified and redeemed by the advent of Positivism; but silly or not, there are thousands of people, not otherwise insane or irrational, accurate scholars, men of science, physicians, lawyers, shrewd and upright men of business, who do believe that Jesus Christ is not simply a good man who was crucified and buried some eighteen centuries ago; they believe that He is living still, and that, in that region of their life of which the senses take no cognizance, their spirits have actual fellowship with Him. They believe that in some wondrous way He can speak to them, and they to Him; they believe that He is Himself the source of all they have of goodness and light; they believe that when they are in trouble, He comforts them; and they know that there have been thousands and tens of thousands who believed that when they were dying He came to them, the Resurrection and the Life, delivering them from the powers of darkness, and translating them to heavenly habitations. And those who believe this, and much more than this, of Jesus Christ, read M. Renan's book with an indescribable shock of horror and grief; not from mere pedantry or bigotry, but because it bids them believe that He who has been to them hitherto their soul's life and completest treasure was no more than a poor peasant, winning the love of gentle Nazarene maidens, filled with a most tender belief that God was His Father, and the Father of all, and longing in some weakly charming way to make all about Him believe that; that meeting with men of harder heart and less sensitive honour than His own, and becoming familiar, as He grew to manhood, with the bustle and crowds of cities, where men were living far more for what seems, than for what is, He began to think that the truth of God could never find its way into the hearts of men in such a world as this, unless its real character were for a time concealed by some slight disguise of well-intended dissimulation; that as His simple ardour changed into a fanatic zeal which more and more consumed Him, He became not unwilling to avail Himself of popular delusions, and the groundless hopes that were cherished by the people of His age and nation; that having

assumed a position half unconsciously, which did not really belong to Him, He tried as well as He could to play the part which He had chosen for Himself in the solemn drama of life; that He affected to work miracles which He knew He did not work, and connived at frauds scarcely less impudent than blasphemous; that death found Him disappointed and in agony, torn by the conflicting emotions of a pure and simple heart hurried away into insincerity, a divine zeal defiled by human ambition.

But M. Renan's book is not the only one which has presented us with a totally new and original account of the life of Christ, differing very widely from that of the New Testament and the creeds. It may perhaps then be the most useful arrangement of what we may have to say upon these different versions, if we first of all determine what the New Testament account of the life of Jesus really is; and then examine some one or two of the substitutes which have been offered us for the Jesus Christ of the New Testament and the Church; and then enquire what there is in modern philosophy or science, or the canons and results of criticism, which may seem incompatible with the evangelists and the creeds. It may not be possible to keep these three divisions completely separate, but they are at least sufficiently distinct for the object of this paper.

It would not be difficult to justify almost every article, both of the Apostles' and Nicene Creed, by quotations from those four letters of St. Paul which are allowed to be genuine, and accepted as a basis of criticism by Dr. C. F. Baur, and those very few scholars who with him constitute what is called the Tübingen School. We may note moreover in passing, that this very pretentious name—the "Tübingen School," is extremely misleading. Even the *Westminster Review*<sup>b</sup> acknowledges that it is a periphrasis for Baur. Very few persons will dispute the great attainments and acuteness of this learned German, though in a mere counting and even weighing of authorities, he counts in such a country as Germany for, at the most, not much more than one. Learning, research, and a style of criticism that combines at once the advantages and disadvantages of the use of the microscope, are by no means monopolized by Dr. Baur, nor even by what we may call, as we choose, either the advanced or the heterodox party. The influence of Baur and his few followers upon minds of a certain order, both in his country and in ours, is as good an example as could be given of a sort of bias which is quite as real and quite as dangerous as the bias of the orthodox. If the one is the bias in favour of conservatism, the other

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<sup>b</sup> *Westminster Review*. New Series, No. xlviii, page 515.

is the bias in favour of change. If the one is a weak-minded prejudice *in favour* of everything that is old or established, the other is an equally weak-minded prejudice *against* whatever is old or established. Both these prejudices are different forms of a blind love of thoroughness and consistency. The watchword of the one is, Keep the whole, or you must lose the whole. The watchword of the other is, Destroy the whole, or you must keep the whole. Indeed it must be an overwhelming force of evidence that has compelled Dr. Baur to retain as genuine the Epistles to the Galatians, Romans and Corinthians; for, granting their Apostolic authority, those four Epistles do either contain, or carry along with them, nearly everything for which a Christian would contend.

It is not difficult to perceive by how many forces, wholly different from genuine criticism, minds of a certain order are often hurried, even against their will, into great extravagances of doubt and disbelief. They are naturally of an enquiring and liberal spirit; they are disgusted with the bigotry, and ashamed even of the earnest convictions which are based, not upon a thorough knowledge of what may be considered the right side, but upon a complete and wilful ignorance of what is supposed to be the wrong side. They begin their course of innovation by expressing the commonly believed opinions in new and independent forms, or perhaps in older and more Catholic forms. They take refuge from the inexactness and blundering inconsistencies of popular "evangelicalism," in the authorized formularies of those churches, which even modern "evangelicalism" can scarcely repudiate without committing a kind of suicide. They begin to be looked upon with suspicion. Why should they object to say what all the evangelical world is saying, whether it happens to be in the creeds and formularies of a church or not? What difficulty can they find in expressing in the ordinary "evangelical" way the doctrine of the Trinity and the Atonement? If they do not mean what the evangelicals mean, and if that is their difficulty, then of course it ought to be understood that they are not sound in the faith, and they should be treated accordingly. On the other hand, if they do mean what the "evangelicals" mean, why make a fuss about words and forms of expression? Why make so much ado about articles and creeds and liturgies, when there is "an open Bible" for every Englishman to consult? In fact, the suspicion against men of this sort hesitates at first what form it shall assume;—whether it shall become in the end the suspicion of Popery, or the suspicion of rationalism. Meanwhile it is *a suspicion*, and it bears fruit after its kind. The suspected men are shunned; not because

they are wrong, not even because the bare suspicion of their being wrong can put itself into a definite shape, but simply and solely because it is dangerous for the unsuspected to have anything to do with the suspected. Unfortunately there are very many cowards, and many of extremely weak intellects in all the professions,—even in the Christian ministry. The suspected man, if he be a clergyman, finds himself shut out as far as possible from all clerical society, and forbidden to co-operate with his brethren even in works of common charity and benevolence. He finds that he is admitted into the pulpit of no church but his own; and that his neighbours are far too cowardly, or imbecile, or conscientious, or pious, or something or other, to take any “duty” for him. He finds, that in a way too paltry to be noticed, and at the same time quite real enough to be the cause of acute suffering, and often considerable danger, he is being subjected to such persecution as the familiars of the English inquisition are suffered by a humane code of laws to employ. He is urged onwards by his natural love of enquiry, and his habit of free criticism in other departments of literature, and he is at the same time goaded on by the petty annoyances of narrow-minded bigots to ever-fresh enquiry; not without an under-current of suspicion, that the people who have been so unjust to himself are likely to be found, even in their theology and religion, selfish and tricky, and much more wrong than right. His free enquiry and his candid confession,—both that he is enquiring, and that his opinions are undergoing some modifications,—deepen the suspicion which already exists against him. At this point also he often suffers almost equal damage from those who wish to be his friends, and from those who give unmistakable proof that they mean to be his enemies. The Unitarians, for instance, claim him as one of them. Even those who are farther advanced than the Unitarians in their departure from Catholic Christianity, boast that their principles are spreading, and take it for granted that the new enquirer *must* find out that every part of the old creed is absurd and unbelievable. Then the vulgar crew of his old persecutors raise a shout of triumph. If a Unitarian does not know a Unitarian when he sees him, who does? If a rationalist cannot detect rationalism under the guise of orthodoxy, who can? They are deeply grieved, pious souls of course they are, that their poor misguided brother should have fallen into the abyss of infidelity; but it is no more than they had expected; they have had some experience of human nature, and they are more and more convinced that there is no safety for anybody but to put away the very first suggestions of unbelief as the devices of the great enemy. What is to become then of

a man who has ventured to act upon the belief that *He* verily came into the world to be our Example, who was found once in the temple "*asking questions.*" He feels that now, even in the most worldly sense, he has nothing to lose. He is indignant and disgusted, and it is a rare mercy if he is not very angry. The injustice and cruelty of those who boasted that they were orthodox, actually create a prejudice in favour of those who are not orthodox; at any rate he has been cut off from those restraints, beneficial and divine, which church life is meant to furnish, and which bigotry never fails to destroy. So he acquires a "*bias;*" and a "*bias*" is always adverse to criticism, and interferes wofully with the impartial application of its canons. The cowardice and imbecility of bigots has nothing to do with the Nicene Creed; and even the impudence and dishonesty of a "*religious*" newspaper cannot invalidate the authority of the four Gospels.

But to return from this digression. We are by no means confined even to the four acknowledged epistles of St. Paul, when we try to ascertain what that life of Christ is which is contained in the New Testament, and accepted by the Catholic Church. For the Church unquestionably regards the four Gospels as authentic, and containing a credible and trustworthy history; and if the life of Jesus given us by the four Evangelists is to be altered, or a new life substituted for it, that can only happen, because required by the results of a careful and impartial criticism, or the conclusions of genuine science. There is not much, even of what seems to be discrepancy, in the various accounts which the New Testament contains of the bare facts in the life of Christ. It is asserted in the Gospels and implied, where it is not distinctly asserted, in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, that Jesus Christ was born into the world, that He wrought miracles and spoke parables, that He was regarded by many, and allowed Himself to be regarded by many, as the Messiah, that He was crucified and buried, that He rose again from the dead the third day, and was frequently seen by those who knew Him most intimately, and that He ascended to heaven to dwell for ever with the Father. This is a bare outline of what is implied throughout the New Testament. The details must be filled up, some of them from the Evangelists, some of them from St. Paul. Those parts of the Scripture account of Jesus Christ, which are the stumbling-blocks of science, and which (partly, if not chiefly, for that reason) criticism has done its best to get rid of, are the asserted relation of Jesus of Nazareth to the "*Logos,*" or Wisdom, or Son of God, and as inseparable from that, the relation of the "*Logos*" Himself to

the Father,—the miraculous conception,—the miracles,—the resurrection,—and the ascension. The Apostles' Creed contains no declaration of those mystic facts which constitute the first of these difficulties, but all the objections which can be brought against *any* of them cannot fail to lie against the Nicene Creed ; a portion of which it may be well to quote :—

“ I believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten not made, Being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made ; Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, and the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead ; whose kingdom shall have no end.”

The four Gospels, or at any rate the first three, are occupied almost exclusively with the life of Jesus Christ in this world, from the incarnation to the ascension. At the same time the Evangelists seem in no way startled or surprised by the astounding wonders they relate. The miracles of Christ are connected by the simplest conjunctions with His journeyings and teachings. The sacred historians are penetrated with the belief that the works of Jesus were for Him natural and easy ; so that their wonder would have been excited by the *absence* of those marvels which to our own age are so puzzling. Modern orthodoxy imagines that it can satisfactorily prove the Messiahship of our Lord, and His divinity, by the miracles which He wrought ; and the miracles may in fact have done something to strengthen, or even produce, the faith of the first disciples. But it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the modern belief is the exact converse of the belief of the Evangelists. At any rate, when they wrote the Gospels they had come to perceive that the miracles were credible and valuable, because of Him who wrought them ; and though the Gospels contain many indications of the slow growth of conviction and knowledge, even in the apostles themselves, before the resurrection, yet there are indications in the very beginning that the miracles benefited the disciples far more than the crowd. “ This beginning of miracles,” says St. John (ii. 11), “ did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth His glory ; and His *disciples* believed on Him.” In truth, Jesus Christ himself described the people of His time and country as “ an evil and adulterous generation ” (Matt. xii. 39), because they were ever seeking for mere marvels, and imagining that



some great blaze of light or audible voice from heaven would have power to remove their doubts, and secure their hearty spiritual allegiance to God's Anointed. The age of Christ,—like every age of unbelief, and especially of unbelief hidden under the disguise of a strong and undoubting conviction, like every age in which old faiths are breaking up, and the instructed few begin to despise and pityingly tolerate, for the sake of worldly convenience, the superstitions of the uninstructed many,—was an age, not in Judea only, but throughout the Roman empire, characterized by the most reckless credulity, and the prevalence and lucrativeness of all kinds of magic arts. The miracles of our Lord, therefore, were in no degree wonderful as miracles; and the Pharisees had no hesitation in trying to throw contempt and suspicion on Jesus Christ by attributing all the works He performed to the power of the evil spirit (Matt. xii. 44; Luke xi. 15). The wonder was that the miracles of Christ were so unpretending, so perfectly unselfish, and compared with the greedy expectations of ignorance and superstition, so very few. The apocryphal Gospels may help us to understand how much the world of that time would have tolerated and even admired.

The calmness then of the account which the Evangelists give us of the life of Jesus can be accounted for most easily, and we might almost venture to say, *only*, by the assumption amply justified by the writings of St. Paul, that they viewed the earthly life of Jesus as neither more nor less than a manifestation, in time, of the Eternal Word. There was no need for pompous style, and the meretricious ornaments of a gaudy rhetoric; no need for a great flourish of trumpets calling attention to this miracle or that, as a thing wholly unprecedented, a sight to be stared at by the eyes of vulgar ignorance. The majesty of Him who had come into the world, the solemn mystery of the eternal Image of God's substance manifested in the flesh, reduced, if not to comparative insignificance, yet, at any rate, to a most quiet and decorous orderliness, even the healing of the sick, the calming of the tempest, and the raising of the dead. The life of Jesus, therefore, as given in the four Gospels, or even in the first three alone, must be to us wholly incredible, a mere disorder in the history of the world and the course of human development, if we cannot say, "I believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son of God. . . . God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God. . . . Being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made." This condition of the credibility of the Gospels is clearly expressed and affirmed in the early verses of the fourth Gospel;

and even more clearly in the Epistles that have been attributed to St. Paul.

It is far beyond the object and scope of this paper, though it is absolutely necessary to a complete examination of the life of Christ, to enter at any length into the consideration of those various doctrines of the Logos which are most closely related to the teaching of St. Paul. It is important, however, to notice that the doctrine of the Logos is very far from being a mere Bible dogma. It has seemed reasonable and even necessary to philosophers, who were by no means prepared to confess that Jesus Christ was the Word made flesh. It commended itself to the profound thought of the greatest of all philosophers, though he knew nothing whatever of our sacred Scriptures. In fact, so nearly akin is Platonism to Christianity, that some of the early fathers and church doctors were, we may almost say, the best of the Platonists; and it has been argued, not without much plausibility, that even St. Paul himself was well acquainted with the Platonic philosophy. About this, indeed, there may be much reason to doubt. We may almost say with Mr. Jowett, "that we cannot imagine how St. Paul could have become familiar with the great names of Greek and Roman history without ceasing to be St. Paul."<sup>c</sup> At the same time it is true that St. Paul was a Platonist, at least to this extent, that every shallow jester who thinks a sneer a sufficient confutation of his doctrine of the Word of God, must understand that he has to confute not a few verses in the Epistle to the Ephesians only, but the whole of the Platonic philosophy. Indeed, we shall perhaps see further on that the prevalence of heresy on this matter of the eternal Sonship and the Word of God is in this country, at least, inseparably connected with the substitution for a philosophy essentially Platonic, of a philosophy, all whose data are furnished by the five senses, and which was long ago demolished by anticipation in Plato's *Theætetus*.

At any rate the Pauline doctrine of the Logos is not only the postulate without which Christianity is incredible; it is also the postulate, in St. Paul's belief, without which creation itself would have been impossible. For the Word was the instrument of creation, the minister of the infinite God, performing all His works; the revealer of Him whom no man hath seen at any time, but "whom," in the language of the fourth Gospel, "the only-begotten Son dwelling in the bosom of His Father declared." Inasmuch as St. Paul beholds in Jesus Christ "the image of the invisible God, in whom it hath pleased the Father that all fulness

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<sup>c</sup> Essay on Natural Religion, in his *Epistles of St. Paul*, etc., ii., p. 436.

shall dwell, and in whom actually does dwell all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. i. 15, 19; ii. 3, 9), the apostle enters even into the holiest of all, and loses himself in the brightness of that divine light in which, through very excess of splendour, all things become invisible. He receives the spirit of adoption, and can approach the Eternal One as his Father. Yet again, he contemplates this infinite Jehovah with ineffable awe. It is not in Him he dwells, but in His image, His Word, his Son; and the Son dwells in the Father. "All things are yours," he says in one of his letters, "and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." The light of God would blind us,—no man can see God and live. *He*, therefore, must shine upon us who is Light of Light: "If we hear the voice of God speaking to us any more," said the Israelites, "we shall die." Therefore must *He* speak to us who is God of God. Indeed, according to St. Paul's doctrine, the mediatorship of Jesus Christ is not a temporary expedient rendered necessary by the sin of men; it is implied in the eternal and unalterable relation of the Son to the Father before the foundation of the world.

More necessary still, if possible, to the credibility of the life of Christ, is the Pauline doctrine of the relation of the Logos to the human race. St. Paul rises above all the phenomena of human history, the casting away of the Jews, the corruption of the first Christian communities, the perplexities and contradictions of the experience of every individual, and he finds hope and rest in the contemplation of the eternal purpose of God. He beholds the eternal Father determining, if we may so speak without irreverence, what kind of world the world of men should be. To the mind of the Apostle, all things are insignificant compared with God and man. He sees animals and plants, and things without life, subject to fixed and necessary laws, which they obey without mistake and without virtue. They do not know how grand is the order of which they form a part. They have no sympathy with the will of Him who made them; and while they manifest some lower part of His being, they can in no degree know to what they are bearing witness. "Is this then," St. Paul seems to have asked himself, "the utmost perfection of which God's creatures are capable?" Remembering how the Eternal Word is the mediator between God and all His works; the instrument of creation, he could not doubt that "in Him all things were created, things in the heavens, and things on the earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or lordships, or dominions, or powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist" (Col. i, 16, 17). But was there to be no completer likeness, no

fuller manifestation of the divine glory, than this inarticulate praise and unvirtuous obedience of irrational nature? St. Paul seems to have contemplated the Almighty as determining that there should be a race of beings obeying Him not of necessity, but freely; not by constraint, but lovingly; not with the bondage of slaves, but with the spirit of sons; a race should be created in the only-begotten Son, of which He should be the archetype and head, which should be His image as He is the image of the Father. As the eternal Son is holy and obedient, free and loving, the human race was "chosen in Him before the foundation of the world, that it might be holy and without blame before God in love." Could this Eternal Word be fully revealed and manifested to the world, then St. Paul believed men might know the eternal purpose of God and the destiny of humanity. In conformity with this belief, and regarding Jesus Christ as being actually the incarnate Word, St. Paul affirms that the race of men is to be seen, not in the first Adam who fell, but in the second man—the Lord from heaven. He declares that we live, die, rise, ascend again to the Father with Jesus Christ. He assures us that in the person of Christ, as in the eternal purpose of the Father, the great experiment of created and dependent freedom, and the slow course of human history, may be seen, not in a long succession of separate manifestations and a countless multitude of disjointed fragments, but in one divine whole. Christ is free and obedient, tempted and holy, dead and alive again, self-emptied of His glory, and exalted to the right hand of His Father, the perfect Son triumphant and blessed for evermore. *That*, therefore, is the purpose, the history, and the destiny of the human race.

For one who believed this there could be nothing incredible in the incarnation of the Word; and for one who does not believe this, it would seem that the incarnation must be for ever incredible. If there be no mediation between God and man involved in the very being of God and the nature of man, there is then an infinite chasm between the divine and the human that no temporary expedient could be expected to bridge over. On the other hand, if the Word in whom men were created should actually become incarnate, then His life might surely be such as the life of Jesus Christ was according to the Evangelists.

No one need wonder that the life of such a Christ as this should have seemed not incredible only, but incomprehensible, a series of tangled contradictions, to many of the readers and critics of the New Testament. Indeed that so vast a number of Christian people should have been found to believe it, is almost a greater miracle than any of those recorded in the four

Gospels. With the objections and heresies of the apostolic and sub-apostolic period, it is not the object of this paper to meddle. They were connected, like the doctrines of which they were the denials and modifications, with a philosophy both physical and metaphysical, widely different from that which prevails in our own country at the present time. Even the modern speculations of Germany undergo, when imported into England, a very considerable change both for better and for worse. These speculations, so far as they are related to the New Testament history, have been arranged by Dr. Ebrard under four classes or periods; which again may be arranged in two divisions, according as they involve a criticism of the history itself, or of the historical books of the New Testament. For the objects of this paper, we are concerned chiefly with the criticisms of the history itself.

"The first effort of negative critics," says Dr. Ebrard,<sup>4</sup> "was to eliminate miracles exegetically, by means of *natural explanations* (Paulus, Venturini, Thiesse). That is to say, it was either maintained that the Evangelist never intended to relate a miracle (thus, in John ix. 7, Paulus asserts that John simply intended to mention the occurrence as an ordinary hydropathic cure), or that the evangelist mistook a natural phenomenon for a miraculous one; in which case it is the task of the expositor to separate the *fact* itself from the judgment of the Evangelist with reference to the fact."

This natural explanation of the supernatural was soon found to be untenable, satisfying neither friends nor foes. The next stage in the course of negative criticism was not to explain the occurrences which were doctrinally objectionable, so that they might still be retained as a valuable portion of the history, but to set them all down as unhistorical; "as *myths*, in fact, which had grown up spontaneously out of the prevailing desire to do honour to Jesus, and which, instead of being kept distinct from the history, had been admitted into the Gospels themselves." Of course, much criticism of the New Testament books themselves, as well as of the history they contain, was necessary to give even the faintest plausibility to this theory of myths. In fact, the theory itself was still very vague and fluctuating

"When Strauss appeared, and erected upon the vague conclusions of his predecessors his well-known hypothesis with regard to the Gospel *history*, of which the following is the general drift. In the first score years after the death of the Rabbi Jesus, who had made such an impression upon his disciples that they took him for the Messiah, whose advent the Old Testament Scriptures had led them to anticipate, and who had eventually formed the same opinion of himself, a very natural desire arose to magnify their departed Master, by attributing to him all the cha-

<sup>4</sup> *Gospel History*, p. 20.

<sup>•</sup> *Ibid*, p. 23.

characteristics ascribed to the Messiah in the Old Testament; and this was done with the pious feeling 'that they could not have been wanting in the case of Jesus.' They brought themselves to believe this; and thus compact circles of myths arose, some being pure inventions, and others growing out of actual sayings or deeds of Jesus himself. Of these, some have been preserved, with their natural convergences and divergences, by the four Evangelists."<sup>f</sup>

It is, of course, plain that Strauss's theory, or any theory like his, is quite incompatible with the apostolic origin of the New Testament, or, at any rate, of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. At the same time, the New Testament does actually exist; it must, therefore, have been produced at some time or other, and must have had some authors to whatever age they may have belonged. The problem, therefore, of Biblical criticism was not completely solved until the books of the New Testament had been rigorously examined, as well as the history they contain. It was necessary not only to prove that the New Testament history was untrustworthy and ideal, but to construct, from such materials as might be available, a real and trustworthy history of the beginnings of Christianity. This last is the work undertaken by Dr. C. F. Baur and the Tübingen school.

In what space remains to us, we shall examine first and chiefly the objections which have been brought against the New Testament *history*; and then, that criticism of the New Testament *books* by which those objections are justified. The essential characteristic of every modern substitute for the life of Jesus given us in the four Gospels is, that it is a life of Jesus *without the supernatural*. "A conviction of nature's constancy and order," says Mr. Mackay,<sup>g</sup> "was the necessary preliminary to a scientific treatment of history; for history ends where miracles begin. History would exhibit events in an intelligible order of connection and succession; whereas miracle, denying any natural connection, consigns them to unintelligible chaos." This assumption is at the foundation of all modern explanations of the life of Jesus Christ; and, plainly enough, if a miracle be impossible, the whole Bible must be incredible. Moreover, it is obvious that, historically, the disbelief of miracles was not produced by the careful and impartial criticism of the sacred books; but, on the contrary, the destructive criticism of those books was rendered necessary by the *à priori* belief of the impossibility of miracles. We shall, therefore, devote a few paragraphs to the examination of the proposition—*miracles are impossible*.

It ought to be quite plain, though the contrary is almost

<sup>f</sup> Ebrard, *Gospel History*, p. 24.

<sup>g</sup> *The Tübingen School*, p. 181.

universally taken for granted, that the proof or disproof of this proposition must lie beyond the region of physical science. Physical science is confessedly only concerned with phenomena, and knows nothing whatever of any cause of a phenomenon, excepting that it is "the antecedent, or the concurrence of antecedents, on which the phenomenon is unconditionally and invariably consequent."<sup>a</sup> Modern science not only declines to investigate what are called efficient causes, but sometimes even goes out of its way to deride them. It is "satisfied with knowing that one fact is invariably antecedent, and another consequent, without looking out for something that may seem to explain their being so—something *ἀνευ οὗ τὸ αἰτιον οὐκ ἂν ποτ' εἴη αἰτιον*." But miracles being, in fact, departures from the ordinary sequences that have been observed in nature, can be accounted for, if at all, only by assuming the intervention of some of those efficient causes which physical science, as such, is not required to recognize. In this way they belong not to physics, but to metaphysics; not to natural science, but to theology; and are involved, at least as possibilities, not in the uniformity of the course of nature, but in the will of Him of whose will, nature and its uniformity are a partial expression. In fact, the word miracle has no meaning in relation to God, or, at any rate, its meaning in relation to Him is wholly different from its meaning in relation to ourselves; for the words natural, unnatural, supernatural, ordinary, miraculous, indicate a certain relation to human weakness or ignorance, and not to that Infinite Being in whom all causes and all possibilities exist eternally. When we speak of Him, it is almost equally correct or incorrect to say that He cannot work miracles, because all things to Him are possible; and that He alone can work them, because He alone can rise above that portion of nature to which His creatures are confined. It is plain, however, that the writers of the New Testament believed that the events which they recorded as miraculous were wholly beyond ordinary human power, were, in fact, what would now be described as interruptions, or contradictions, or exceptions, to the laws of nature.

"Non sufficit ad rationem miraculi si aliquid fiat præter ordinem alicujus naturæ particularis; si enim aliquis miraculum faceret lapidem sursum projiciendo; ex hoc autem aliquid dicitur miraculum, quod fit præter ordinem totius naturæ creatæ, quo sensu Deus solus facit miracula; nobis enim non omnis virtus naturæ creatæ nota; cum ergo fit aliquid præter ordinem naturæ creatæ nobis notæ per virtutem nobis ignotam, est quidem miraculum quoad nos, sed non simpliciter."<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Mill's *Logic*, i., 352 (third edition).

<sup>j</sup> *Ibid.*, i., 369.

<sup>j</sup> St. Thomas (quoted by Mackay, *Tübingen School*, p. 162).

It is scarcely worth while to notice the mere scorn of miracles which seems, in the judgment of writers like Mr. Mackay, a complete substitute for argument. Even if he were at all a witty man, which unquestionably he is not (for it is scarcely possible to find a drearier book than his *Tübingen School*), it would still be unseemly, and in the worst literary taste, to describe the "external God" as "the unintelligible caprice of a personal being, whose legs the child not unreasonably expects to see dangling from the sky; and whose reported 'going down' to see the Babel-builders perplexed the self-conscious school-boy as to the possible misconduct of the angels in his absence." Such silly profanity as this almost removes Mr. Mackay from the arena of legitimate Christian controversy; but the expression, "the external God," may serve to remind us that there are three postulates without which all religion is impossible. These three postulates are God, and man, and nature. It is not possible for us, constituted as we are, to separate these three, but we can quite easily distinguish them. There is no religion when God is identified with man, or man with God; for in either case there is nothing left to worship or to be worshipped; there is no difference between the two upon which a relation could be founded. There is no religion if God be identified with nature, for then man becomes the creature of mere necessity, and no worship can be rendered, nor any relations of the truly religious kind exist, when living persons are in subjection, not to a Divine Person, but to those lifeless abstractions which we call necessary laws. In like manner (though this is the least important postulate of the three), it is difficult to understand how there could be any religion if man were identified with nature, even with his own body. For then, on the one hand, he would be a mere thing, not differing essentially for the purposes of religion from a tree or a stone; or, on the other hand, the nobler human spirit would be without the instruments by which it works, without a region in which to perform its numerous operations, without those conditions by which its faculties are developed, and its goodness tested and perfected. In fact, nature is subordinate both to God and man; at any rate such is the doctrine of Holy Scripture, and has been the belief of some of the profoundest philosophers; nor is the disproof of it within the scope of that physical science which can only investigate and scientifically arrange the phenomena of the world, but has no means of determining which phenomena are morally or religiously highest. The wing of a butterfly or the digestive

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\* Mackay's *Tübingen School*, p. 162.



organs of a microscopic animal are, and must always remain, of greater importance to physical science than the moral government of the universe; for the former are within its province, but the latter is wholly beyond it.

If then nature be regarded as a comparatively indifferent region, constructed by the free God for the use and culture and spiritual perfecting of the dependent freedom of man, miracles are not *à priori* impossible, for it is quite as easy to alter as to make;<sup>1</sup> nor are they *à priori* improbable, because it is by no means unlikely that the changes in the spiritual condition of free man might require some alterations, rare and exceptional, in that nature which is the sphere and instrument of human activity. Of course everybody knows that not miracles only, but the freedom of the human will itself, has been denied on the ground of *its* incompatibility with the uniformity of the course of nature; and in respect both of miracles and the will we may avail ourselves of a very just distinction expressed with the utmost clearness by Mr. J. S. Mill:—

"Though it is a condition," he says, "of the validity of every induction that there be uniformity in the course of nature, it is not a necessary condition that the uniformity should pervade all nature. It is enough that it pervades the particular class of phenomena to which the induction relates. An induction concerning the motions of the planets, or the properties of the magnet, would not be vitiated though we were to suppose that wind and weather are the sport of chance, provided it be assumed that astronomical and magnetic phenomena are under the dominion of general laws. Otherwise the early experience of mankind would have rested on a very weak foundation, for in the infancy of science it could not be said to be known that *all* phenomena are regular in their course."<sup>2</sup>

The particular class of phenomena to which that induction relates which has furnished us with the laws of nature, does not include the very rare and exceptional occurrence, the Incarnation; and, in the form of human nature, the personal operation in the world of the Creator Himself. If such an incarnation be impossible, its impossibility can be proved, if at all, only by deduction from those general principles which are furnished by theology and metaphysics.

We are sometimes told that miracles could not possibly render any spiritual service to man, because the unbroken order of the universe is a far nobler revelation of God than any occasional disorder could be. This is undoubtedly true for pious and reverent men who know and remember that there is a God,

<sup>1</sup> "Omne miraculum est nova creatio, et non ex lege primæ creationis."—Bacon, *Meditationes Sacre, De Miraculis Salvatoris*.

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Mill's *System of Logic*, i., p. 319 (note).

and that the order of the universe is a partial expression of His will; and who remember also that that order does very *partially* reveal God, and that notwithstanding the apparent immutability of the course of nature, God has not locked up His freedom for ever in the dungeon of matter. But are men always pious and reverent? Are these fundamental truths of religion always remembered? Is there no such thing as Atheism? No such thing as Pantheism? No such thing as Fatalism? No such thing as the worship of chance? No such thing as devil-worship, and the deification of selfishness? On the contrary, the world is full of such things. Some of them belong to the dawn of civilization, some to its perfect day; some are among the obstacles which physical science has overthrown, some are among the *idola theatri* which physical science has produced. Indeed, one chief objection to the credibility of those histories which contain the record of the miracles of our Lord, arises from the fact that physical science is necessarily and properly godless; not of course opposed to God, but concerned with His works rather than with Himself, and with the ordinary method of His operation rather than the unexhausted freedom of which even He can never divest Himself. In fact it does not stay to consider from whom the world comes, but what the world is.

It is unhappily far from incredible that men of science might be found, even in our own age and country, so enamoured of the mere order which they have patiently contemplated, that they regard the presence even of the Orderer Himself as an extreme impertinence. They have investigated, for example, the mechanical forces of the world, the conditions of motion and equilibrium; the forces of attraction, of gravitation and the like; they have measured and even weighed the sun, and the planets, and the fixed stars. From the forces that act at vast and immeasurable distances they have passed to the examination of those forces which act upon the ultimate particles of matter, when they are brought into actual contact with each other. They have reduced the innumerable forms of matter to some score or two of elements, and they have discovered the mystic loves and hatreds, the elective affinities, which produce the endless unions and separations and recombinations of all things that are. They have begun to learn the secret even of the wind "that bloweth where it listeth," and have found out that its very fickleness is but the playful disguise of an unchangeable constancy. They are sure that even the very sunshine and showers of April come and go in an order as unalterable as that in which the planets revolve. They think of their own advent into the world, and they take up a grain of sand and say, "I

might never have been at all, and all that I have ever done, and all that I ever hope to do in this world, must have been obstructed if this little grain of sand had lain in a different place;"\* and they contemplate their own nature, the body that is born and grows to maturity, flowers and bears fruit, withers and dies. Can there be anything of a man left? Have not buried generations already experienced a resurrection? Have not the bodies of the dead been decomposed into earths and gases? floated over the world in vapours, adorned it with flowers, enriched it with waving harvests, fed its herds and flocks and their own posterity; and so come to live again in the very bodies of those who "build their tombs and garnish their sepulchres." The world is a system of forces and materials, ever changing their forms and relations to each other, but never perishing; self-sufficient, complete and everlasting. What room is there in such a world for the free spirit of man, for the living presence of God? Is it not this of which St. John wrote, "If any man be enamoured of the order of the universe (*τὸν κόσμον*), the love of the Father is not in him?"

If, indeed, the miracles of Holy Scripture are accepted as facts, then the fatalism of this nature-worship is broken for ever; then the man of science must retire from the "cosmos" to worship the Father; and must acknowledge that greater than nature is the God from whom nature came, and even the spirit of man himself, "the roof and crown of things."

But we are often told also that a miracle is inconsistent with the immutability of God, and of those perfections which, if we believe in a God at all, we must attribute to Him. And so in the same sense is creation. Why should the infinite God change from the rest that was not idleness to the work that knew no fatigue? And why, supposing a single change, should there be any further change? Why should not God in a single act of creation, never to be repeated, complete the manifestation of Himself? Why not in a single utterance exhaust revelation? But in truth there is no change. Nature and miracles are equally declarations of God's will and manifestations of His Being? He would have men understand that He is wise, seeing the end from the beginning; that there are in Him the divine and eternal models of all law and order;—and, therefore, the course of nature is uniform. He would have men know that He Himself is not nature, nor bound by the laws of nature, nor compelled to move according to the course of nature;—and, therefore, the uniformity of the course of nature has been sometimes

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\* Fichte's *Vocation of Man*, pp. 26, 27.

interrupted by miraculous interpositions ; and these very interpositions have brought into clear light that *unchangeable* wisdom which could recover men from atheism and sin, and the *unalterable* love which could not bear the shame and misery of mankind.

But if miracles are not impossible and not wholly improbable, it is evident that the New Testament writings must be rejected, if at all, not because they contain the record of miracles, but for some other reasons. We come, therefore, to the criticism not of the New Testament history, but of the books in which it is contained. To criticize that criticism is indeed far beyond the scope of this paper ; but there are two points to which it is desirable to call attention, brief as our remaining space must be. The first is, what we must call the fallacy of quotations. It would be very unfair even to insinuate that passages of Scripture and from the fathers are intentionally referred to by the Tübingen school and their English admirers, without their being in the least degree appropriate to the subjects under discussion, for the sake of throwing dust into the eyes of careless readers. At the same time nothing can be more ridiculous and irrelevant than the mass of quotations which we find in the writings of this school ; and nothing is more necessary than that their readers should carefully examine not only every passage referred to, but the context out of which it is taken. It is scarcely possible to open even at random such a book as Mr. Mackay's *Tübingen School*, or any Biblical criticism article in the *Westminster Review*, without finding abundant examples of this blindness or unfairness. We are told, for instance, that at the death of St. Paul, Pauline Christianity (by which is meant Christianity set free from the fetters of Judaism) was almost obliterated ; and the proof of this we are told (so far as Rome is concerned) is furnished by the words (2 Tim. ii. 16), "at my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me ;" while to complete the absurdity, the Second Epistle to Timothy is by the *Tübingen School* considered spurious. St. Paul himself, we are assured, is stigmatized as one who taught men to neglect the less important commandments. The passage of Scripture cited in proof of this is Matt. v. 19 : "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, the same shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven." We are told that St. Paul is denounced by the writer of the Epistle attributed to St. James ; and the proof of this is James ii. 20 : "Wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead." In order that St. Paul and St. Peter may be represented as acting in harmony, when in fact they were not acting in harmony, we are told that

St. Paul's mission is represented in the Acts of the Apostles as originally Jewish. The text quoted in proof of this assertion, though it is almost too ridiculous to believe, is Acts xxii. 21: "And the Lord said unto me, Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the *Gentiles*."<sup>o</sup> We are told that when the Epistle to the Ephesians was written, there was already a well-marked antithesis between heresy and orthodoxy; and the first of the passages quoted in proof of this assertion is Ephesians v. 6: "Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things (*whoredom* and *idolatry*) the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience." No doubt these texts are quoted in good faith; but if they were quoted in utterly bad faith, and with the clearest intention to deceive, they could scarcely, except for their glaring irrelevancy, have been more wisely selected. In fact, there is scarcely one person out of a hundred who verifies references; and any writer who is mean enough to try, might play any game he chose with by far the majority of his readers, by means of this fallacy of quotations.

The indications that the Tübingen school find in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, and the majority of the Epistles, of discrepancies on the one hand, and a peculiar doctrinal or ecclesiastical design on the other, are derived from what we regard as wholly untenable interpretations of the New Testament writings. It is quietly assumed for instance, that St. Paul's doctrine of justification is irreconcilably opposed to St. James's, and that in what are called the Deutero-Pauline letters, "faith" means neither more nor less than adherence to a certain doctrinal creed. But these assumptions, and many others like them, would be totally and most justly repudiated by the great majority of those who maintain the Pauline authorship of the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians. But by far the gravest objection to the Tübingen criticism, is the assumption upon which every part of it rests, and which is plainly confessed in all its nakedness and moral impossibility, that the writers of the New Testament histories are mere forgers, who were, and who knew that they were, wholly untruthful. They intended to deceive; the very object they had in view was to misrepresent the early age of Christianity and the teaching of Jesus Christ and His apostles. They believed that the second century, to which we are told most of them belonged, was not like the first century, either in the relation of church-parties, or in doctrine, or in ecclesiastical organization. They considered the second century greatly in advance of the first, in these particulars: they believed it to be

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• *Westminster Review*, October, 1863, p. 521.

a great advantage that early schisms had been healed; that the Christian creed had been brought into a far correcter and more rigid form; and that the Christian communities were under the government of a well-defined hierarchy. But they knew quite well that the Christendom of the second century believed and boasted that "it was built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone." In their inmost hearts they believed that this belief was unfounded, and this boasting vain. They were sure that Jesus Christ was *not* what the Christendom of the second century believed Him to be. They were sure that the teaching both of Christ and the apostles was widely different from that which the second century was in the habit of attributing to them. But inasmuch as the second century did reflect its own beliefs and organizations upon the first age, the writers of the New Testament perceived how extremely useful this delusion might be made. They wanted to strengthen the foundations of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical edifice of their own time; so we are told that they sat down and wrote a life of Jesus Christ, which they knew perfectly well was crammed with lies of their own invention. They wrote a history of the Acts of the Apostles, which they knew perfectly well was a creation of their own imagination, in which every one of the apostles was deliberately and intentionally misrepresented. In the same spirit they wrote letters, which they deliberately attributed to one or other of Christ's disciples, which were meant to be untrue both to the letter and the spirit of the apostolic teaching. This is the assumption upon which every jot and tittle of the Tübingen criticism depends. This is what we are to believe concerning writers who have done more than all other writers put together, to make men truthful even unto death. These are the charges brought against the New Testament writers by men who, if we venture in the mildest and gentlest way to suggest that Strauss and Baur and that set, have been guilty of a negligence that might easily have been avoided, or even fallen unintentionally into some slight mistake, have no answer to give us but a sneer at our miserable bigotry and ignorance, or some coarse and vulgar controversial Billingsgate. We take leave to adhere to the old belief that such a New Testament as the Tübingen school offers to us, is a moral impossibility; that liars and forgers dared not and could not have written what we find in the Gospels and Epistles.

But we ought not to disguise from ourselves, especially in anticipation of that age of controversy which has fairly commenced in our own country, and which is sure to take not a German but an English form,—that many of those who are

accounted orthodox, are doing not a little to prepare the way for the destruction of their own faith. The life of Christ in the world, as represented to us by the Evangelists, is and can be credible only when viewed in the light of the relation of the Eternal Word to the Father and to the human race. Apart from this, the chasm between the divine and human is far too wide for any Bible to bridge over. Enough has surely been said in this paper to demonstrate at any rate our own belief in what, for want of a better expression, we may call the "divinity of Christ." But it is not too much to affirm, that what orthodoxy is in deepest need of, if it would be prepared for the coming struggle, is a clear assertion of the Incarnation. Unfortunately some of our chief doctors seem to imagine that they can defend the faith, only by denying the true human development of Jesus of Nazareth; while on the other hand the eternal Sonship and the creation of the race in the Word of the Father are looked upon with suspicion as mystic dogmas, belonging rather to Platonism than to Christianity. Alas! it would only be too easy to root them out of the beliefs of men. It is only too easy to persuade ourselves and others that there is nothing nobler and diviner than what our five senses can recognize; and, unhappily for the tendency of modern thought and philosophy, nothing is plainer than that upon the five senses, the life of Jesus Christ given us in the New Testament, can in no way be made to rest.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

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*The Samaritans.*—This ancient race will probably ere long have ceased to exist, as it has long been gradually but surely diminishing. At the present time the whole tribe consists of not more than one hundred and fifty persons, and as their laws forbid them to marry, except among their own people, there are now twelve young men who cannot find wives. They dwell at Shechem, and every Easter go up with their tents to Mount Gerizim, where they keep the Passover with precisely the same ceremonies which accompanied its celebration two thousand years ago. Like the Jews, they slay the Paschal lamb, and with loins girded and staff in hand they eat it with bitter herbs. Unlike the modern Jews (with whom they have no dealings whatever) they have their high priest, and this office has ever descended in the same family. The present venerable old man will be succeeded by his nephew, who is now a rabbi; besides these two officiating priests there are six slayers, whose duty it is to kill the sacrificial lambs. Not only is the Passover celebrated as of old, but every rite mentioned in the Bible is adhered to with the greatest exactitude and minuteness.

## THE EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

### Part II.

1. It is now a year since I published in this Journal the first part of this paper. I then hoped that in the course of a few months I should be made acquainted with any objections to my arrangement of the dynasties which might exist without my knowledge, and with any evidence bearing on that arrangement which I might have overlooked. These objections did not come, and this additional evidence was not supplied, as early as I had anticipated; and I have therefore had to delay the appearance of the second part of my paper. I believe, however, that I am *now* in possession of all the evidence which exists, bearing on the chronology from the accession of the twenty-second dynasty to the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes. Some of this has reached me in a published form; namely, 1. The genealogy of the architect, Râ-num-het, son of Aah-mes-si-Nit, published by Lepsius (*Denk.*, iii., 275 a); to which attention was specially drawn by M. Deveria in his essay on the statue at Munich. For my first knowledge of this essay, as well as for some valuable suggestions on other points, I am indebted to C. W. Goodwin, Esq. 2. A communication of Dr. Brugsch respecting the eclipse in the reign of the father of Takelut, published in Von Gumpach's *Historical Antiquity of the People of Egypt*, p. 29, and 3. An essay on an historical inscription of king Pianchi-Mériamun by Viscomte E. de Rougé, for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of the author. Some other valuable evidence has been communicated to me, with great kindness, by Rev. Basil H. Cooper; being notes taken by him at the Louvre relative to the inscriptions on sundry Apis stèles. I have also to express my obligations to R. Murray, Esq., of Belfast, for the loan of some rubbings taken at Thebes; these are not, however, of any chronological interest, as they contain no date.

2. Taking into consideration all this additional evidence, and combining it with what I had previously before me, and with what is supplied by the cotemporary cuneiform inscriptions, I am confirmed in my belief that, so far at least as respects the twenty-second and subsequent dynasties, the arrangement which I proposed last January is the true one; and that the dates of the commencements of the dynasties were correctly assigned. As to the dynasties before the twenty-second, there are some important inscriptions which I have not yet had an opportunity of examining, and which may be at variance with what I have



hitherto thought. I do not, therefore, propose at this time to discuss the chronology of the several reigns of those early dynasties; nor will I say anything, beyond what I have already said, as to that of the dynasties themselves, except to express my firm conviction that the date of the accession of the nineteenth dynasty assigned in January, 1863, is correct, or very nearly so; and that the dates of the accessions of the eighteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first, are not very far astray;—in no case probably, above twenty years. Of course, I consider it a gross anachronism to place the exodus in the time of the nineteenth dynasty, as is done by the continental Egyptologists, I believe, without exception, and by a large proportion of those in the British Isles.

3. The course which I mean to pursue in the present paper is the following:—I will first establish the true date of the death of Ahmôś or Amasis. Secondly, I will determine with as much accuracy as possible the times of the accessions of him and of the Saite kings, his predecessors. Thirdly, I will do the same for the different dynasties which intervened between the twenty-second and the twenty-sixth. And lastly, I will treat of the different reigns in the twenty-second dynasty.

#### I. DATE OF THE DEATH OF AHMÔŚ.

4. Till within the last few years, no one questioned the facts that Cambyses succeeded his father Cyrus in 529,<sup>a</sup> and that Darius Hystaspis came to the throne in 521. The death of Ahmôś or Amasis was, as a matter of course, placed at about the middle point between these dates, or somewhat before it. Recently, however, two gentlemen have argued with great zeal and perseverance against this received opinion. Mr. Bosanquet maintains that Amasis lived till 514, while Rev. F. Parker supposes him to have died about 547. As it is hard to say how far the efforts of these two gentlemen to gain converts to their respective opinions have been successful, I deem it right to bring forward the evidence in favour of the chronology heretofore received, which exists, and which is in my judgment unshaken in the slightest degree by all that has been said against it.

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<sup>a</sup> In this paper, where a year is mentioned without any addition it is to be understood that it is a proleptic Julian year *a.c.*, as commonly reckoned by chronologists. Where *Ol.* is prefixed, the year intended is an Olympic year, of which the first (*Ol.* 1) began in the summer of 776. Where *N* is prefixed, the year intended is an Egyptian civil year, counted from the era of Nabonassar; the year beginning in 746 being *N* 0, and those before this being taken as negative. In place of giving the months and days of the Egyptian civil year, I generally give the day of the year with *D* prefixed.

5. As respects Mr. Parker, the question at issue resolves itself to this,—in what year did the Peloponnesian war begin? In 452 according to Mr. Parker; in 431 according to every one else. Our authority for the latter date is Diodorus Siculus; and I will first shew that his annals of the Greek wars, from the invasion of Xerxes to the reign of Alexander, are worthy of the highest credit, and that the objections of Mr. Parker have no force. I will then endeavour to explain how the errors in the Parian Chronicle, which led Mr. Parker astray, may have naturally arisen.

6. Diodorus has digested his history of the affairs of Greece and Sicily into the form of annals. He begins his account of what passed in each year by mentioning the name of the Athenian archon of the year, and in every fourth year he adds the number of the Olympiad which was then celebrated, and the name of the victor in the stadium. The names given by him agree with those in a list of the victors of the stadium from Corœbus downward, which is preserved by Eusebius; and it is evident that the list given by Eusebius was not copied from the work of Diodorus, because the latter omits in his annals the year in which the eighty-second Olympiad was celebrated;—doubtless because nothing worthy of being recorded occurred in that year. He neither gives the name of the archon of that year, nor of the victor at the games; whereas in the list of Eusebius, the victor is named as Lycus, the Larissean. Of course, the list of Eusebius is independent of that of Diodorus, and the concurrence of the two independent lists must be admitted to afford very strong evidence of the truth of the facts to which they testify in common. The same thing occurs in the case of the one hundred and fifteenth Olympiad, where the victor is not named by Diodorus, and where the archons of that year and of the preceding year are also omitted.

7. The succession of numbered Olympiads in every fourth archonship enables us to detect these omissions, and to conclude with the utmost confidence that we have, in the fifteen books of the annals of Diodorus that have come down to us, a trustworthy account of the events of the one hundred and seventy-nine years, beginning with the two hundred and ninety-seventh Olympic year, when Xerxes invaded Attica, and ending with the four hundred and seventy-fifth, when the confederacy against Antigonus the son of Philip was formed. When I speak of this history as trustworthy, I except the statements which respect Roman history. These are not connected by any established synchronisms with the events of Grecian and Sicilian history; and the list of consuls and other chief magistrates given by

Diodorus is materially different from what we obtain from other sources, which again are inconsistent with one another.<sup>b</sup>

8. But as respects Grecian history, the testimony of Diodorus, collected as it is from former annals, composed by contemporary authors, many of which are no longer extant; and verified as it everywhere is by the lists of kings of Persia, Macedon, Syracuse, and other places, the lengths of whose reigns are mentioned, while the dates of their accessions and deaths, or depositions, are all carefully given;—his testimony, I say, is deserving of the most implicit confidence. Even if it were not confirmed by astronomical evidence, it would still carry conviction to every person who would take the trouble to study it; but, in point of fact, it is corroborated by such a mass of astronomical evidence, that it is quite a psychological curiosity that any mind should be so constituted as to discredit it. A condensed statement of this evidence I will now give.

9. The Peloponnesian war began two months before the close of the archonship of Pythodorus, as is expressly stated by Thucydides at the beginning of the second book of his history. He is followed by Diodorus, who in his annals mentions, under that archonship, that the war began by the battle and siege of Potidæa, and that the history of Thucydides then began. Now Thucydides mentions in chap. xxviii. of his second book that in that summer there was an eclipse of the sun; and it is certain from astronomical calculations that there was one, which must have been visible at Athens, on the 3rd August, 431, the year in the summer of which, according to Diodorus, Pythodorus was succeeded by Euthydemus. At the commencement of the seventh summer after this, according to Thucydides (book iv., chap. lii.), the sun was again eclipsed, and calculation gives the date of the eclipse 21st March, 424. Again in the nineteenth year of the war, there was a total eclipse of the moon, just before Nicias was to sail from Sicily; his superstitious dread of which leading to disastrous consequences, caused it to be noted not only by Thucydides (book vii., chap. i.), but by Diodorus (book xiii., chap. ii.). This eclipse is calculated to have occurred 27th August, 413, and to have been total. I need scarcely say that no such series of eclipses could have occurred twenty-one years before the dates that I have given, or any other number of years before or after them that Mr. Parker may be pleased to fancy.

10. But this is not all. The year in which the Peloponnesian war broke out—the year in which Pythodorus was archon—is

<sup>b</sup> See the lists, arranged in parallel columns, at the end of the admirable work of Mommsen recently published,

remarkable as the first year of the Metonic cycle, and the year in which the adoption of this cycle was published at the Olympic games which began on the eleventh day of the year. The time when this cycle began must have been a matter of public notoriety. The year of the cycle was made generally known by the appearance, in a conspicuous position at Athens, of its number formed in gold; and the omission from the calendar of every sixty-third day, counted from the beginning of the cycle, must have rendered it absolutely impossible for any mistake, or any difference of opinion, as to the time when it begun to have existed. Now all are agreed that the Metonic cycle dates from the 16th July, 432. Its first year was the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad; and it is here that Diodorus places the archonship of Polydorus, the successor of Apseudes, under whom Meton's cycle was adopted by the Athenians. It would be idle to pretend that the year which began in 432 might be the first year of the second Metonic cycle, when the intercalary months and exemptile days would be in the same places as in the first year of the first cycle. The latter would in that case begin in 451; and in that year there were no Olympic games at which the cycle could be published. In order to reach another year which should have the two characteristics of being the first year of an Olympiad and the first of a Metonic cycle, it would be necessary to go back seventy-six years, to 508 B.C.

It may be thought, however, that there is something in Mr. Parker's statement that Diodorus has omitted a number of archons between the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander. A very few words will suffice to shew that he has made no omission other than those which I have noticed in § 6, and which are at once detected by the list of Olympiads; and, by the way, not one of those omitted archonships occurs in the interval where Mr. Parker supposes the existence of omissions. From the nineteenth year of the war, being the archonship of Cleocritus, and the three hundred and sixty-fourth Olympic year, when the moon is stated by both Thucydides and Diodorus to have been totally eclipsed, there are one hundred and three years, neither more nor less, to the archonship of Hieromnemon, the four hundred and sixty-seventh Olympic year, when Diodorus says (book xx., chap. i.) that the sun appeared to be totally eclipsed to those on board the fleet of Agathocles, the morning after it sailed from Syracuse. Now, the dates of these two eclipses are, beyond all controversy, the 27th August, 413, and the 14th August, 310; the interval being one hundred and three years, as Diodorus makes it.

12. Once more, there are three eclipses mentioned by

Ptolemy, as having occurred in the middles of the months Posideon and Scirrophorion, in the archonship of Phanostratus, and in the middle of Posideon, in the archonship of his successor Evander; which Ptolemy reduces to Egyptian days, which correspond with the 22nd December, 383, and the 18th June and 12th December, 382, and which astronomical calculations prove to have occurred on those days. Now, according to Diodorus, the archonship of Phanostratus began in the middle of July, 383, and that of his successor in the beginning of July, 382, so that the list of Diodorus is confirmed by a record which may be considered cotemporary; for, although Ptolemy says that the records of these eclipses were brought from Babylon, there are good grounds for thinking that he was misinformed as to the first of them; and that *it* was observed at Athens. I shall have occasion to return to this subject. (See § 74.)

13. From what has been said, I think myself fully justified in stating that the order of the Athenian archons, as given by Diodorus, and their connection with the Olympic years with which he connects them, are as fully established as is possible. I can no more question them than I could question the correctness of a list of the Lord Mayors of London, when recorded in a history of the city, and accompanied by a statement of the transactions of their several mayoralities. I consider them to be established beyond the reach of rational controversy, so that it would be a sufficient reply to any of Mr. Parker's arguments against them, if I were to say that, as the conclusion at which he arrived was demonstrably false, he must either have employed inconclusive reasoning, or have assumed a false premise. In some cases he has done the former, in some the latter, and in some he has done both together. As, however, I have been desirous to give full satisfaction on this important basis of Egyptian chronology, I will point out where his several arguments fail.

14. The false assumption which he brings most prominently forward is, that the archonship of Euctemon was actually and intentionally assigned by the compiler of the Parian Chronicle to its one hundred and forty-seventh year. To me it is quite clear that the compiler of the chronicle wrote one hundred and forty-fourth, and that either the sculptor, or—what seems more probable—Selden, the copyist, mistook the last part of the date, *IIII, four*, for *IIII, seven*. This mistake of *II* for *II*, or *vice versa*, is very apt to be made; I will hereafter bring forward a second instance of it in the Parian Chronicle; and will notice a similar error in reading an Egyptian date, where it has led to a mistake of eight years, instead of three;  $\Pi$  having the value of *ten* in hieroglyphics. Now, if we only read one hundred and

forty-four for one hundred and forty-seven in the marble date of this epoch, considerably more than half the supposed inconsistencies which Mr. Parker finds in the chronology of Diodorus will at once disappear. He infers from this epoch, which is that of the twenty-fourth year of the war, the epochs of the first and of the twenty-seventh or last year of the war, making them all too great by three. He then compares these epochs with other epochs recorded on the marble; and, of course, he finds a constant difference of three years between the intervals deduced from the marble and those deduced from Diodorus. *Each* of these differences he treats as an *independent proof* that Diodorus' list of archons is erroneous! but the single correction above given annihilates all these imaginary proofs.

15. Mr. Parker seeks for other proofs by referring to the prehistoric times, of which both Diodorus and the Parian chronicler speak. Here there is obviously a difference between the authorities. Diodorus, who followed Eratosthenes, agreed with Timæus and Clitarchus, as quoted by S. Clemens Alexandrinus, in calculating that at an interval of 407 years from the taking of Troy games began to be celebrated at Olympia; but, according to the former, the Olympiad then celebrated was that commonly called the first, when Corœbus was victor in the stadium; while, according to the latter, it was what is distinguished as "the Olympiad of Iphitus," who, it is said, instituted the Olympic games fifty-two years before the victory of Corœbus. According to this view, the true first Olympiad was in 828; and the Olympiad of 776 was "the fourteenth, commonly called the first." Hence, while Diodorus placed the capture of Troy in 1183, Timæus and Clitarchus, and likewise Suidas, placed it in 1235. The statements of both these parties are *consistent*. They agree with one another as to historic times, and differ as to prehistoric times. Diodorus says that Troy was taken 779 years (current=778 complete) before the end of the Peloponnesian war, Ol. 372, or 405. Timæus says that it was 820 years from the return of the Heraclidæ (and therefore 900 from the taking of Troy) to the archonship of Evænetus, which Diodorus places in Ol. 442, or 335. Again, Suidas says that the first Olympiad (of Corœbus) in 776 was 460 years (current=459 complete) after the taking of Troy.

16. According to Mr. Parker,—I cannot now refer to Selden's work, but I here suppose that he is correct,—the first year of the Trojan war was 954 years before the marble era; and as Phrasiclides, whose archonship began in 371, is placed in the one hundred and seventh year of the marble era, and Agathocles, who began in 357, in its ninety-third, it is evident

that we must add 264 years to the date of the marble era to obtain the date B.C. The first year of the Trojan war would thus be, according to the Parian Chronicle, 1218, and its captive would be in 1209, just midway between the conflicting dates mentioned in the last section. Whether the compiler of the marble Chronicle, having those two dates before him, and being uncertain which of them he should follow, took the mean between them, or whether he had some data unknown to us which enabled him to make a calculation of his own, is what we can only conjecture; nor is it of the slightest importance to our present purpose. We have to deal with *historic* dates; and Diodorus cannot be convicted of error in respect to them, because Timæus and the compiler of the marble Chronicle differed from him as to *prehistoric* dates. He fancies that Timæus and the compiler of the chronicle *must* have placed the return of the Heraclidæ in the same year; and he then argues to this effect:—The Heraclidæ returned 820 years before Evænetus, or 335, *i. e.*, in 1155, according to Timæus [conceditur]. *Consequently*, according to the marble [negatur]. But the marble date of the return of the Heraclidæ is 873; and this taken from 1155 gives 282 for the difference between the marble epoch and the years before Christ. Consequently, there is an error in the marble epoch, as hitherto assumed, of eighteen years; and if we add to this the error of three years, produced by reading 147 for 144 in the epoch of the archonship of Euctemon, we have a total error of twenty-one years in the received dates of the Peloponnesian war, and of all preceding events!

17. But Mr. Parker thinks that a number of archons are omitted by Diodorus in the reign of Philip; and he gives as a reason that nine archons are mentioned by Demosthenes, as those under whom decrees were enacted, in the time of Philip. He might as well argue that the list of Olympic victors was incomplete, because it did not contain the names of certain persons who, according to Pindar, gained the victory in the chariot race. Surely Mr. Parker, who has had a university education, must have known, though he seems to have forgotten, that there was in each year an archon Eponymus, after whom the *year* was named, and who had nothing to do with the passing of decrees, and six Thesmothetæ, who transacted by turns all the business of the assemblies. All the archons mentioned by Demosthenes were Thesmothetæ.

18. I may now dismiss Mr. Parker and his chronological fancies; and will henceforth consider it as certain that the Olympic dates and archonships given by Diodorus are truly given by him. I will accordingly produce his statements respect-

ing the Persian kings in succession, with a view to compare them with those in Ptolemy's canon. I will produce them in an inverse order, beginning with the accession of Artaxerxes II.

Artaxerxes II. succeeded Darius, Ol. 372, Alexias being archon. Darius died, having reigned nineteen years (xiii. 16).

Xerxes II. and Sogdianus died, and Darius began his reign of nineteen years, Ol. 353, Isarchus being archon (xii. 7).

Artaxerxes I. died, having reigned forty years, and Xerxes II. succeeded, Ol. 352, Stratocles being archon (xii. 7).

Xerxes I. and Darius his eldest son murdered; he had reigned twenty years; Artaxerxes I. succeeds him, and reigned forty-four years, Ol. 312, Lysitheus being archon (xi. 18).

It follows that Xerxes I. came to the throne on the death of Darius, in Ol. 292. This would begin 485 or 221 of the marble era. I would observe, however, that the archonship of Callias, five years after this, when Xerxes forced the pass of Thermopylæ, and when the battle of Salamis was fought, is said to have been in the two hundred and seventeenth year of the marble era, the compiler of that Chronicle having inserted a year too many between the archonships of Callias and Euctemon. This would throw back the marble epoch of the death of Darius to 222. There remains a fragment which Selden took for . . . ΔII, and interpreted as 225. The true reading, however, is doubtless . . . ΔII, the remains of 222.

19. With the above statements of Diodorus and the marble I will now compare those of Ptolemy:—

The first year of Artaxerxes II.	was	N 344,	beginning	2nd December, 405.
"	Darius II.	"	N 325,	" 7th December, 424.
"	Artaxerxes I.	"	N 284,	" 17th December, 465.
"	Xerxes	"	N 263,	" 23rd December, 486.

Xerxes reigned twenty-one Egyptian years, according to Ptolemy, and twenty Olympic years, according to Diodorus. His reign must, therefore, have been between twenty and twenty-one; and in order that it should have been so, it must have begun early in Ol. 292, say in the autumn of 485, and ended late in Ol. 312, say in the spring of 464. From this we see that Ptolemy counted as the first year, both of Xerxes and of Artaxerxes I., that in which each began to reign. Darius II. began to reign in Ol. 353 and in N 325, that is, in the former half of 423 B.C. It may be observed that Diodorus makes two different statements as to the length of the reign of Artaxerxes I. In xi. 18 he appears to make it forty-four; but this is obviously a mistake in transcription for forty-one, *MΔ* being written for *MA*. In this estimate the two short reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus are included in that of Artaxerxes,



as they are also in Ptolemy's canon. On the other hand, in xii. 7, the reign of Artaxerxes himself is rightly given as forty years. Artaxerxes II. began in Ol. 372 and N 344, or in the early part of 404 B.C.

20. I now come to the reign of Darius Hystaspis, which ended, as we have seen, in the autumn of 486, or at any rate before the 22nd of December in that year, and after the solstitial new moon. There is a date in Egypt of the thirty-sixth year of Darius; and everybody, so far as I am aware, assigns him a reign of thirty-six years, even Mr. Bosanquet, who places his accession in 517, but places that of Xerxes in 481. The latter date is, as I have just shewn, four years too late, and we must place the former four years earlier, that is in 521. The year N 227, which Ptolemy makes the first of Darius, began 1st of January, 521; and in conformity to what we have seen in other instances, the actual accession of Darius was subsequent to this. How long subsequent I see no evidence, provided that it was before the 31st of December, 521, when N 228 commenced.

21. It is evident from Ptolemy's canon that the reign of Cambyses began eight years earlier, his first year being N 219, which began 3rd of January, 529. Three of the eclipses recorded by Ptolemy fall in these two reigns. One in the seventh Cambyses D 197 was in N 225, or 16th of July, 523; another in the twentieth Darius D 328 was in N 246, or 19th of November, 502; and the third in the thirty-first Darius D 153 was in N 257, or 25th of April, 491. These dates, verified beyond controversy by astronomical calculations, prove that the accessions of Cambyses and Darius took place in the Egyptian years already indicated. And, so far as respects the length of the reign of Cambyses, the cotemporary Serapeum stèles of the fourth of Darius confirm the testimony of the canon. On S 2284 it is stated that an Apis born in the fifth Cambyses D 147 died in the fourth Darius D 243, aged seven years and ninety-five days. It follows that the fourth Darius is that which would have been the twelfth Cambyses if he had lived, and of course that eight years intervened between the Egyptian years which were called their first. Comparing the date of the birth of this Apis with that of the eclipse as above given, I cannot see how it can be reasonably doubted that this Apis was born N 223 D 147, and that he died N 230 D 243.

22. But Mr. Bosanquet will doubtless enquire of me, and he is entitled to do so, what do I make of the marble epoch of the accession of Darius, which, according to Selden, is 253? Is not this irreconcilable with the dates that I have given? I think not; and here I would observe that I by no means make light of

the testimony of the Parian Chronicle within historic times. I do not think that the compiler of it was infallible; but I think its testimony should be accepted, wherever it can be so without violence to superior evidence. In the present instance I think that the marble can be reconciled with other evidence by admitting two suppositions, neither of which appears to me impossible or even improbable. First, I think that the date on the marble should be read 256 and not 253, the last part being *III* and not *III*. Two errors of a similar nature, but in an opposite direction, have been already noted. The difference between the years of the marble era and those before Christ is regularly 264 years (§ 16). I admit that it appears more natural to make it only 263 in this instance, that being the difference in the case of the epochs of the death of Darius and of the battle of Salamis. It is not impossible, however, that the compiler may have discovered the error that he had committed in these two epochs, and have corrected it in the next. I think then that the true epoch of the accession of Darius was, according to the compiler of the Chronicle, Ol. 257 or 520. Secondly, I suppose that this was the date of the death of the Magi, when Darius became actually king, whereas Ptolemy, and no doubt Darius himself, reckoned his years from the death of Cambyses. If this be not quite satisfactory, the only supposition admissible is that the compiler of the Chronicle mistook the year when Darius came to the throne, as he certainly mistook the year when Artaxerxes II. died. Accuracy on the points I have just been considering is not needed. We know for certain that 529 was counted to be the first year of Cambyses, and 521 the first of Darius; and this is all that is necessary to know for our present purpose.

23. The Apis which was born N 223 D 147, or 27th of May, 525, was that which Cambyses stabbed, the rejoicings for his discovery synchronizing with his return from his disastrous expedition to Ethiopia. He was born, as we shall presently see, several months after the death of his predecessor. Although there are several stèles relating to him, none mentions his installation; and we may fairly conclude that the reason of this was that he never was installed at all; he was kept in secret by the priests till Cambyses was dead. As the Egyptians would naturally be impatient at the long delay before a new Apis was found, the possessors of a calf which would suit the priests would make no delay in announcing his birth to them; and on his being recognized as having the proper tokens, the people would be informed of it and the rejoicings would commence. This might happen within a month of his birth, or at any rate not long after. We may, therefore, safely assign the return of Cambyses

from his expedition southwards to the latter part of June or the beginning of July, 525. His conquest of Egypt must have been in the preceding year.

24. We have other evidence, however, as to the conquest which enables us to approximate very closely to its date. Diodorus says (book i., chap. v. at the end) that Cambyzes invaded Egypt in the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad. If this were to be regarded as an isolated statement, its value might be questioned, as it would be uncertain on what authority it was made. When we look, however, to the eleventh and following books of Diodorus, in which he gives regular annals of the events in Grecian and barbarian history, and when we know (for he has so stated in his preface) that there were four books of similar annals, which have unfortunately perished, before the eleventh, it is impossible to doubt that the statement before us was extracted from one of these lost books, and consequently that it is entitled to the fullest confidence. The invasion of Egypt by Cambyzes was, therefore, not earlier than the commencement of Ol. 251, or about 1st of August, 526.

25. On the other hand, among the Serapeum stèles in the Louvre, there is one, S 2287, which records the burial of an Apis in the month of Epiphi, in the fourth year of Cambyzes. The day of the month is uncertain. Mr. Cooper, who examined it most carefully, has informed me that the inscription on it was originally cut in large and deep characters; but that it was subsequently defaced by the chisel of the enemies of Cambyzes, cutting still more deeply than the characters were cut. The year and month, he says, are certain, but the day of the month quite the contrary. From the space which it occupied, however, I think it may be inferred that it was a high date, not much under 30, or not much under 20. The 29th would be the 26th November, 526; and this is as late a date as we can assign to the stèle. At this time Cambyzes was a crowned king of Egypt, taking a prænomen or throne name, after the manner of the ancient kings. He could not, I think, be this till a couple of months after his victory over the son of Amasis. I should therefore place this victory in the latter part of August or the beginning of September, 526; and as soon as it was gained, Egypt seems to have quietly submitted to a conqueror who, at first, as we learn from the Naophorous stèle at the Vatican, and as indeed we might infer from this very Serapeum stèle, professed his adherence to Egyptian worship, and his intention to adopt Egyptian customs. Psammenitus, as Herodotus calls him, the Psamitik III. of the monuments, who was dethroned and ultimately put to death by Cambyzes, is said by Herodotus to have

reigned six months. This is a round number, and is probably in excess of the truth; because Diodorus says that Amasis, his father, died about the time when Cambyzes invaded Egypt. We cannot be much in error, therefore, if we place the death of Amasis, or Ahmô's, in April or May, 526.

26. Here, however, I must notice the strange propositions respecting Ahmô's and Cambyzes, of the truth of which Mr. Bosanquet has persuaded himself, and which he labours hard to impress upon others. Herodotus says, that Amasis *died* after a reign of forty-four years, *before* the actual invasion of Egypt, but while it was impending; that Cambyzes rifled his grave and dishonoured his corpse. He says also, that he was succeeded in the throne of Egypt by his son; who again had a son and daughter, the former of whom was executed as a criminal, and the latter was reduced to slavery by Cambyzes; and who (the son of Amasis) was at length compelled by Cambyzes to destroy himself. Mr. Bosanquet on the contrary believes, and is most anxious that others should believe, that Amasis was himself conquered by Cambyzes, the existence of his son and successor being ignored; and that he outlived his conquest eleven years, being allowed to govern Egypt in his own name, though in subservience to the Persian kings; and the Egyptians being allowed to use in their dates his regnal years and those of the Persian kings indifferently, so that the forty-fourth year of Amasis was identical with the fourth of Darius.

27. Mr. Bosanquet thinks that no reliance can be placed on the statements of Herodotus, because the latter mentions three conflicting statements respecting the affair of Amasis, Nitetis and Cambyzes; and because he says that there were other reports besides that which he gives as the most probable in circulation as to the origin of Cyrus. Surely, however, the caution shewn by Herodotus in pointing out to his hearers where his narration is uncertain, ought to be considered as confirming his testimony, in place of weakening it, in a case where he expresses no doubt at all. Besides, Mr. Bosanquet overlooks an important element in the question—the shortness of the interval between the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes, and his own time. From the youth of Cyrus to the time when Herodotus was collecting information for his history, at least one hundred and thirty years must have intervened. From the affair of Nitetis, there were about one hundred years. Neither of these affairs was thought to be of importance at the time when it occurred, and neither of them was of a public nature. Hence, when Herodotus came to make enquiry, he would naturally hear different stories from different persons. In the case of the conquest of Egypt, on the

contrary, everything is different. To the Egyptians, from whom Herodotus derived his information, no series of events could be of greater importance, or more likely to attract attention, than the conquest of their country and that terrible calamity which followed it, and which is described on a cotemporary monument (the statue of Uza-hor-sun in the Vatican), as the greatest that ever visited the country. The fates of the last two of their kings, and of the children of the latter of them, must have been matters of public notoriety; and when Herodotus visited Egypt, about 450, there must have been many old persons alive who were children, capable of some sort of observation, when these events took place; while the middle-aged must have well remembered what they heard from their parents and elders in their youth. Even if there were no cotemporary evidence bearing on the question, the considerations which I have brought forward would suffice to render Mr. Bosanquet's theory utterly untenable.

28. But, in fact, the statement of Herodotus is, to a great extent, corroborated by cotemporary monumental evidence. The existence of Psamitik III., as king of Egypt, reigning as such in the interval between Amasis and Cambyses, is proved by the statue of Uza-hor-sun, in the Vatican, already referred to. He says that he held a certain high office under Num-het-râ (Ahmô's), and also under Ankh-ke-en-râ (Psamitik III.); and that the master of the whole world, Kanbut, conquered the country, and then took the royal title of Ra-mesût. He relates at full length his dealings with this king, and afterwards with Darius. That Psamitik III., mentioned in this inscription as successor of Ahmô's, was also his son, may be confidently inferred from a stèle of the 23rd Ahmô's (S 2252), where the prince Psamitik, son of king Ahmô's and Tent-kheta (a descendant of the ancient kings) assists at the burial of an Apis.

29. Mr. Bosanquet sets the testimony of Ctesias against that of Herodotus; but to say nothing of the blunder as to Amyrteus and not Amasis having been carried away, which may *perhaps* be due to a copyist, I protest against any weight being attached to the statements of Ctesias. No statement that can be traced to him has ever been corroborated by the testimony of a cotemporary monument; and some of his statements are decidedly inconsistent with monumental evidence. If he had really access to ancient records, as has been alleged, it seems certain that he did not derive his statements from them, but that he invented fabulous stories, which he thought might amuse his readers. Herodotus, on the contrary, appears to have been an *honest* writer, and he may for the most part be depended on for facts which he states to have occurred in his own time, or in the

preceding generation. Even the statement which he makes respecting a total eclipse of the sun having been observed at Sardis on the morning when Xerxes left it, is an excusable mistake. Herodotus had heard a true anecdote of Xerxes in connection with a total eclipse of the sun, when he was going to invade Greece. He entered it, we may suppose, in his notebook; and when he was compiling his history, he inserted it in a wrong place. The eclipse, when the conversation occurred, was not seen at Sardis in February, 480, when Xerxes was setting out for Greece; but in some city in the eastern part of his empire, on the 20th of April, 481. If we knew what the city was, we should have a most important datum for correcting the tables; as it is, we know enough to account for the error of Herodotus without impeaching his general veracity.

30. Mr. Bosanquet, I should add, thinks that the Apis which was born in the fifth of Cambyses, was born in the fifth year after the conquest of Egypt, and not after the death of Cyrus. If so, the Apis which was buried by him in his fourth year was buried in the fourth year after the conquest; Cambyses was for more than three years after the conquest an encourager of the old national worship of the Egyptians; it was not till the fifth or sixth month of the fifth year after the conquest of Egypt that Cambyses returned from Ethiopia, stabbed the Apis, and became a persecutor; and his persecution could have lasted little more than a year! Mr. Bosanquet must, I think, see that there is here a *reductio ad absurdum*, demonstrating the falsehood of his views.

31. I think that I have now shewn the impossibility of the termination of the twenty-sixth dynasty having been much earlier than 526, as Mr. Parker supposes it to have been, or much later, as Mr. Bosanquet thinks. I place the death of Ahmô's in the spring of 526, and the conquest of Egypt in the autumn of the same year. Later than this it could not be, as the Apis stèle, S 2287, proves. Dr. Brugsch thinks it was several months earlier; but against this I set the decisive testimony of Diodorus to the conquest being after July, 526, on which it appears to me that reliance may be placed. I will now proceed to consider the questions, How long did the twenty-sixth dynasty last? and what was the date of its commencement?

## II. DURATION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY.

32. I have first to observe that there can be no material difference of opinion, if we have regard to evidence, as to the interval from the accession of Psamitik I. to that of Ahmô's. Both Herodotus and Africanus assign fifty-four years to Psamitik I.; no one gives him more, and we have a recorded date of his fifty-

fourth year. It is therefore certain that he reigned *about* fifty-four years; and that his three successors reigned in all about forty years, is evident from the stèles at Florence and Leyden, which have been so long known and so often quoted; which record the births of two individuals in different years of the reign of Nekau, their deaths in different years of the reign of Ahmô's, and the lengths of their respective lives. From each stèle we have an independent proof that from the first of Nekau to the first of Ahmô's was forty years.

33. As to the reign of Ahmô's, there is conflicting evidence. Herodotus and Africanus give him forty-four years, and there is a date extant of his forty-fourth year. He cannot, therefore, have reigned more than a few months less than this. He may, however, have reigned more. Diodorus gives him fifty-five years, Eusebius forty-two, and as the duration of the whole dynasty given by the Old Chronicle exceeds that given by Eusebius by ten years, it is highly probable that it gave him fifty-two. Which of these conflicting statements are we to believe? It seems to me that the question is decided in favour of Herodotus and Africanus by the Apis stèle, S 2287. Mention is made on that stèle not only of the burial of an Apis in Epiphi of the fourth Cambyeses, N 222, but of his birth or installation in the twenty-fifth year of Ahmô's. Lepsius at first read the number seventeenth, but De Rougé corrected him. He mistook a ten, Π, for two units. The preceding Apis died in the twenty-third Ahmô's, D 186, as we know from the stèle, S 2259, from which to the date on S 2287, considerably more than a year would have elapsed. Probably, therefore, it is the date of the installation of the bull, and his birth was a year sooner. There is, however, no instance on record of an Apis having lived beyond twenty-six years, and their lives seldom exceeded twenty. Consequently, this Apis must have died before what would have been the fifty-first year of Ahmô's; and as he lived till the reign of Cambyeses, the reign of Ahmô's must have been less than fifty years. It was, probably, several years less, for I have been assuming extreme and improbable values. The supposition that the Apis was *installed* in the twenty-fifth year, and lived about twenty years after that, is far more probable; and this would exactly accord with the testimony of Herodotus and of Africanus; while the only other evidence in existence would give a length of life to the Apis which is quite incredible.

34. The reigns in the twenty-sixth dynasty, according to Africanus, are as follows; I omit the Biblical synchronisms, which were inserted by Africanus himself, or by some Jewish or Christian predecessor of his:—

α' Στεφινάτης	ἔτη ζ'	ς' ψάμμονθις ἕτερος ἔτη ἕξ	
β' Νεχεψῶς	ἔτη ς'	ζ' Οὐαφρις	ἔτη ιθ'
γ' Νεχαῶ	ἔτη η'	η' Ἀμωσις	ἔτη μδ'
δ' ψαμμίτιχος	ἔτη νδ'	θ' ψαμμεχερίτης	μῆνας ς'
ε' Νεχαῶ δεύτερος	ἔτη ς'		

The fifth and sixth numbers are not to be relied on ; we have dates of more than one event in the sixteenth year of Nechao, recorded on different stèles. It is an obvious necessity to correct the fifth number to sixteen ; the fifth, sixth, and seventh would then amount to forty-one ; but we have seen in § 32 that they should be only forty. The mistake originated in the blunder of a stupid copyist. Seeing ε', ζ' before him, he wrote ἕξ. This is the only instance in the text of Africanus of a number being written at full length ; and that circumstance alone would give rise to suspicion. Correcting the blunder, we have for the sum of the fifth, sixth, and seventh reigns,  $16 + 5 + 19 = 40$ . Adding to this 54 and 44, we have 138 ; and it cannot be reasonably questioned that the five kings, from Psamitik I. to Ahmôis inclusive, counted just so many *regnal* years. I have stated my conviction in my former paper, and it remains unaltered, that the first three kings in the preceding list never reigned at all ; their insertion in the list being intended to do honour to the descendants of Psamitik I., who did not like him to be thought so new a man as he really was. These may have been—probably were—the names of his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father ; but the years of their pretended reigns are fictitious. It is indeed scarcely within the range of possibility that the first three kings of a dynasty, representing three generations, should have reigned no more than twenty-one years. (See, however, § 60.)

35. The series of reigns included in the twenty-sixth dynasty is different in all the copies of Eusebius. In his canon, which seems to possess the highest authority, the reigns are given thus :—

Ameres the Ethiopian .....	12	Nechavo .....	6
Stephinatis .....	7	Psamuthes or Psammetichus .....	17
Nechepsos .....	6	Vaphres .....	25
Nechavo .....	8	Amosis .....	42
Psammetichos .....	44		

The sum of which is given as 167, which the numbers really make up. The Old Chronicle makes the sum 177. A consideration of these two sums suggests the probability of the true number given by Manetho having been 157. Africanus makes it 150. He also gives the sum of the reigns of the preceding dynasty as 40, whereas Eusebius and the Old Chronicle agree in making it 44. It is evident that Africanus, or rather some pre-



decessor of his, struck off near fifty years from the reigns of the three dynasties preceding Cambyzes, in order to make the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty synchronize with the Biblical date of the Exodus, which, as they calculated it, was 1667 or 1668. The number 990 which Africanus has preserved at the end of the twenty-fourth dynasty, was the sum of the dynasties beginning with the eighteenth and ending with the twenty-fourth. If we add to this 44 years for the twenty-fifth and 157 for the twenty-sixth we shall have 1191, which added to 525 or 526 would give 1716 or 1717. This was too great by 49. He took off the odd units 4 and 7 from the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties; and he then took off the *remainder*, 38 from the twenty-fourth. The true number was 44, as in Eusebius and the Old Chronicle; but the Jewish or Christian falsifier altered this to 6; thereby causing the sum of the dynastic periods to be only 952, though he fortunately retained the original number 990, by which his fraud is detected.

36. But here a difficulty arises. The sum of Manetho's numbers for the eight reigns, after correcting the errors in the fifth and sixth reigns, is not 157 but 159. Some correction is here required; and what, it will naturally be asked, do I propose? The correction proposed by me is one which, if I can establish it, is of vital importance in Egyptian chronology. I believe that all the numbers above given are to be held as those of Manetho, and also that the sum 157 is his; that, in short, he summed up the dynasty thus:  $7 + 6 + 8 + 54 + 16 + 5 + 19 + 44 = 159$  *regnal* years, each consisting of 360 days = 157 *civil* years of 365 days.

37. That the Egyptian kings counted their regnal years from the dates of their accessions, and not from the first of Thoth, was first stated by De Rougé in 1860, in his *Memoir on the Inscription de Karnak* (p. 27). He remarks that Toutmès III. set out from the Delta in his twenty-second year, in the month Pharmuthi (the eighth month), and that he was at Gaza on the third or fourth of Pachons (the ninth month) in his twenty-third year, when the festival of the coronation was celebrated. He argues that the twenty-third year began at that festival. If it had begun on the first of Thoth, we must suppose that the king was more than a year in crossing the desert. Again, he observes that in the course of the king's sixth campaign, which is said to have been in his thirtieth year, a date is introduced of the thirty-first year, the third Pachons, which he thinks marks the day on which the cipher of the year changed. It is strange that M. De Rougé overlooked another and even more remarkable instance of

this rule. On the Karnak obelisk, it is stated that queen Hatasou began the work on the first of Mechir in her fifteenth year, and that she finished it before the end of Mesore in her sixteenth year; having completed it in *seven* months. "A clear mistake!" it has been assumed that she made. One writer has proposed to read fifteenth for sixteenth, while in a popular treatise, it is stated that the work was executed in nineteen months in place of seven. In reality there is no mistake at all. The sixteenth year began while the work was in progress. The case is just the same as if a work were said to have been begun in May in the twenty-sixth year of Her Majesty, and after being seven months in progress to have been finished in November in her twenty-seventh.

38. The above arguments appear to me conclusive against the opinions that have been generally held, that regnal years commenced on the first of Thoth, the commencement of the civil year. It appears to me, however, that a question remains to be considered which M. De Rougé has too hastily decided. Of what length were the regnal years? Of three hundred and sixty-five or of three hundred and sixty days? Did the regnal year always begin, as M. De Rougé supposes, on the same day of the civil year? or did every regnal year after the first begin five days earlier than that which preceded it? I believe this last to be the case. M. De Rougé supposes that the date of the coronation festival in the twenty-third year of Toutmès III. was held on the third Pachons, the same day as is mentioned as the earliest date in the thirty-first year. It was, therefore, the day on which the regnal years of Toutmès III. regularly began. To this reasoning I object, because the third Pachons in the thirty-first year does not necessarily, or in my judgment, naturally, imply that this was the first day of the thirty-first year,—it was only the earliest day in the thirty-first year on which any recorded event occurred;—and because the date of the coronation feast in the twenty-third year is not fixed by the inscription to the third Pachons. There is a defect in the stone where the number is found. Two bars are visible, and it is uncertain whether there were ever any more; but a date of the fifth Pachons followed when the king left Gaza. There is then an uncertainty whether the feast day was the second, third, or fourth. The second reading accords with M. De Rougé's views; and the first accords with mine in the way that I am going to mention. As against *me*, therefore, M. De Rougé's assumption that we should read third, rather than second, is a begging of the question.

39. The date in question occurs Leps., *Denk.*, iii., 316, col. 13. Dr. Birch, who was unprejudiced, read it second. In another part

of the same inscription (iii., 32, col. 13) another coronation feast is said to have been celebrated on the twenty-second Pachons, if Dr. Birch's reading be correct. I connect these two feasts together, supposing the twenty-second Pachons to have been the anniversary of the accession of Toutmès III. to supreme power at the commencement of his nineteenth year, reckoned from the death of his father. Up to that date he had been subordinate to Hatasou, who reckoned her years from the same event. The date of the death of Toutmès II. would, according to my view, have been one hundred and ten days after the second Pachons, or on the twenty-second Mesore. This fully explains the double feast date, provided that the two dates of the second and twenty-second Pachons be the true ones. I believe this to be the case; but it would be satisfactory if the stones were carefully examined with a view, if possible, to decide this question. On account of the uncertainty in the reading, I lay less stress on this argument than I should otherwise do; but I must observe that, according to M. De Rougé's hypothesis, I see no way of accounting for the second coronation feast day.

40. I do not, however, rely on this argument as more than a corroborative one. What has most weight with me is the inconsistency which, according to M. De Rougé's hypothesis, as well as according to that which has heretofore prevailed, there is between a summation of reigns amounting to 159 years, and a recorded total of 157. The discrepancy, so completely explained by my hypothesis, had unquestionably a real existence in the text of Manetho. Eusebius, who doubtless copied in this instance a statement of a more ancient writer, increases the total by *ten*; and he also increases the sum of all the reigns before Amasis by ten. While the original text, as restored from Africanus, had before Amasis 115, Eusebius has 125; Africanus preserved the true number 44 for Amasis; Eusebius seeing that 44 added to 125 would give 169,—not 167, as he had for his sum,—diminished this reign by 2 years, giving  $125 + 42 = 167$ . But Lepsius (*Denk.*, iii., 275 b) gives a date of the forty-fourth year of Amasis; Herodotus also makes his reign forty-four years. Therefore, forty-two is a corruption; and the only way of accounting for it is that which I have given. For these reasons, I will in the sequel assume it to be a fact that regnal years contained only three hundred and sixty days; and will make this assumption the base of my restoration of the chronology of the separate reigns.<sup>c</sup> Perfect accuracy is not to be

<sup>c</sup> Sir Gardiner Wilkinson has thrown out the suggestion that regnal years contained only three hundred and sixty days; but I am not aware that he has used this fact as a means of establishing a correct chronology.

expected. All that can be hoped for is to determine limits within which the accession of each king must lie. Except in the case of Toutmès III. and Hatasou, I am not aware that any data exist by which the actual day of any king's accession may be determined. It will be seen, however, that some of the limits come very near to one another, leaving a very small interval of uncertainty. As a brief and uniform method of expressing these limits is desirable, I will write them in the form of a vulgar fraction, the earliest possible date of the event occupying the place of the numerator, and the latest possible that of the denominator. The uncertainty sometimes attaches to both the year and the day; sometimes to the day only. In that case the year is given without a fraction. For the notation used as to years and days, see the note to § 4.

41. It may be well to lay down in the first instance the mode of calculation which I employ. If the absolute date of an event  $N\ x\ D\ y$  is known to be in a given regnal year ( $z$ ) of a king, an absolute date in his first year may be found by subtracting  $z-1$  from  $x$ , and adding  $5(z-1)$  to  $y$ ; thus  $N(x-z+1)\ D(y+5z-5)$  would be in the first year; and  $N(x-z)\ D(y+5z)$  would be before the first year. Hence the accession would be

$$N \frac{(x-z)\ D(y+5z+1)}{(x-z+1)\ D(y+5z-5)}.$$

If more absolute dates than one can be referred to given regnal years, we have more than one such fractions; and we can combine any number of them together by taking the greatest numerator and the least denominator, and combining them together. When an absolute date is not given in the first instance, it may be assumed to be in the year  $x$ ; and thus we may connect it with given dates, so as possibly to enable us to form an equation by which  $x$  may be determined. The very first example given will explain the whole process to those who carefully attend to it.

42. We learn from a stèle brought from the Serapeum (S 2259) that an Apis was born in the fifth year of Ahmôs D 7, and installed in the fifth year, D 288. Let this year be  $N\ x$ ; then  $N\ x\ D\ 7$  and D 288 are in the fifth year; consequently  $N(x-4)\ D\ 27$  and D 308 are in the first; and  $N(x-5)\ D\ 32$  and D 313 are before it. The accession is therefore

$$N \frac{x-5\ D\ 314}{x-4\ D\ 27}.$$

Again, this Apis is said to have lived (about) eighteen years and six months, and to have died D 186. Consequently  $N(x+18)\ D\ 186$  is the death-date, which is said to be in the twenty-third year, as is also the burial date D 255. Hence  $N(x-4)\ D\ 296$  and D 365 are in the first year; and  $N(x-5)\ D\ 301$  and  $[N(x-5)\ D\ 370 = ]N(x-4)\ D\ 5$  are before the reign.

From these two dates the accession =  $N(x-4) D \frac{6}{296}$ ; and, combining this with the former limit, we have the accession fixed to  $N(x-4) D \frac{6}{27}$ . This limit may be contracted a little by help of the well-known stelæ at Leyden, to which I shall have to return. It is there stated that a certain man died in the twenty-seventh year of Ahmô's  $D 238$ . The first began  $N(x-4) D \frac{6}{27}$ , or  $N(x-5) D \frac{371}{392}$ . Add 26 to the number of the year, and subtract 130 from that of the day; and the twenty-seventh year would begin  $N(x+21) D \frac{241}{262}$ . The man who died  $D 238$ , could not have died  $N(x+21) D 238$ , for that would have been in the twenty-sixth year; he must therefore have died  $N(x+22) D 238$ . This being in the twenty-seventh year, [ $N(x-4) D 368 = ]N(x-3) D 3$  is in the first, and  $N(x-4) D 8$  is before it; whence  $N(x-4) D \frac{9}{27}$  is the accession date within the closest limits attainable. The forty-fourth year would begin  $N(x+38) D \frac{159}{177}$ , and would end  $N(x+39) D \frac{153}{171}$ . We have seen, however, (§ 31,) that Ahmô's died after a reign of forty-four years in the spring of 526, which nearly coincided with  $N 222$ . Therefore  $x+39 = 222$ ;  $x = 183$ , and the accession of Ahmô's lies within the limits  $N 179 D \frac{9}{27}$ , corresponding to 569

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43. We cannot approximate so closely to the accession of Wahphrâ or Apries as to that of his successor; but we can come within less than six months of it. The stèle, S 2244, informs us that an Apis died  $D 222$ , and was buried  $D 291$  in the twelfth of Apries. Let the year be  $N x$ . The first of Apries contained  $N(x-11) D 277$  and  $D 346$ ; and his accession was

$N \frac{(x-12) D 352}{(x-11) D 277}$ . But Apries reigned about 19 regnal years =

19 civil years—95 days. Take this from  $N 179 D \frac{9}{27}$ , and we

have  $N 160 D \frac{104}{122}$ , which cannot be more than six months over or under the date of his accession. Consequently  $x-11$

must be=160. The death of the Apis was therefore N 171  
 $\frac{\text{N } 159 \text{ D } 352}{\text{D } 222}$ ; and the accession  $\frac{\text{N } 160 \text{ D } 277}{\text{D } 222}$ .

44. The life of this Apis is said to have been seventeen years and one hundred and eighty-five days, which would give his birth N 154 D 37; and this agrees with the statement of the stèle that he was born D 37 in the sixteenth Nekau. Another stèle, S 2243, informs us that the predecessor of this Apis died D 36, and was buried D 106, in the same sixteenth Nekau. Psamitik II., consequently, could not have succeeded to the throne till after N 154, D 106. At present we have no other clue to his accession than the fact that he reigned about five regnal years. The Apis born in N 154 is said to have been installed D 309, in the first year of Psamitik II.; but his age when installed is not stated, and we have, therefore, as yet no right to infer anything from this date.

45. I will proceed to Nekau, in whose sixteenth year we have already seen that N 154 D 36 and D 106 were included. Therefore, N 139 D 111 and D 181 were in his first. We also learn from the Leyden stèles, referred to in § 42, that a man who died N 205 D 238, aged sixty-five years and three hundred and two days, and who was, therefore, born N 139 D 301, was born on that day in the first Nekau. These facts give the limits of the accession of Nekau  $\frac{\text{N } 138 \text{ D } 306}{139 \text{ D } 111}$ . The Florence stèle

teaches us that seventy-one years and one hundred and twenty-six elapsed between D 271 in the third of Nekau, and D 36 in the thirty-fifth Ahmôs. This began N 212 D  $\frac{204}{222}$  (§ 42). The death-date was, therefore, N 213 D 36, and the birth-date N 141 D 271. This being in the third of Nekau, N 139 D 281 was in his first. This gives us no additional information; it will be seen, however, hereafter that the limits of the accession of Nekau will be much narrower than those now given (see § 57).

46. Omitting for the present any further reference to the stèle S 2243, I will consider the dates on S 2037. We learn from this that an Apis died D 350, in the twentieth of Psamitik I., and was buried D 55 in his twenty-first. This fixes the commencement of his twenty-first year at N  $\frac{x \text{ D } 351}{x+1 \text{ D } 55}$ . Now if we count by regnal years, as Psamitik reigned fifty-four, and his three successors together forty, the first of Ahmôs would be about the ninety-fifth of Psamitik I., or seventy-four regnal years from the twenty-first of Psamitik I.; but seventy-three regnal

years=seventy-two civil years; and as both the first of Ahmô's and the twenty-first of Psamitik began near the commencement of the civil year, it cannot be doubted that seventy-three civil years was, within a few weeks, the interval between the commencements of these regnal years. This gives  $x + 1 + 73 = 179$ , or  $x = 105$ . The death-date of this Apis was, therefore, N 105 D 350, the burial-date N 106 D 55, and the commencement of the twenty-first of Psamitik I.  $\frac{N\ 105\ D\ 351}{N\ 106\ D\ 55}$ . This gives the acces-

sion of Psamitik I. N 86 D  $\frac{86}{155}$ . No closer limits can be obtained from the dates on the stèle 2243.

47. The Apis who died N 105, D 350, is said to have been born in the twenty-sixth of Tirhaka. The stèle S 2037 mentions this fact, not giving the day of birth; it then mentions his installation, which is assigned to D 219, the year not being stated; and a clause follows, consisting of the word *er-en* (or *iri-n*, as I should read it) and "twenty-one years." The group for "year," however, differs from that which occurs three times before in the inscription where a date occurs; and the proposition *em*, "in," does not precede it, though it precedes all the year and month dates in the inscription, except that at the commencement. It appeared to me, therefore, from the first time that I saw this clause, that it could not be a date. Lepsius in his *Königsbuch* (p. 95) translated it "Gethan in xxi. Jahre (des Psametic)." "The burial was celebrated, or the stèle was made, in the twenty-first year (of Psamitik)." But if it were admitted that this clause could contain a date, it would be unnatural to suppose that a verb was used without any subject being expressed; and, again, that after events being mentioned which occurred in the reign of Tirhaka, the inscription should return to the reign of Psamitik, without giving any intimation that it did so.

48. For these reasons, in my paper on the "Apis Stèles" in *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for October, 1858, p. 130, I adopted an explanation of the clause given by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, namely, that "the Apis lived twenty-one years." This view has since been adopted by M. De Rougé (*Pianchi*, p. 26), but I do not now adhere to it. I am quite satisfied that a third interpretation, first (I believe) suggested by Dr. Birch, is the only legitimate one. *Iri-n* is a verb, of which "twenty-one years" is the subject; and this verb is specially used of the years of a reign, as distinguished from those of a life, the proper word for which is *ha*. See the Turin Book of Kings, 64, l. 3, compared with 18 a, l. 5, and elsewhere. When, therefore, it is

stated that "twenty-one years were passed," we must understand "from his installation to his death;" and this is in perfect harmony with what goes before, "he was introduced into the temple of Memphis on the ninth of Pharmuthi (D 219); twenty-one years were passed (from that to his death.)" We must, of course, take twenty-one years as a round number, the Apis died twentieth Mesore (D 350). The interval was, therefore, one hundred and thirty-one days over a number of civil years, and this number must be twenty-one. The Apis was, therefore, installed N 84 D 219.

49. This Apis reigned, as we have seen, twenty-one years and one hundred and thirty-one days, *i. e.*, 7796 days=264 lunations; the moon was, therefore, in the same phase, approximately, on the installation and the death days; and a rough calculation shews that on both days she was near the full. We have seen in § 42, that an Apis was installed N 183 D 288, and died N 201 D 186. Its reign was 6468 days=about two hundred and nineteen lunations; both days being near full moon. We have seen in § 44 that an Apis died N 154 D 36. This was forty-eight years and fifty-one days=17,571 days=595 lunations after the death in the twentieth Psamitik I. (N 105 D 350); and it was twenty-nine years two hundred and fifty-two days, =10,837 days=367 lunations, before the installation of § 42 in N 183 D 288. I will add that Mr. Cooper found stèles at the Louvre proving that an Apis died in the thirty-fourth Darius D 91, and was buried D 161. According to Ptolemy's canon, verified by two eclipses in the reign of Darius, the thirty-fourth Darius was N 260; and from N 201 D 186, the death in the twenty-third Ahmô's to N 260 D 91, is fifty-eight years and two hundred and seventy days=26,440 days=726 lunations.

50. We have thus a series of six installations and deaths of Apises, extending from N 84 to N 260, all occurring within about a day of the time of full moon; on days which might be calculated beforehand to be the days of full moon by persons ignorant of the irregularities of her motion, and who would naturally use a cycle in which her mean motion was alone taken into account. Now the only cycle which could give the time of full moon with such accuracy as these calculated days of its occurrence suppose, during one hundred and seventy-six years, was the cycle of twenty-five Egyptian civil years=9125 days, assumed equal to 309 lunations. In the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty they were, according to Hansen, about .045 of a day less than this; but in earlier times the error was less; and, as Laplace remarked, there must have been a time when the cycle was accurate.



51. Here then we have the true explanation of what the Egyptians really meant by the cycle of twenty-five years regulating the deaths of the Apis bulls. The Greeks thought that they meant that a bull was put to death at the end of each cycle; but what they really meant, and what was the fact, was that the cycle of twenty-five years enabled the priests to predict the time of full moon, at which only the Apis was put to death by his keepers. All the installations, as I take it, and all the *regular* Apis deaths, were on calculated days of full moon; but occasionally, through an access of disease, an Apis would die out of its time. One instance of this is that of the Apis who died in the fourth Darius, N 230 D 243. From this to the death in N 260 D 91 is twenty-nine years and two hundred and thirteen days, or  $10,798 = 365 \text{ lunations} + 20 \text{ days}$ . Here, however, a very interesting fact is recorded, for a knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Cooper's notes, taken in the Salle d'Apis in the Louvre. The stèle S 2274 records not only the death of the Apis on D 243, and his burial in D 313, but a third event on D 263, twenty days after his death. *This* day was exactly three hundred and sixty-five lunations before the death in N 260 D 91. I take it that a certain solemnity, for which the full moon was the appointed time, and which was in ordinary cases performed on the day of the death, was in this instance performed twenty days after it. So far then from the dates connected with this Apis being inconsistent with the view that I have taken, it appears to me that they completely confirm it. Another Apis which died out of its time was that which died in the twelfth Apries, seventeen years and one hundred and eighty-six days after its predecessor. It would take seventeen years and two hundred and three days  $= 6408$  to complete two hundred and seventeen lunations. We have thus, out of six Apis bulls, the days of whose deaths are recorded in the reigns of the twenty-sixth dynasty and of Darius, four which died on days of full moon.

52. In what follows I will take it for granted that installations were on full moon days, and that deaths were probably so; and, accordingly, if I find a date which points to a particular day of the year, but does not distinctly say of which year, out of a small limited number; and if I find that by assigning it to one year of that number it is made to coincide with a full moon, I will feel bound to assign it to that year. If again the testimony of an inscription is uncertain, its statements being inconsistent with one another, and if one of the possible modes of correcting it will give an installation on a full moon, which the other will not, I will as a matter of course adopt the one which

does. I will now consider three instances in which these rules will come into play, within the reigns that I have been considering.

53. I stated at the close of § 48 that an Apis was installed N 84 D 219. The birth of this Apis is said to have been in the twenty-sixth of Tirhaka, and no regnal year is given for its installation. Two reasons may be given for this, and I can think of no other. A reason, however, is absolutely required for an omission which is so extraordinary. One reason may be that the Apis was installed in the same regnal year in which it was born, namely, the twenty-sixth Tirhaka. If so, N 59 D 344 would be in his first. Another reason may be that Tirhaka, after having completed his twenty-sixth year, ceased to be king, retiring into Ethiopia; that the year in which the Apis was installed was ascribed in the Serapeum records to some king who was afterwards not acknowledged; and that when the stèle (S 2037) was inscribed in the reign of Psamitik, the regnal date was omitted. Which of these was the true reason may be decided by the rule that I have now laid down. An Apis is said (S 2048) to have been buried in the twenty-fourth year of Tirhaka, D 233. It died D 163; fifty-six days and a complete but unknown number of years before N 84 D 219, when its successor was installed. If we take 3 years and 56 days = 1151 days, we have thirty-nine lunations. This would fix the death to N 81 D 163, and the burial to D 233 of the same year, which last is said to have been in the twenty-fourth of Tirhaka; consequently, N 58 D 348, was in his first. This cannot be in the same regnal year as N 59 D 344, which would have been in his first if the Apis had been installed in the twenty-sixth year of Tirhaka; consequently, this last supposition is inadmissible. The accession of Tirhaka is limited by S 2048 to N  $\frac{57 \text{ D } 354}{58 \text{ D } 348}$ ; his twenty-sixth year would begin N  $\frac{82 \text{ D } 229}{83 \text{ D } 223}$ ;

and its last day would be N  $\frac{83 \text{ D } 223}{84 \text{ D } 217}$ . It is certain, then, that there was an interval between the reign of Tirhaka and that of Psamitik, during which this Apis was installed. Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his letter in the *Athenæum* of the 22nd August, mentions that he has found in the annals of Assur-bani-pal, as he calls him (Assur-ban'apli, as I would read the name), a statement that he contended against Tirhaka, during the first two or three years of his reign; that Tirhaka then "died (or abdicated, for the passage is incomplete), and was succeeded by his step-son Urdamané, who conducted the last campaign in Egypt against the Assyrians." It is much to be regretted, that

the original of this passage is not accessible, as it suggests some important questions. The Apis installation probably took place under this successor, whoever he was. N 81 appears from the canon of Ptolemy to be the first year of the reign of Assur-ban'-apli, whose reign synchronized with that of his brother, Saos-duchinus, at Babylon. Their father died in the course of N 80. The campaigns against Tirhaka himself would, of course, be in N 81, 82, and 83; while N 84, in which the installation took place, would be the first year of the successor of Tirhaka in Egypt. The interval between the reigns of Tirhaka and Psamitik must have been about two years.

54. The next point of interest is the determination of the year in which the Apis, which was born N 154 D 37, was installed. The day before the birth was a death-date and full moon. The installation was D 309 in the first year of Psamitik II. This was two hundred and seventy-three days, and perhaps a year or two over, after the death-date. Now two years + 273 days = 1003 days = thirty-four lunations. This gives N 156 D 309 for the installation, which is said to have been in the first year of Psamitik II. His accession must, therefore, have been N  $\frac{155 \text{ D } 315}{156 \text{ D } 309}$ . It was probably not long after the earlier limit.

55. The remaining date to be determined is that of the installation of the Apis next before this. That he died N 154 D 36, in the sixteenth Nekau, is not to be questioned; but the calculations relative to his birth and installation, and the length of his life, are obviously more or less erroneous. It is my belief that the text of S 2243 contains three errors; and I think that I shall be able to shew that they are all natural errors for a person to make who had the true text before him, and who from his own ignorance supposed it to be corrupted. I will first seek to restore the true text by the principle of § 52, and by data that have been already obtained. The text, as we have it, states that this Apis was born D 169, in the fifty-third of Psamitik I.; and installed D 72, in his fifty-fourth. He died D 36 in the sixteenth Nekau, and lived 16 years 7 months and 17 days, or 16 years 227 days. That there is *some* mistake here is obvious; for  $169 + 227 = 396$  give 31 and not 36. Either 169 or 227 is too small by 5. But, if we look closer, we shall see that there is a greater error than this.

56. The accession of Psamitik I. is, by § 46, N 86 D  $\frac{86}{155}$   
the beginning of his fifty-third year, N 137 D  $\frac{191}{260}$ , and that

of his fifty-fourth, N 138 D  $\frac{186}{255}$ . The birth would, therefore, be, if 169 were to be depended on, N 138 D 169; and as the death is N 154 D 36, the length of life would be only 15 years and 232 days. Again, the installation would be, if 72 could be relied on, N 139 D 72. From this to N 154 D 36 the death is 14 years 329 days = 5434 days = 184 lunations + 5 days. Strike off these 5 days from the length of the reign; that is, substitute D 77 for D 72, and the installation is brought to the full moon. The interval of 8 months and 28 days between the birth and installation was doubtless recorded when the Apis was brought to the temple; and there is not likely to have been any mistake about it. The substitution of 77 for 72 requires therefore a substitution of 174 for 169; and this correction satisfies the equation at the end of § 55. I suppose, therefore, that the record which the copyist of the inscription had before him, placed—

The birth in fifty-third Psamitik I., VI. 24.

The installation in fifty-fourth Psamitik I., III. 17.

The death in sixteenth Nekau, II. 6.

The length of life, 15 years 7 months 17 days.

The length of reign, 14 years 10 months 29 days.

These numbers are correct; but let us consider how apt a person who examined them would be to think them the contrary. "Psamitik I. reigned fifty-four years; from his fifty-third year to the first of Necho are two years; and from his first to his sixteenth are fifteen. In all we have seventeen years wanting a few months; yet the stupid man who calculated these numbers has made the interval little more than fifteen years;—I will make it sixteen." Again, he forgets the epagomenæ, and thinks that before making a subtraction he should add only thirty, in place of thirty-five. Taking seven months seventeen days from two months six days, he finds only nineteen odd days, and puts this down in place of twenty-four; and on the same foolish principle he alters seventeen into twelve.

57. This gives us nearer limits for the accession of Nekau than we had before; as it proves that his father was still reigning in N 139 D 77. Nekau, it now appears, came to the throne

N 139 D  $\frac{78}{111}$  or 609  $\frac{\text{April } 9}{\text{May } 12}$ . His expedition into Palestine

and the death of Josiah must have been in 608. From the accession of Nekau to that of Ahmô's there were thirty-nine civil years, and two hundred and sixty-three days at least,—three hundred and fourteen at most; or forty regnal years, and ninety-

three days at least, one hundred and forty-four days at most. This must be divided between three reigns. The reign of Nekau is called sixteen years by Herodotus, as well as by Manetho; we may be sure, therefore, that he did not complete his seventeenth year. But he would do this  $N \frac{155 \text{ D } 357}{156 \text{ D } 25}$ . This gives a later limit to the accession of Psamitik II., to be joined to the earlier limit of § 54. He began to reign  $N \frac{155 \text{ D } 315}{156 \text{ D } 24}$ , and probably not long after the earlier limit. His sixth year would begin  $N 160 \text{ D } \frac{290}{364}$ ; but the accession of Apries was found in § 43 to be  $N \frac{159 \text{ D } 352}{160 \text{ D } 277}$ . It was probably near the later limit; but, assuming the accession to be at the death of his father, Psamitik would not have completed his fifth year; his reign would probably not have exceeded four years, and ten or eleven months. Herodotus, however, gives him a six years' reign; and the received text of Africanus has the same number, though it is probably a corruption. There is here a difficulty, which I think may be best removed by supposing that Apries became king during his father's life;—perhaps a year and a half before his death. Incapacity, caused by illness, may have led to this arrangement. With respect to Apries himself, who is said by Herodotus to have reigned twenty-five years, though the accession of Ahmô's was within about nineteen years of his own, we must suppose a period of six or seven years, during which both kings claimed the throne. Ahmô's in the end prevailed, and counted those years as in his reign. I am not aware that any cotemporary monuments of this interval exist. The date of the fifth year in the Serapeum (S 2259), is not cotemporary; but is on a stèle set up in the twenty-third year. It was during this interval, I can scarcely doubt, that Nitêtis was born;—the daughter of Apries, who was sent by Amasis to Cyrus, as Herodotus informs us. Of the three stories respecting her, which Herodotus gives, the last alone is deserving of any credit, though Herodotus himself thought otherwise. In connection with this supposed interval, it has occurred to me that an Apis must have then died, of whom no record is preserved. A death took place  $N 171 \text{ D } 222$ , and a birth  $N 183 \text{ D } 7$ . It is highly improbable that there should be no Apis for eleven years and a half; but if an Apis died in the latter end of  $N 182$ , and was buried by Apries, with dates recorded on the stèles, in years of his reign, the birth in his twelfth or thirteenth year, and the death in his

twenty-third year; it seems to me very probable that Amasis would destroy these records. Those who succeeded so well in defacing the stèle of Cambyzes (see § 25) doubtless followed a precedent, which had been acted on in many previous instances. As I have mentioned this stèle, I take the occasion to remark that the lost part of the date may be restored by the principle of § 52. The Apis probably died on the full moon of N 222 D 259, and was buried D 329, the *twenty-ninth* of Epiphi. This Apis was born, or more probably installed, in the twenty-fifth of Ahmô's, N 202 or 203 (see § 33).

58. Returning to the accession of Nekau, in N 139 D  $\frac{78}{111}$  and comparing it with that of his father in N 86  $\frac{86}{155}$ ; we have for his reign the limits  $\frac{52 \text{ years } 340 \text{ days}}{53 \text{ years } 77 \text{ days}}$ , reckoning by civil years; or, reckoning by regnal years, 53 years  $\frac{240}{342}$  days. He is said by Herodotus and Manetho to have reigned fifty-four years. It is probable, therefore, that not only Nekau's accession was near its later limit, but Psamitik's near its earlier limit. From the recent discovery of Sir Henry Rawlinson, that the Assyrians were engaged in war with the Egyptians for several years, which must have immediately preceded the accession of Psamitik, I infer that he counted his regnal years from the time when he returned to Egypt from Syria, as mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 152). His reign, as one of the Dodecarchis, was included in his fifty-four years; and it is as yet quite uncertain how long a time elapsed before he was sole monarch. We only know that he was recognized as such in Memphis at the end of his twentieth year. In the following table I give the chronology of the kings and Apises from the accession of Psamitik I.; which will be followed by a similar (but less complete) table from the accession of Petubastes to that of Psamitik I. (see after § 59). In both these tables dates are given in years of Nabonassar, and days of the Egyptian civil year, and in years B.C., and days of the proleptic Augustan year. When no letter is appended to the date, it is to be understood that the event happened on the exact day mentioned; p.p. implies that it was *very near*, i.e., within a few weeks; p. that the date is *near*, i.e., within two or three months at most; and c., that it is about the time of the event, say within six months before or after the date specified. When the year is given alone, with c, there may be an uncertainty whether the event was in that year, or the year before or after it.

A.Nab. D.	B.C.			See §§
86 106	662 May 21	p-p	Psamitik I. becomes king.	46, 58
105 350	642 Jan. 15	{	Apis dies in his 20th year; no record of two next Apises.	46
139 77	609 April 9		Apis installed in his 54th year.	56
139 101	609 May 2	p-p	Nekau II. king on death of his father Psamitik I.	45, 57
154 36	594 Feb. 23	{	Apis dies in his 16th year.	44
155 320	593 Dec. 3		Psamitik II. king on death of his father Nekau II.	54, 57
156 309	592 Nov. 22	p	Apis installed in his first year.	54
160 200	588 Aug. 4	c	Wahphrâ king, his father still living.	43
162 90	586 April 16	c	Psamitik II. dies.	57
171 222	577 Aug. 23	{	Apis dies in 12th of Wahphrâ.	43
179 18	569 Jan. 30		Ahmôs usurper dates his accession from this time.	42
181	567	c	Apis died in 22nd Wahphrâ; his stèles were destroyed.	57
183 288	565 Oct. 25	{	Apis installed in 24th Wahphrâ, afterwards called 5th Ahmôs.	42, 57
185	563		Wahphrâ completely conquered and put to death.	57
201 186	547 July 11	{	Apis died in 23rd Ahmôs.	42
202	546		Apis installed in 25th Ahmôs.	33
222 100	526 April 11	p	Psamitik III. king on the death of Ahmôs.	25 & seq.
222 250	526 Sept. 8	p	Egypt conquered by Cambyases.	23—25
222 259	526 Sept. 17	{	Apis dies; buried by Cambyases D 329, in his 4th year counting from the death of Cyrus.	25, 57
223 147	525 May 27		Apis born in 5th Cambyases; a month or two after he is stabbed by Cambyases on his return from Ethiopia.	21, 23
230 243	518 Aug. 30	{	Apis dies in 4th Darius; death-feast 20 days after.	21, 51

### III. DYNASTIES XXIII.—XXV.

59. It is unnecessary for me to say much as to this period, as I have already fully discussed it in §§ 42—46 of my former paper. The succession of kings given in § 43, and the genealogies of § 45, are perfectly correct, so far as they go; and the succession will be repeated in the table which I shall presently give, with one addition obtained from Sir Henry Rawlinson's inscription of Assur-ban'-apli, and with three records from the Apis stèles. The first of these is a new one. An Apis died in the sixth Bocchoris, D 5. Bocchoris came to the throne when the twenty-third dynasty had reigned seven years, and Tirhaka when it had reigned eighty-nine years; its kings having ruled during the forty-four years of Bocchoris, the twelve of Shebaik and the twelve of Shebaitok, only in a small portion of the Delta. The first year of Bocchoris would thus be eighty-two years, and his sixth seventy-seven years before the first of Tirhaka, which was about N 58. The sixth of Bocchoris would

therefore be *about* N —19. By the principle of § 52, I take it to be N —18; because in that year D 5 was at the full moon. N —18 D 5 being in the sixth of Bocchoris, N —23 D 30 must have been in his first; and his accession is limited to N —24 D 36  
 N —23 D 35. The installation in N 84 D 219 was in the reign of "Urdamane," as stated in § 53. He is called the son of Tirhaka's wife. I cannot doubt that he was the brother of Amuniritis, the son of Mutiritis by Kashto, whose widow Tihaka married. This is the Mutiritis of the Louvre stèle, C 100, daughter of Seti III., the Zet of Manetho and Sethos of Herodotus.

A.Nab.	D.	B.C.	
—30 D	90	778	June 3
—24 D	221	772	Oct. 10
—18 D	5	766	March 7
9 D	255	739	Nov. 5
17 D	215	731	Sept. 24
20 D	221	728	Sept. 29
27 D	165	721	Aug. 2
32 D	221	716	Sept. 26
44 D	221	704	Sept. 23
58 D	168	690	July 29
81 D	233	667	Sept. 26
84 D	168	664	July 22
84 D	219	664	Sept. 11

- c Petubastes reigns.  
 c { Bocchoris reigns; Petubastes being driven to the marshes.  
 Apis dies in his 6th year.  
 c Osorkon III. reigns in the marshes of the Delta.  
 c Psamut reigns in the marshes of the Delta.  
 c Shebaik reigns, Bocchoris being slain.  
 c Zet, Sethos or Seti III. reigns in the marshes.  
 c Shebaitok reigns, Shebaik dying.  
 c { Seti III. reigns in all Egypt; Tihaka in Ethio-  
 pia; Shebaitok being slain.  
 c { Tihaka reigns in Egypt; his father-in-law, Seti  
 III., dying.  
 Apis is buried in his 24th year.  
 c { Tihaka having reigned 26 years, retires to Ethio-  
 pia, and his step-son Urdamane, grandson of Seti  
 III., became king.  
 Apis is installed after his accession.

60. I believe, and I understand that it is the prevailing opinion in London, that Urdamane represents the royal name which has been read Amonrut; but which is more properly (Rud or) Arud-Amun. I suppose that the king who succeeded Tihaka is the king whose name is inscribed on a vase of rock-crystal in the Louvre, with a prænomen resembling that of Rameses II., but with Amon in place of Râ at the end. I think it probable that he had no children, and that he very soon perished, leaving his rights to the kingdom to his sister Amoniritis and her husband Piankhi. Against these, however, the rival power of Psamitik prevailed, though many years of civil war, including the period of the dodecarchy, probably elapsed before he obtained the undisputed sovereignty. Ultimately he married the daughter of Piankhi. I agree with M. de Rougé in thinking this a different Piankhi from the Ethiopian chief, whose successful invasion of Egypt, of which he styled himself king, is recorded on the small truncated pyramid recently found at Mount Barkal; but



I cannot think with M. de Rongé, that that Piankhi lived in the time of the twenty-third dynasty. I hope to shew that he is to be referred to the twenty-second. Whatever claim to the crown Psamitik I. had, I think it plain that he did not succeed, or claim to succeed, Nekau I., as Manetho represents him to have done. It is possible, however, notwithstanding what I have said in § 84, that Stephinates, Nechepsos and Nekau I., were real persons who claimed a sort of regal authority at Sais on the death of Seti III. Stephinates may have reigned seven years commencing about 690; his eldest son Nechepsos six, commencing about 683; and his younger son Nekau I., eight, commencing about 677. This last was killed by the Ethiopians about 669; and from his death to the accession of Psamitik I., in 662, there was no claimant of the crown of this Saite family.

#### IV. DYNASTY XXII.

61. I now come to the twenty-second dynasty, which presents new difficulties. I think, however, that I have overcome them in great degree by the principle of § 52. The durations of the last three years may be approximated to pretty accurately by attending to the rule, that the Apises were always installed at full moon, and generally put to death at full moon. There are so many Apis records in the three reigns alluded to, that their duration can be determined; and this I will first do. An Apis was buried D 87 in the thirty-seventh Shishonk IV., and was installed D 214 in his twelfth. The interval is an uncertain number of years, *about* twenty-four, and two hundred and thirty-eight days; to the death, which preceded the burial by seventy days, the interval would be *about* twenty-four years and one hundred and sixty-eight days. Now, twenty-three years and one hundred and sixty-eight days are two hundred and ninety lunations. This must of course be the interval, if both installation and death fell at full moon; but twenty-three civil years + two hundred and thirty-eight days = twenty-three regnal years + three hundred and fifty-three days only. It would then be impossible for the former event to be in the twelfth, and the latter in the thirty-seventh regnal year. Unless, therefore, we suppose an error in the inscription,—and it seems carefully written,—we must admit that *both* events did not fall on full moons. The inference is that the installation was on a full moon; the death not; and we may remark that this Apis, if he lived twenty-four years and one hundred and sixty-eight days after his installation, when he was probably nine months old, would have attained a very great age, and might die a natural

death in the middle of the month with less improbability than a younger Apis. In the year N—57, D 214 would be on a full moon, being four hundred and seventy-five lunations before that in the sixth of Bocchoris. This would be in the twelfth year of Shishonk IV., and N—32 D 87, would be the burial date in his thirty-seventh. This is about two years before what we have found to be the date of the accession of Petubastes. It may also be observed that there is just room for one Apis between this and the sixth Bocchoris. The Apis which died in that year would be installed on or shortly after the thirty-seventh Shishonk IV.

62. Nothing is said of the installation of this Apis. I think it probable that this occurred at the very close of the twenty-second dynasty, in an interval of about a year and a half, which intervened between the death of Shishonk IV. and the accession of Petubastes. It is in this interval that I place the events recorded on the Piankhi pyramid; accepting the greater part of the notes of time given by M. De Rougé. The inscription was subsequent to the reign of Shishonk IV., for his prænomen is mentioned in it, but not in such a way as to imply that he was living. The Pefnekht of the inscription was probably the father of Bocchoris. The Pefaa-Bast of the inscription may have been a grandson of that Pefaa-Bast, who is mentioned in the Serapeum stèle, S 1898, as the son of Petisi, who installed an Apis in the twenty-eighth of Shishonk III., and who was a scion of the royal family. The Osorkon of the inscription I take to be the father of king Petubastes. The inscription does not appear to me to have any chronological value; the date of the twenty-first year of Piankhi which it contains referring to his reign in Ethiopia, and not in Egypt. Possibly, other inscriptions found in the same place as this may throw further light on Ethiopian history; but as yet it is very obscure. I merely notice this inscription, as others have done so, with a view to shew that a place can be found in my system for the events which it records.

63. The installation date N—57 D 214, being in the twelfth of Shishonk IV., his eleventh is limited to commence in N—59 D 225  
N—58 D 219. An Apis is said to have been buried in his eleventh year; the day of the year is disputed. M. Mariette gave the date twenty-eighth Paophi, which according to my principle would point to N—58 D 58, a year and one hundred and fifty-six days before the installation, or five hundred and twenty-one days. The death would in that case precede the installation by five hundred and ninety-one days = twenty lunations. This would give a very satisfactory result; but the

evidence seems to me conclusive that M. Mariette has misstated the date. Dr. Birch examined the stèles and informed Mr. Cooper that eighteenth, not twenty-eighth, was certainly the reading. He saw also a second stèle, on which the date was given as the eighteenth Thoth. If either of these be the true reading, as I think the evidence proves it to be, the burial must have been in N-57 D 18, or D 48; one hundred and ninety-six or one hundred and sixty-six days before the installation; adding to which, the usual seventy days, we have either 266 (= 9 lunations) or 236 days (= 8 lunations) between the death of the one Apis and the installation of his successor. The former is much the more probable, because no other instance can be produced in which the new Apis was born before the death of his predecessor, or in which he was much less than nine months old when installed. Supposing then that N-57 D 18, was in the eleventh of Shishonk IV., and D 214 in his twelfth, we have for the commencement of his twelfth year the limits N-57 D  $\frac{19}{214}$ , and for his accession N-68 D  $\frac{74}{269}$ . I think this date may be fully depended on. The burial of the Apis in the thirty-seventh year of Shishonk IV. must have been in N-32 D 87; and this enables us to substitute 212 and 267 for 214 and 269 in the later limits given above. If the accession had been on D 268 or 269 there could have been no D 87 in the thirty-seventh year.

64. There remains only one Apis of whose installation and death we have the days recorded. This Apis was installed on the first Paophi, *i. e.*, D 31 in the twenty-eight year of Shishonk III., according to S 1904, but the twenty-ninth according to S 1906. The birth was in the twenty-eighth year; and the error which must exist on one of the stèles is probably due to the circumstance that D 31 was near the day, whether before or after it, when the number of the year changed. Now, from this day to -57 D 214, when another Apis was installed, we must have a complete number of lunations. The Apis is said to have lived twenty-six years, twenty-five of which must have followed the installation; and to this we must add eleven years of Shishonk IV. before the installation in his twelfth year, and some years probably for the reign of Pemi; making certainly thirty-seven years *at least*. This requires that we take the interval 41 years + 183 days = 15,148 days = 513 lunations. The date of the installation is therefore N-98 D 31; and if this were taken as the commencement of the twenty-ninth year of Shishonk III., as I have just shewn that it was pretty nearly, the commencement of his first year would be N-126 D 171. This is ninety-

six civil years, wanting eighty-one days before the approximate date of the accession of Petubastes, or ninety-seven regnal years and thirty-four days.

65. The Apis whose installation we have been considering was buried in the second year of Pemi D 151, and must have died D 81 in the same civil year. He was born not later than N—99 D 131, and as he lived twenty-six years, his death must have been in N—73. We have, therefore, N—73 D 151, in the second of Pemi, and his accession would be about the beginning of N—74. We have thus:—

— 126 D 171	874, Sept. 16	p	Accession of Shishonk III.
— 98 D 31	846, April 22		Apis installed, end of 28th or beginning of 29th year.
— 74 D 1	822, Mar. 17	c	Accession of Pemi.
— 73 D 151	821, Aug. 13		Apis buried in his second year.
— 68 D 171	816, Sept. 1	p	Accession of Shishonk IV.
— 57 D 18	805, Mar. 29		Apis buried in his eleventh year.
— 57 D 214	805, Oct. 11		Apis installed in his twelfth.
— 32 D 87	780, May 31		Apis buried in his thirty-seventh.

66. The Apis stèles fail us here; but the fact elicited in § 64, that the last three kings of the dynasty together reigned ninety-seven regnal years, has enabled me to restore the true text of Manetho as to the lengths of the reigns. I shewed in my former paper that the true length of the dynasty was two hundred and two years; and that the reduction of this to one hundred and twenty, now given in the text of Africanus, arose from the mistake of one of his predecessors who did not attend to or did not understand the double termination of the twenty-third dynasty; which was succeeded in the greater part of Egypt, after seven years, by Bocchoris; but which was not extinct till the end of eighty-nine years. The successor of Manetho, knowing that Manetho counted only two hundred and nine years between Shishonk I. and Bocchoris, and knowing also that Manetho gave eighty-nine years to the twenty-third dynasty, reduced the duration of the twenty-second from 209 to 120; dividing the 209 years into 120+89 instead of 202+7; and taking no note of the eighty-two years which the twenty-third dynasty filled between the accessions of Bocchoris and of Tirhaka, the son-in-law of Zet or Sethos (Seti III.), the last king.

67. Now two hundred and two years, the duration of the dynasty, should be divided into two hundred and five regnal years, just as one hundred and fifty-seven, the duration of the twenty-sixth dynasty, was divided into one hundred and fifty-nine. Consequently Africanus, or his predecessor, must have struck off eighty-five years; and we now see where the retrenchment was made, viz., in the two intervals during each of which three kings reigned. The latter interval of ninety-seven was reduced to

forty-two; and the former must have been fifty-nine reduced to twenty-nine; for which, by a further error of a transcriber who wrote  $\epsilon$  for  $\theta$ , the present text of Africanus has only twenty-five, making apparently a total of one hundred and sixteen only, though Africanus says it should be one hundred and twenty. The following are the original numbers of Manetho, as restored, and those of Africanus, with the totals. Compare § 36.

According to

Manetho  $21 + 15 + 59 + 13 + 97 = 205$  regnal  $= 202$  civil years.

Africanus  $21 + 15 + (25 \text{ read}) 29 + 13 + 42 = 120$  years.

We should thus have for the approximate accessions of seven out of the nine kings of the dynasty the respective dates, approximately, of Shishonk I. 980; Osorkon I. 959; Takelut I. 944. . . . Takelut II. 886; Shishonk III. 873; Pemi 822; Shishonk IV. 816.

68. From the accession of Shishonk III. downward, I have made no substantial change in this paper from what is contained in my former one. I have merely extended and developed what I there stated in substance. It is otherwise with respect to the early part of the twenty-second dynasty, of which I have now to speak. While I retain the dates of the accession of Shishonk I. and of his successor, I have been compelled by the additional evidence that has reached me to alter my views as to the intermediate kings. There is, I am now satisfied, a great deal that is erroneous mixed up in the sections of my former paper, beginning with 47 and extending to 60; and the errors which I committed all originated in what I assumed to be a fact, but what was not really so; namely, that an eclipse of the *moon* was recorded as having taken place on the twenty-fourth of Mesore. It is now certain that the eclipse was recorded to have happened on the twenty-fifth of Mesore, and it must have been an eclipse of the *sun*.

69. I was aware when I wrote my last paper that the true reading of the date of this eclipse was disputed. In Lepsius's *Denkmäler* it is given as 24th, while in another copy of the inscription, taken by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, and published by the Royal Society of Literature, the numeral is given as 25th. My reason for preferring the former reading was, that no eclipse of the moon could fall on the 25th Mesore within the period in which the king mentioned in the inscription must have lived. I felt myself constrained, therefore, to assume the true reading to be the 24th, and to refer the eclipse to the 4th April, 945, which was the 24th Mesore in the year N-189. In the night of that day the moon was certainly eclipsed, though it was not

certain, and, indeed, I must admit, not very probable, that the eclipse would be visible in Egypt. By the way, the supposition that the observation might have been in Palestine, which I threw out in § 52 of my former paper, is inadmissible; because, as some of my friends have pointed out to me, the inscription mentions "this land," evidently Thebes, as the place where the phenomenon was observed.

70. Within the last year the evidence on this subject has undergone an important change. The stone which contained the inscription, which is still in existence, has been examined with a special view to the question of date; and the result is that the correct reading is *unquestionably* the 25th. On that day of the month, I have already remarked that there could be no eclipse of the moon; but Dr. Birch has stated confidently that although the moon is mentioned it is not implied that she *suffered* eclipse, but rather that she *caused* it;—in other words he thinks that the eclipse spoken of is one of the sun. It follows from this that all the conclusions drawn from the supposed fact that the eclipse was in April, 945, however legitimate they might be, fall to the ground; and we have now to determine the year in which the sun was eclipsed on the 25th Mesore.

71. M. von Gumpach, to whom I am indebted for a knowledge of the facts mentioned in the preceding section (see *The Historical Antiquity of the People of Egypt*, p. 29), has stated that this eclipse happened on the 11th March, 841. Here, however, he has committed a strange mistake. It is certain, indeed, that the sun would be eclipsed on the day that he mentions; and it is very probable that the eclipse was visible in Thebes; but in the year 841, the 11th March, the day of the eclipse, was not the 25th Mesore, but the 26th. The tables which he has himself published prove this. The first day of the year N —93 is according to his tables the 21st March —840, or B.C. 841. The 11th March is ten days before this, and ten days before the 1st Thoth, or D 366 of the former year is D 356, that is, the 26th Mesore.

72. I have examined all the conjunctions and oppositions for two hundred years, and I am enabled to say positively that no eclipse of either sun or moon could have happened on the 25th Mesore, except on the 1st April, B.C. 927, in the morning; that is, in the language of astronomers, —926, March 31, about 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  p.m. apparent Theban time. If *that* 25th Mesore were not the one referred to in the inscription, the only possible alternative is that the inscription recorded the occurrence of a phenomenon which did not really occur at all; and this last alternative appears to me so extremely improbable, that it may be rejected

without hesitation. Accordingly, I do not hesitate to alter the arrangement of the kings in the middle of the twenty-second dynasty, so as to make this day fall in the fifteenth year of the father of Takelut; and I think that astronomers will do well to reform their tables, so as to make them give such longitude and latitude to the moon, as that the eclipse should be visible at Thebes.

73. It is certain that if Hansen's tables be correct, no eclipse could have been seen at Thebes on that morning. Both the longitude and the latitude of the moon are too great. It is certain, however, that the Babylonian eclipses recorded by Ptolemy prove that the moon's acceleration is considerably less than Hansen assumes it to be; and, consequently, that her longitude was always in reality less than his tables represent it to have been. Judging from these eclipses, the error in —926 must have been about 40'. There is reason to suppose also that the diminution of the earth's eccentricity has been underrated; and, consequently, the equation of the centre. This, of course, would at this season of the year further retard the time of conjunction. With respect to the latitude, it is pretty evident from the eclipse of Agathocles, and I believe it is generally admitted, that the longitude of the node was really less than the tables make it. Indeed, it must be so much less that the argument of latitude should be greater than the tables make it, although the longitude of the moon herself is less. At this eclipse, which was at the descending node, an increase of the argument of latitude would diminish the moon's north latitude.

74. I will not discuss this eclipse further, contenting myself with saying that I see no valid reason for doubting its having taken place; and that I think astronomers ought to take account of it, as well as of the lunar eclipses of Ptolemy, in order to determine those variations in the elements of the solar and lunar orbits, as to the proper magnitude of which calculation is confessedly at fault. I must beg leave, however, to caution those who may undertake such an investigation, against attending to a statement made by Ptolemy in respect to the lunar eclipse of the 22nd December, 383, which is no part of the original record of the eclipse, and which indeed Ptolemy himself does not pretend to be so; but which most modern astronomers have considered to be so. The original record of this eclipse is as follows: "In the month Poseideon, in the archonship of Phanostratus, the moon began to be eclipsed half a seasonable hour (*i. e.*, one twelfth of the interval between midnight and sunrise) before the end of the night; and the eclipse continued to increase till the moon set." Ptolemy says, that Hipparchus said, that this was

one of the eclipses observed at Babylon; but there is nothing in the record to indicate that; and the statement of a writer who lived two hundred years after the event ought not to be believed, when it is inconsistent with what the record implies. Ptolemy may have misunderstood Hipparchus, or Hipparchus may have misunderstood his authority, whatever that was. The record itself clearly points to Athens as the place of observation. It dates by the year of an Athenian archon, not by a regnal year of Artaxerxes; and it speaks of *seasonable* hours, a mode of measuring time which was used at Athens and in Egypt, but not in Babylon. We have Babylonian records in existence, which prove that the astronomers of Babylon measured their time by *kazabs*, of two mean solar hours each, reckoned from noon to noon. Of hours of the day and hours of the night they knew nothing. Besides, the hypothesis that Babylon was the place of observation is at variance with the indisputable fact, that the eclipse of 1st September, 720, was observed at Babylon. The records of the two eclipses are such that it is quite impossible that both should have been observed at the same place; whereas the two observations are perfectly consistent if the earlier one be referred to Babylon, and the later to Athens.

75. I turn, however, to the changes which this eclipse requires to be made in the arrangement of the kings in the twenty-second dynasty. In my former paper I felt myself obliged to suppose that Lepsius was mistaken as to the throne-names of the two Osorkons and the two Takeluts. The rectification of the date of the eclipse enables me, and indeed obliges me, to revert to Lepsius's arrangement of the throne-names. This removes what was considered by many a decided objection to my system; and though I do not perfectly agree with Lepsius as to the order or genealogy of the kings, and though I differ from him materially as to the dates of their accession, I am happy to find myself no longer so decidedly opposed to him as I was. The day of the eclipse, N —180 D 355, being in the fifteenth year of the father of Takelut II., N —193 D 60, must have been in his first. This corresponds to 13th June, 941; and we have found in § 67 that Takelut I. came to the throne in 944, and Takelut II. in 886. It follows from this that fifty-five civil years, or fifty-six regnal years, must be assigned to the father of Takelut II.; and this implies that he was Osorkon II. Shishonk II. was in all probability an elder brother of Osorkon II., who reigned for a very short time. Although there are relics of both Takelut I. and Shishonk II. containing their throne names, and thus signaling their existence as kings, there is no monument, properly speaking, of



either;<sup>d</sup> and for aught that we know to the contrary, three years may have comprehended their two reigns.

76. It may occur to my readers that this supposition presents genealogical difficulties; but this is by no means the case. In the following table, I give the dates of the accessions and the approximate dates of the births of the first five kings of the dynasty, with the age at which he ascended the throne, the length of his reign, and the age at his death. It will be seen that there is nothing at variance with probability in my table. I assume that Shishonk I. was about fifty-four when he ascended the throne. He was old enough to carry on a campaign several years after his accession; six or seven, according to my estimate of the date of the accession of Rehoboam; and yet he had a son in the prime of life, to whom he married the daughter of the last king of the twenty-first dynasty.

	Born about.	Accession.	Age then.	Reigned.	Life.
Shishonk I. ....	1034	980	54	21	75
Osorkon I., son.....	1010	959	51	15	66
Takelut I., son .....	986	944	42	2	44
Shishonk II., son .....	962	942	20	1	21
Osorkon II., brother.....	960	941	19	55	74

In the twenty-third year of Osorkon II., his son Shishonk presided at the burial of an Apis, having attained high military and sacerdotal rank. This was forty-one years after the supposed time of his father's birth, when he might very well have been twenty years old; but king Osorkon may have been a few years older than I have supposed him. I have supposed a uniform difference of twenty-four years between the birth of each of these first three kings and his eldest son; and this is, perhaps, too great.

77. Osorkon II. had a very large family by several wives; and there can be no very satisfactory approximation made to the times of the births of his different children. We may be sure, however, that Shishonk and Namerut were born in the early part of his reign, or even before it. On the other hand, Takelut, who succeeded his father in 886, was probably much younger. He married, at any rate, his niece, the daughter of Namerut. Why then, it may be asked, did he succeed to the throne in derogation to the rights of the issue of his two elder brothers? We know from the Apis stèles that both these left male issue. We know from S 1959, that the son of Namerut married Tentseph, his aunt (as his daughter had married her uncle), and

<sup>d</sup> Of Takelut I. there remains only some leathern fragments at Berlin; and of Shishonk II. only a scarabæus at Florence. These, at least, are the only relics which bear throne-names. Takelut I. is mentioned as an ancestor on one stèle at least, and possibly on a second.

that his descendant in the fourth degree assisted at the burial of the Apis in 780. Suppose that Namerut was born in 940, his descendant in the fifth degree might be born in 820; and would be forty years old when he caused the Serapeum stèle to be inscribed and set up. We know again from the stèles, S 1898 and 1904, that Takelut, the son of Shishonk, married Tes-bast-perou, another daughter of Osorkon, and of course his aunt; that his son Petisi buried an Apis and installed his successor in 847 and 846; and was alive, having grandchildren living, in 821. Suppose that Shishonk was born in 941, (he is called his father's eldest son;) his grandson Petisi may have been born about 898, and would be forty-seven at the first burial of an Apis at which he assisted, when he had sons grown to man's estate; and seventy-three at the second burial, when his grandchildren appear. So far as respects the chronology and the genealogy of these persons, everything is most satisfactory; but the question still presents itself, Why were the families of the elder brothers of Takelut passed over, supposing that they themselves were dead, in favour of a younger son? for such, I think it cannot be doubted, was Takelut II.

78. We do not know enough of the family history of their period to be able to answer this question precisely; but we know enough of Egyptian family history generally, not to be staggered by this fact, as if it presented an unsurmountable difficulty. Egyptian kings were in the habit of having several wives. We have the names of three wives of Osorkon II., two of whom at least he must have had at the same time, their children being both born at the beginning of his reign. The name of the mother of Takelut II. is not recorded; but we may reasonably suppose that she had herself hereditary claims to the crown, being perhaps the daughter of his elder brother Shishonk, or being perhaps descended from the sovereigns of the twenty-first dynasty; or, again, we may suppose that she was the chief or principal wife of the king, and thus entitled to have her issue succeed to the crown; or yet, again, we may suppose that she was a favourite wife, as the young wives of elderly persons are apt to be, and that she had sufficient influence with the king to induce him to dispose of the crown in favour of her son, which he had doubtless the power to do. It appears, however, that the young king married the daughter of his elder brother Namerut; and this marriage may have strengthened his claims, and disarmed opposition to them.

79. Of this marriage Osorkon was the issue, who died, having attained to man's estate, in the eleventh year of Takelut II., that is, in 877. His maternal grandfather Namerut was born

about 940, his mother probably about 916, and he himself about 898, which is consistent with what we know. It is uncertain who Shishonk III. was. He may have been another son of king Takelut; but I cannot help suspecting that he was of a different branch of the royal family. Might he not have been a son of that Takelut who married Tes-bast-perou, and thus the elder brother of Petisi, who is spoken of in § 77? He would thus be born about 895, would have been about twenty-one when he ascended the throne, and about seventy-three when he died. On the other supposition, that he was a younger son of Takelut II., he might be born about the very same time, the birth of his elder brother being placed above in 898. As to the chronology of the remaining kings of the dynasty, there is not the slightest appearance of difficulty arising from genealogical considerations.

80. As I intimated in the early part of this paper, I am not yet prepared to treat of the chronology of the several reigns anterior to the twenty-second dynasty. I cannot conclude, however, without noticing two genealogical series, which may serve in some degree as tests of the correctness of the chronology of this period. And first, in the twenty-first year of Shishonk I., that is, according to my system, in 960 a person died who had built for Shishonk his principal buildings. In the forty-fourth year of Ahmô's, that is, 527, a person died who names this person as his ancestor either in the eleventh or in the thirteenth degree. Unfortunately, it so happens that his ancestor in both these degrees had the same name, and the same office of principal architect to the king. This gives us either 11 or 13 generations = 433 years. Taking it to be 13 generations, we have about 33 years for a generation. This is not too great considering that the parties lived in a rank of life in which marriages would be likely to take place later in life than in the royal family, and considering also that the descent might in many cases be through younger sons. Still, it must be admitted, that this series of descents is not inconsistent with a system which made the interval between Shishonk and Ahmô's much less than I make it. I think it fair to my readers to communicate to them this evidence, though I do not think that much stress should be laid upon it in the present controversy. It is in fact reconcilable both with my system and with any that can be substituted for it. I intend, however, to resume the consideration of this genealogy, when I come to treat of the nineteenth dynasty, to which it goes back. The *earlier* portion of it, I consider to be most important evidence in support of my system.

81. The other genealogical succession is that of the kings of Judah. According to my system, Solomon died shortly after

the accession of Shishonk I., say in 978; and Josiah was killed in 608; the year after the accession of Nekau, which was about May, 809. The interval is 370 years between the death of Solomon and his descendant in the fifteenth degree, which gives  $24\frac{2}{3}$  years for a generation. According to the lengths of reigns in the Books of Kings, the interval was about 371 years, which is contracted to 365 in the chronology given in the margin of the Authorized Version. *My* system, it will be seen, is in perfect agreement with the lengths of reigns given in the Hebrew Scriptures, and agrees with the standard lengths of generations better than the systems which are now prevalent. Egyptologists in general place the accession of Shishonk later than I do; and at the same time they, with the exception of Mr. Bosanquet, place the death of Josiah earlier, or at any rate not later than I do. Thus, they are obliged to cut down the interval filled with the fifteen generations in question, shortening some one or more of the reigns of the kings of Israel. Lepsius and others shorten that of Manasseh, but this is inadmissible because the Assyrian inscriptions prove that Samaria was taken in the second year of Sargon over Assyria, which was also the second of Merodach Baladan over Babylon, which was by Ptolemy's canon 720. This was the sixth year of Hezekiah, and therefore 725 was his first, and if the received numbers in the Second Book of Kings be correct, 696 was the first of Manasseh, 641 of Amon, 639 of Josiah, and 608 of his successor; which is, according to my system, as it should be, the second year of Nekau. We have thus 117 years for the last four of the 15 generations, which taken from 371 gives only 254 for the first eleven, according to my system and the Hebrew numbers. This is on an average only twenty-three years for a generation, and this is quite as low an average as we can reasonably assume. To take thirty years or thereabouts from this period, thus reducing the average of a generation to twenty years, is inconsistent with well-established observations.

I conclude here for the present. I will not promise, but I am in hopes that in the course of 1864 I shall have a concluding paper ready in which I shall carry back the chronology, as respects single reigns, back to the accession of Ahmô of the eighteenth dynasty; treating at full length of the reality of the Exodus and its true date.

*Killyleagh, Nov. 28th, 1863.*

EDWARD HINCKS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

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## DISCOVERY OF ADDITIONAL UNCIAL FRAGMENTS OF ST. LUKE, ETC.

THOSE scholars who take an interest in what I may call Biblical Palæography will be glad to learn that an addition has recently been made to the Nitrian palimpsest of St. Luke's Gospel (Add. MS. 17211). Whilst going through the volumes and bundles of fragments which form part of our Syriac library, I found three leaves that had been accidentally placed in the Add. MS. 14665, and hence were overlooked by Tischendorf at the time when he was preparing the second volume of his *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*. These have now been restored to their proper places, and are numbered fol. 2, 11, and 14. The Greek writing is, as is almost invariably the case, much more faded on one side of each leaf than on the other; so that, without the application of some chemical agent, only one half of the contents is legible, at least to my unpractised eyes.

Each of these three leaves of the Syriac manuscript is the upper half of a leaf of the Greek codex. Fol. 2 contains a portion of the *capitula*, viz., the sections  $\nu\eta$ ,  $\nu\theta$ , and, if I read rightly,  $\xi\xi$  and  $\xi\eta$ . Its place, therefore, is between pages 4 and 5 of Tischendorf's edition. Fol. 11 contains chap. vi. 31, 32, 34, and 35. It should immediately follow page 20. Fol. 14 contains chap. vii. 44, 46, and 47, and therefore stands between pages 24 and 25. As I said before, these are the contents of only one side of each leaf, the remainder being hardly legible.

In the same volume of the *Monumenta Sacra*, page 311—316, Tischendorf has given the text of some palimpsest fragments in the Nitrian collection, containing portions of St. John's Gospel, of the prophecies of Ezekiel, and of the third (first) book of Kings. To these I can make some not unimportant additions.

The Add. MS. 14665 is made up of a number of palimpsest leaves, the remnants of several volumes of different ages and sizes.

Fol. 1—7 are fragments of a Syriac manuscript of, say, the tenth century, to procure vellum for which the scribe seems to have destroyed no less than three Greek books. Fol. 1 is so much torn that only two or three Greek letters are visible. Fol. 2 has been published by Tischendorf (*Mon. Sac.*, tom. ii., p. 313-14). It contains Ezekiel, chap. iv. 16—v. 4, and is ascribed by him to the seventh century. Fol. 3 is

remarkable for having been thrice written upon. The oldest text is that of 3 (or 1) Kings, chap. viii. 58—ix. 1, edited by Tischendorf, p. 315-16, and assigned by him to the fifth century. The intermediate text is, to all appearance, a Greek cursive, which has been almost washed out in preparing the vellum to receive the Syriac text. Fol. 4 is a leaf of a magnificent Greek codex in large uncials, probably as old as any extant manuscript of the Scriptures. It contains 3 Kings, chap. xxi. 26—31. Fol. 5 is a portion of the same codex as fol. 2, containing Ezekiel, chap. v. 4—11. It is much torn. Folios 6 and 7 are small fragments, the Greek writing on which is so much effaced as to be scarcely legible. I should say that they formed part of the manuscript of Ezekiel.

Folios 8 and 9 contain portions of a Greek glossary or dictionary (letter *o*) of about the ninth century. The Syriac text seems to be a century or so younger.

The remainder of the volume is made up of Coptic and Syriac palimpsest fragments. Among the former, folios 17, 18, and 19 are remarkably fine specimens of the Coptic Scriptures. They seem to be of the seventh or eighth century, and contain portions of Genesis and Numbers in the *Sahidic* dialect.

From these short notes the reader may see how little value the Nitrian monks of later times attached to their once splendid library. Even in the first half of the tenth century, Moses of Nisibis took pleasure in enriching the convent of which he was abbat with manuscripts collected during a journey to Bagdad, and recorded with pride in each of them that it was one of two hundred and fifty volumes which he had brought home with him to Egypt. But about his time, or very soon after it, the work of destruction commenced. As vellum gradually became scarce, the Greek, Coptic and Arabic books were torn up; and when their stock of these was exhausted, the monks fell upon the older Syriac manuscripts. Ancient copies of the Gospels were cut up to complete defective volumes; an old service-book afforded binding for half a dozen more modern ones; a splendid manuscript of Ephraem Syrus was obliterated to make room for a selection from various authors; and so on. This was what took place between the tenth and twelfth centuries. In later times it is only too certain that saints and heretics alike either fed the convent fires, or lay peacefully side by side amid the oil jars and other rubbish in the cellars.

The few Greek, Coptic, and Arabic parchments that have come down to us are of considerable value, even from the merely palæographic point of view. Of Coptic writing there are some fine specimens in the volume of fragments numbered Add. MS. 14740 A. The oldest, which may, I think, be safely assigned to the sixth or seventh century, are fol. 7, containing the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, chap. ii. 10—iii. 11, and folios 17 and 18, which contain anecdotes of the Egyptian fathers, in particular of Makarius of Alexandria and Pachomius. Of Arabic writing the original binding of Add. MS. 12137 contains two ancient specimens, the one a document written in Egypt during the reign of Ahmed ibn Tūlūn, between the years of the Hijra 250 and

270, A.D. 864—883; the other dated in the year of the Hijra 296, A.D. 909. In the Add. MS. 14741 A are bound up two vellum leaves, containing fragments of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John in Arabic, which are also of the third century of the Hijra.

2nd November, 1863.

WILLIAM WRIGHT.

### BIBLICAL NOTES AND QUERIES, ETC.

I TAKE the liberty of sending you a little parcel of notes and queries on interesting topics for consideration, hoping they may do some good.

They are written with all possible conciseness and laconism, as your space is so valuable; and the great art of writing well is to express useful truths in the fewest words they require. *Multum in parvo* should be the rule of writers,—a rule too much neglected.

#### “THE CHRISTIAN ANNOTATOR.”

I am glad to observe by a review of the *Christian Annotator*; or, *Notes and Queries on Scripture Subjects*, in p. 216 of your October number, that this valuable periodical is reprinted in a durable form with indexes. The portions of the work I have seen, fully merit your commendations, and I trust you will sometimes allow its contributors the privilege of appearing in your Quarterly, or they will be left without any appropriate organ of literature for their minute but valuable suggestions, which are the more pleasing because free from disagreeable personalities.

#### THE MOODS AND TENSES OF THE HEBREW VERB.

All Hebrew scholars are aware that the most obscure and difficult portion of Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic grammars is that which relates to the moods and tenses of the Shemitic verb. The only view of the case that appears to me practically correct, is embraced by those who consider the Hebrew verb as essentially different in its constitution from the classical verb of the Greeks and Latins. In their opinion the Hebrew verb is mainly modal; consisting of four moods—infinitive, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. They regard the infinitive mood and its participles as the universal basis of the rest. They regard the indicative mood as bearing a sense of relative originality or priority, whether present, past, or future; and that it is erroneous to call it the perfect tense. They regard the subjunctive mood as bearing a consequential or successive sense, present, past, or future; and that it is erroneous to call it the future tense. They regard the imperative mood as bearing a progressive prospective sense, present, past, or future; and that it is erroneous to call it the second future. The Hebrew grammar which takes this view most expressly, is that of Andrew, contained in his little Hebrew Dictionary, 1823. He appears to me more correct in this theory of the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic verb, than Gesenius, Ewald, Lee, Young, or any of the learned men who have disputed on the Hebrew tenses, and who have striven to remove

the difficulty by calling them aorists or indefinites. While I respect the learning displayed in Mr. Young's new translation of the Bible, I believe that his theory of these tenses is practically untenable. Let the reader judge by the results. He thus translates Genesis xvii. 4: "Thy name *is* no more called Abram, but thy name *hath been* Abraham."

#### DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

Several learned articles have recently appeared on the date of the crucifixion. I believe that it took place on the fifth day of the Jewish week, which extended from Wednesday evening to Thursday evening. And that our blessed Lord was crucified on what we call Thursday, and not on Friday; and that he lay in the earth, according to his own prediction, three nights and three days, namely, Thursday night, Friday night, and Saturday night; and Friday morning, Saturday morning, and Sunday morning, which being the third day, he rose again. I believe I have proved this point in my improved *Monotessaron*, reviewed in your last number; and I need not repeat the arguments here. They are confirmed by the learned author of a recent book, entitled *The Stars and the Angels*, and by other writers of ability.

#### THE CONSUMMATION OF BUDDHISM.

In an elaborate article on Buddhism in your last number, the writer supposes that the consummation of Buddhism, the last state which devout Buddhists desire, is annihilation or nothingness; p. 102. Such is the view of the case professed by Professor Max Müller, which I endeavoured to refute in the *Times* newspaper. I still assert my conviction that they do not desire nihilism, but absorption in the Deity, or deification and apotheosis. The puzzle has arisen in consequence of the double sense of the word nothing, which may signify non-existence absolutely or relatively. Thus in the sense of the Oriental mystics, God, the author of all things, is superior to all things, as a cause is superior to its effects. And they do not call him a thing; but their *no thing* has not the same meaning as our *nothing*. And the expressions of the Buddhists are to be understood in the same way that Fenelon, Molinos, and the Christian mystics are to be understood, when they talk of self-annihilation, absorption in God, losing themselves in God. John Milton expresses the same idea when he says, "God can raise his creature to what height he pleases of union or communion deified."

#### DR. ALLESTREE, THE AUTHOR OF THE "WHOLE DUTY OF MAN."

The authorship of the *Whole Duty of Man* has long been a vexed question in literature, and has given rise to as many conjectures as the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*. I have recently discovered on satisfactory evidence, that Dr. Allestree was the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*; and the evidence that he was so is at least as convincing as that brought forward to prove that Sir Philip Francis was the author of the *Letters of Junius*.



## THE PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS.

It would be interesting to see a list of the chief authors who have written on the Palmyrene inscriptions, with a brief statement of their theories of interpretation. Before me lies a book, entitled *Palmyrene Inscriptions taken from Wood's Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec*, in which the author, S. Salome, supposes that thirteen of these inscriptions are Hebrew, and translates them conjecturally into English. In short, he considers the Palmyrene language to be essentially a Hebrew dialect, while others mention that it is a Syrian dialect. The question is, who has given the best interpretations of these inscriptions, and where they are to be found?

## APOSTOLIC DEVOTIONALS, OR DEVOTIONAL OFFICES.

It seems to be desirable that the apostolic devotionals or devotional offices should be collected and translated into English. I refer to those ancient devotionals of the Christian Church which include the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Greek liturgies attributed to St. James, St. Jude, St. Mark, St. John, and St. Peter; Clement, Basil, and Chrysostom. The liturgies or eucharistic services contained in these books have been presented in English by Brett, Whiston, Etheridge, and Neale, but scarcely any of the baptismal or other services have yet appeared in our language. The Syriac and Greek ones may be found in Assemani and Renaudot, Ludolph and Goar. It appears to be the general opinion of the learned, that several of the prayers and psalms of the Apostles remain in these old devotionals and sacramentaries, though they have been greatly intermixed with the interpretations and additions of subsequent writers, orthodox and heterodox.

## THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH.

Do not the actual tombs of Abraham and others of the earliest Jewish patriarchs now lie in the cave of Machpelah, underneath the apartments in which travellers are sometimes admitted? And do not these actual tombs contain inscriptions of a very remote date, as Benjamin of Tudela affirms in his *Itinerary*? See Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*.

## THE FISH OF THE LAKE OF GENNESARET.

It is strange that no traveller in Palestine, so far as I am aware, has yet ascertained with scientific precision what fishes actually inhabit this celebrated lake. Probably they are of the very same kinds as those caught by the nets of the Apostles. This fact might be ascertained without much difficulty, for these fish may be taken either by net or hook, and preserved for exact investigation. Some writers tell us they are chiefly mullets or bonitos; and others say that they resemble the fish caught in the Nile. The fact is, that the natural history of the animals and vegetables of the Holy Land is still in its infancy, and none of the works yet written on the subject can be relied on.

F. BARHAM.

## ON MARK IX. 43—50.

THE serious and in-earnest tone which always characterizes your correspondent J. Challis's communications, has in it something peculiarly grateful to the truth-seeker who is not a controversialist;—he may propound theorems wholly at variance with all your preconceived opinions, but—he does not do so defiantly: you may differ from his propositions point blank, but—you do not do so irately; hence the *via glabrerosa* along which both author and reader can travel pleasantly together. In his last paper, in the July number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, on Mark ix. 43—50, he states at the outset that he finds it hard to comprehend what especial danger to Christianity is alluded to by the author of the “Essay on the Interpretation of Scripture,” in *Essays and Reviews*, when he speaks of “Christianity being staked on the literal meaning of the words, ‘Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.’” Though I have not read the Essay in question, it would seem to me that the danger apprehended to Christianity by what might be called the new theology, lies in that view of it which admits no alternative between eternal happiness on the one hand and eternal misery on the other; that it is so pledged to this dogma by orthodoxy as, sequentially, to live only with its life and die with its death. I think there is sufficient evidence of the existence, in the present age, of a feeling which shrinks from upholding a creed so hopeless for the mass of erring humanity; and it is also true that in the widespread class which represents this feeling, there are many who—while leaning to a more hopeful theory of divine dealing—do not wish to desert the true creed of the Gospel—to be called heterodox. It is these who are seeking with conscientious labour after an *orthodox* bridge, which will lead them from, what they esteem, one orthodox to another—(how many graceful structures have we seen erected which, alas! fell to ruins when the attempt was made to cross over by them). When we have found the true bridge, is it not very possible that we shall find Christianity on the other side waiting to receive us—as beautiful, perhaps, more so, than she was when we knew her in the land we had left behind? This bridge we would fain find—this bridge your kind correspondent would fain point out to us.

In Mark ix. 43, 45, 47, in the clause commencing *καλόν σοι ἐστὶ*, J. C. thinks that a considerable difference is made in the sense by the translators having adopted a comparative form in their rendering of *καλόν*; we incline to think that the comparative gives a more correct rendering of our Saviour's meaning than the change to the positive, which he suggests (verses 44, 46, 48), “Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.” Whether our Saviour repeated these words three separate times we cannot tell; Griesbach in his Testament considers the first twice doubtful, but if uttered by him *once* it is sufficient to “give us pause.” Gladly would we learn that the impression of eternal woe which they convey had its rise in erroneous exegesis, and that a spirit more akin to that of the divine teacher enabled a truer interpretation to be put upon his words:—can it be done? We sincerely

thank J. C. for his attempt to do so, and would like to go over the ground with him again. It is true that the σκώληξ which feeds on dead bodies may be only a poor feeble worm, presenting to our sight nothing capable of causing pain or misery; but is it not also true that the feeble σκώληξ is capable of supplying by its one quality of unceasing voracity an objective allegorical name to a subjective psychological fact? J. C. well says, "that apart from experience and observation of the eternal world there is no true foundation of Scriptural science." Do we believe this one obvious characteristic of the worm can better be made to typify that ceaseless gnawing at the heart which remorse or the sense of guilt can cause,—and than which no form of retributive punishment can well be imagined more fearful in an ETERNITY,—than any other outward semblance, aye, much more than the Promethean vulture of the Greeks.

"And the fire is not quenched." J. C. says that the term ἄσβεστον is inapplicable to natural fire, but then man is practically acquainted with only one kind of fire, and as he must of necessity use terms which convey some idea to his mind, he is forced to adopt the name of the only kind of fire he knows to express in a typical form what in reality may not be actual *fire*, but only comparable to it; he knows by experience that earthly fire must die out when its material fails—he is told on divine authority that the other dread fire, of which his is a type, is eternal in duration—and that this is the correct rendering, so far as we yet know, would seem to be borne out by the parallel passage of Matt. xviii. 8, το πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, and many others.

Very earnestly might we hope that in these and kindred passages we had found shadowed forth in typical language some faint insight into the mysterious future which awaits poor sinful man, that the words "eternal fire" indicated some divine process of purification, and that the "undying worm" was but a type of that eternal principle of life which shall absorb mortality, and bring to pass that glorious close to earthly existence when death shall be swallowed up in victory.

*Rich Hill, Sept. 11th, 1863.*

M. N. H.

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## THE ABSOLUTION IN THE COPTIC LITURGY OF ST. BASIL.

SOVEREIGN Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son and word of God the Father, who hath burst all the bonds of our sins by his sufferings for life-giving salvation; who breathed in the face of his holy disciples and holy apostles, saying unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted to them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained. Now thou, O Lord, also by the holy apostles didst grant to those who labour in the priesthood, at all times in thy holy Church, to forgive sins on earth,—to bind and loose all bonds of iniquity. Now we pray and beseech thy goodness, thou lover of mankind, for thy servants, my fathers and brethren, and for my infirmity, and for these bowing their heads before thy holy glory: grant them and grant us thy mercy, and burst asunder all the bonds of

our sins; whether we have committed any sins against thee, either with knowledge, or in ignorance, or in timidity of heart, or by word or deed, or by pusillanimity of soul. Thou, Lord, who knowest the weakness of men, as the good God, and lover of mankind, grant to us the forgiveness of our sins. Bless us, cleanse us, and make us free, and all thy people free. Fill us with thy fear, and direct us into thy good and holy will; for thou art our God, and to thee the glory, honour, and power are due, with thy good Father and the Holy Ghost, the giver of life, co-equal with thee, now and always.

[Translated from the Coptic and Arabic.]

H. TATTAM.

### ORIGIN OF Z.

IN the excurses in Gesenius's *Hebrew Grammar* (thirteenth edition) on the figures and names of the Hebrew letters, etc., I find the following under the head of Zain:—"Sain (ז), *weapon, sword*. The usual Phœnician figure  $\text{I}$  suits this well, and also the bent  $\zeta$ , but not that, which is apparently the oldest, Z." Now, I think this oldest form will, on a little consideration, be found to admit of a very easy explanation. Let us take it as follows:—



A B is the arm from the shoulder to the elbow, B C the arm from the elbow to the hand, C D the weapon held in the hand for the purpose of stabbing. Thus the figure Z is complete, and exhibits not merely the weapon, but the bent arm holding the weapon in the act of striking or stabbing.

A. H. W.

### ANCIENT HEBREW AND OTHER BIBLICAL MSS. AT ST. PETERSBURG.

THE following extract from a letter of Dr. Chwolson, Professor of Hebrew at St. Petersburg, written to me on the 6/18th current, may be interesting to you and to many readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. As the original is in German, I take the liberty of translating.

"The collection of Hebrew MSS. made by Mr. Firkowitz has been purchased, not, as you supposed, by the Academy, but by the Imperial Public Library. There can be no doubt that among the Biblical MSS. many are very old. Most of them contain dates, which are reckoned according to different eras. The Biblical MSS. fall into two classes—unpointed fragments of Pentateuch rolls, and pointed fragments of different portions of the Old Testament. The oldest date is in a roll found in the Karaite synagogue at Tschufutkalé, in the Crimea, the epigraph of which runs as follows:—והקדש הזה קם סמסוקא לשנים סמסוקא ש' אסחא—*הנה* *הנה*, i.e., *dedicated (to the synagogue) here, the congregation* ( $\text{קם}$ = $\text{קדש}$  or  $\text{קדול}$ ) of Tamatarka (i.e., Phanagoria, now Taman, in the

peninsula of the same name), *formerly (called) Thamirake, in the year* (ϑ=ρω) 4400 *of the creation, 1185 of our exile.* From other notes, in which different eras occur, we can see that the Jews of the Crimea and the peninsula of Taman had two mundane eras, differing from one another by 151 years; so that, to ascertain the corresponding Christian year, we must add in the one case 89 years, and in the other 240. In one note the year 1700 of the exile is identified with 1316 of the Seleucid era; so that the former is reckoned from 696 before Christ, the date of the Assyrian exile under Shalmaneser. Consequently the year 1185 of the exile is=489 after Christ, and therefore 4400 of the creation is in this case=A.D. 489, the date of this roll. I have not, however, myself seen this epigraph, and Mr. Firkowitz told me that it had been destroyed by a photographer in taking a photographic copy. To me it is suspicious; for *Thamirake* is a well-known town, which was situated out of the Crimea, a little westward of Perekop, but *not* in the peninsula of Taman; unless, indeed, there were two towns of the name, of one of which the ancients say nothing. There are, further, fragments of rolls, in which the date of purchase or dedication is mentioned; for example, 1335 of the exile=A.D. 639; 1460 of the exile=A.D. 764; A.M. 4541=A.D. 781; 1485 of the exile and A.M. (4)700=A.D. 789; 1494 of the exile=A.D. 798; 1501 of the exile and A.M. 4565=A.D. 805, in which year this MS. was carried off from the *Gothic* tribe of the Tetraxians by the newly converted *Chazars*. This last note is indubitably genuine, and the roll is evidently very ancient. Further, there are fragments dating from A.M. (4)726=A.D. 815 or 966; A.M. 4603=A.D. 843; (1)544 of the exile=A.D. 848; A.M. (4)608=A.D. 848; etc. Many of these epigraphs I have examined minutely, and most of them seem to be ancient—but are they genuine? How can we tell? There are seldom any *internal* grounds against their genuineness, for we know scarcely anything of the history and religious life of the Crimean and Caucasian Jews of the period to which these fragments belong. Consequently, we have few criteria by which to decide whether these inscriptions are genuine or not. For my part, I believe that the final decision of the question rests with the chemist, who alone can say of what age the rolls or MSS. probably are, and whether the inscriptions are equally old, or have been fabricated in modern times, and treated so as to give them the appearance of age.”

Professor Chwolson adds in a postscript that the Odessan collection of MSS., described by Pinner in 1845, is now also at St. Petersburg.

Professor Tischendorf writes to me from Leipzig on the 21st current: “Pendant mon dernier séjour à St. Pétersbourg, en 1862, plusieurs fragmens précieux de MSS. bibliques du V<sup>e</sup> ou VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, même un palimpseste contenant les *Épîtres* et l'*Apocalypse*, sont tombés dans mes mains.”

25th November, 1863.

W. WRIGHT.

## THE CENSUS, ETC., OF ST. LUKE II. 2.

HAVING taken some pains to investigate the Gospel dates, I beg leave to offer some remarks on the much-vexed passage, Luke ii. 2, "Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου," in consequence of the notice taken of it at pp. 47, 48 of your last number. It is astonishing what an amount of learned criticism and research has been brought to bear on this text; and how many writers, ancient and modern, have laboured to extract from it a sense which should be at once grammatically correct and conformable to the statements of independent historians: but still the question is not set at rest. I propose, with your permission, to place before your readers some considerations tending in my opinion to a settlement of the question.

I. In the first place let us look at the phrase, ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.

It has been a common practice, both in ancient and modern times, to date events by referring them to the periods when certain well-known public functionaries were in office. And St. Luke is particularly fond of this kind of dates; the first two verses of the very next chapter contain no less than six of them, and others occur at Acts xi. 28; xviii. 12. The phrase under discussion is doubtless another of the same sort; for it is notorious that Quirinius was the ordinary president of Syria for a period commencing A.D. 6, and in that capacity made an *apographe*, which occasioned a rebellion under Judas of Galilee.<sup>p</sup> And that Luke was cognizant of those facts is evident, for at Acts v. 37 he introduces Gamaliel reminding the Sanhedrin of the rebellion of Judas in connection with that *apographe*, which he alludes to as a famous epoch in Jewish history ("in the days of the *apographe*"). No reader of St. Luke then, at all acquainted with Jewish history, would hesitate a moment to refer the phrase under discussion to that period. It cannot with propriety be understood (as some have suggested) of any time, when Quirinius might have been commissioned by Augustus to execute some special service in the province, such as the subjugation of the Homonadenses in Cilicia, when (according to Zumpt) he acted as "Augusti legatus pro prætore Syriæ:" any such special service would be dated by a reference to the prætor or ordinary president of the province then in office, and not by reference to the special commissioner, for this would be simply to date an occurrence by itself. Moreover, so careful were the Greeks and Romans to preserve this form of dating from ambiguity, that if, for example, the Archon at Athens died or was superseded by another before the expiration of his year, the original Archon gave the name to the year, and was therefore called the ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος; and if the Consuls at Rome died, or were superseded before their year of office expired (as was very often the case), the Consuls chosen in January, and not the Consules *suffecti*, were the Consules ἐπώνυμοι.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Josephus, *Antiq.*, xviii. i. 1, 6; ii. 1; xxv. 2; *War*, ii. viii. 1; xvii. 8.

<sup>q</sup> See Biagi, *De Decret. Athen.*, cited in Clinton's *Fasti Hellen.*, vol. ii., p. xiv of Introduction.

On this principle, we must understand the words ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου of the time when Quirinius was the ordinary president of Syria, A.D. 6. I am fully aware that Josephus speaks of Saturninus and Volumnius as joint ἡγεμόνες τῆς Συρίας:<sup>r</sup> but they were contemporaneous standing officers in the province, the one as δικαιοδότης, the other as Cæsar's ἐπίτροπος or procurator fiscal; the former, however, was the superior in authority, as we see in the control exercised by Varus over Sabinus;<sup>s</sup> and they were never joined, like the Roman Consuls, in designating the period; the δικαιοδότης alone would be the ἡγεμὼν ἐπώνυμος, by whose period of office contemporary events would be dated.

For this reason—(1.) the elaborate argument of Sanclemente, for proving an extraordinary commission held by Quirinius to superintend the general *apographe* in the East, and to which St. Luke might here refer, must be deemed irrelevant. Greswell thinks that the monumental inscription, cited by Sanclemente as proving a census held by Quirinius's order at Apamea in Syria, if genuine, refers to A.D. 6; but Zumpt pronounces it a pious fraud: and the fragment of another inscription bearing no name, which Sanclemente cites, well suits Agrippa, who is known to have been twice ordinary president of Syria. (2.) As for Zumpt's conjecture (for it is no more), that Quirinius was twice ordinary president of Syria, it seems disproved by this very passage of St. Luke; for, had such been the fact, Luke, with his known precision, would have written ἡγεμονεύοντος τὸ πρῶτον or τὸ δεύτερον, as the case might require: besides, the said first presidency of Quirinius being supposed by Zumpt himself to follow that of Varus, the application of it to Luke ii. 2 involves a palpable anachronism; for whereas the *apographe* at the nativity pre-ceded the death of Herod, Varus was still president of Syria after Herod's death, and was engaged as such in suppressing a dangerous outbreak of the Jews at the Pentecost, while Archelaus was at Rome petitioning Augustus to confirm him as his father's successor. (3.) It is also a significant fact, that Josephus introduces Quirinius A.D. 6 as a totally new character in Jewish history; and though he mentions certain of his antecedents as proving his suitability for making the famous *apographe* in Judea, yet he gives not the least hint, either of a previous presidency held by him over that province, or of a previous *apographe* made by him in Judea; which appears to me fatal both to Sanclemente's and to Zumpt's theory.

We are compelled then, I conceive, to understand Luke's words, ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου, of the only period when Quirinius is known to have been the ordinary president of Syria, commencing A.D. 6.

II. In the next place let us look at the former part of the verse, αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο.

It is evident that by αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ is meant the *apographe* ordered by the edict of Augustus, mentioned in the first verse; and that the edict and the *apographe* are introduced by St. Luke as having been the means employed by Divine Providence to cause Christ to be born at Bethlehem instead of Nazareth, in fulfilment of the prophecy at Micah

<sup>r</sup> *Antiq.*, xvi., x. 8.

<sup>s</sup> *Idem.* xvii., ix. 3.

v. 2, quoted by the chief priests and scribes at Matt. ii. 5, 6. This *apographe*, then, St. Luke asserts ἐγενέτο, i.e., "came to pass," "happened," or "took place;" the same word bears this sense in the first verse, and in many passages of the Gospels; thus St. Luke himself says at Acts xi. 28, "which [famine] came to pass (ἐγενέτο) in the days of Claudius Cæsar." The context is in perfect keeping with this meaning, "all went to be *apographized*, every one to his own city;" there is not the least hint of any suspension or modification of the edict; whatever the edict commanded was included in this *apographe*, and the narrative implies that this *apographe* was executed in the sense of the edict at the time of our Lord's nativity.

I should not have thus insisted on the meaning of ἐγενέτο, were it not that some very respectable writers have put a different sense upon it. In order to avoid the anachronism of connecting the census at the nativity with the administration of Quirinius, they have suggested that an *apographe* was properly a register, both of persons and their property, with a view to assessment and taxation; that in this case the persons alone were registered, and that the other objects of the edict were not carried into effect till the later period; and so they translate "this *apographe* first took effect [in the way of taxation] when Quirinius was president of Syria." Perizonius well observes that ἐγενέτο is too weak a word to bear so emphatic a sense: besides, of what value would a census of persons, and even property, be as a basis of assessments to be made ten years later, when the circumstances would be completely changed, and a new *apographe* would be absolutely necessary? not to mention that it would be the *edict* which would be said to "take effect," rather than the *apographe*, which either happened or did not happen. This explanation having been reproduced in the present year by Johannes Von Gumpach, in a treatise published by Messrs. Bagster, I take the liberty of pointing out the serious objections to which it is liable. The natural inference from St. Luke's narrative is, that a *bond fide* census in the sense of the edict actually took place in Judea at the time of the birth of our blessed Lord, and was the proximate cause of his being born at Bethlehem.

III. As M. Von Gumpach exhorts us to bring our criticisms to the test of history, I proceed to examine whether there is any reliable evidence that such a census did really occur.

1. Incidental evidence of an *apographe* having occurred soon after the nativity is furnished by St. Matthew, in his account of Herod's massacre of the innocents, "in Bethlehem and the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the Magi" (Matt. ii. 16). It is not by any means self-evident how Herod would ascertain his victims; for if he had sent to enquire after all the male children born within the prescribed limits of time and place, the parents' fears would have been excited, and the children would have been sent out of harm's way: but if a census had recently been taken, he had only to make out from it a list of the children wanted, and to send executioners, without warning, to the families concerned, and his object was gained.



2. We have Tertullian's positive statement, that the *apographe* at the nativity was made by Sentius Saturninus, who was ordinary president of Syria from B.C. 9 to B.C. 6—"Census constat actos sub Augusto tunc in Judea per Sentium Saturninum:"—"constat," "*it is a well-established fact.*" This assertion is the more trustworthy, that it was made in controversy with wily heretics, who would assuredly have disproved it, had it been in their power to do so.

Marcion denied the natural birth of Christ, and held that he descended from heaven to Nazareth in the fifteenth year of Tiberius as a full grown man; he rejected the Old Testament; and regarded those portions of the Gospels which describe the birth and early years of Christ as fabulous inventions, designed to bring the personal history of Christ into conformity with the Old Testament prophecies. With this clue, let us look at the following passages of Tertullian: "Eundem [Christum] ex genere David, *secundum Mariæ censum*, etiam in virgâ ex radice Jessæ processurâ figuratè [Esaias] prædicabat." Again: (alluding to Luke iv. 16—22), "Et tamen quomodo in synagogam potuit admitti, tam repentinus, tam ignotus, cujus adhuc certus de tribu, de populo, de domo, *de censu denique Augusti, quem testem fidelissimum Dominicæ nativitatis Romana archiva custodiunt?*" (cap. 7). Again: the heretics alleged that the information, "Thy mother and thy brethren stand without," etc., was intended to elicit from Jesus whether he had a real birth; and that Jesus by his reply, "Who is my mother?" etc., meant to deny his own nativity; to which Tertullian answers, *inter alia*: "Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto tunc in Judea per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent" (cap. 19). Again: "Tam distincta fuit a primordio Judea gens per tribus et populos et familias et domos, ut nemo facile ignorari de genere potuisset, vel *de recentibus Augustinianis censibus, adhuc tunc fortasse pendentibus.* Jesus autem Marcionis, quippe qui non natus, nullam potuerat generis sui in publico habuisse notitiam, sed erat unus aliquis deputandus ex iis qui quoquo modo ignoti habebantur. Cum igitur prætereuntem illum cæcus audisset, cur exclamavit, 'Jesu, fili David, miserrere mei' (Luke xviii. 38), nisi quia Filius David, id est ex familia David, non temere deputabatur per matrem et fratres qui aliquando ex notitia utique annunciati ei fuerant. Qui vult videre Jesum David Filium, credat *per virginis censum*: qui non ita credat, non audiet ab illo, 'Fides tua te salvum fecit;' atque ita cæcus remanebit" (cap. 36). Again, in his *De carne Christi*, cap. ii., alluding to Marcion, he says: "Odit moras [Marcion], qui subito Christum de cælo deferebat. 'Aufer hinc,' inquit, '*molestos semper Cæsaris census* [those census-rolls of Cæsar which you are always casting in my teeth], et diversoria angusta et sordidos pannos et dura præsepia. Viderit angelica multitudo, Dominum suum noctibus honorans. Servent potius pecora pastores: et Magi ne fatigentur de longinquo; dono illis aurum suum. Melior et sit Herodes, ne Hieremias gloriatur. Sed nec circumcidatur infans, ne doleret; nec ad Templum deferatur, ne parentes suos oneret sumptus

<sup>1</sup> *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. iv., cap. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iv., cap. 1.

oblationis; nec in manus tradatur Simeonis, ne senex moriturus exinde contristetur: taceat et anus illa, ne fascieret puerum.' His opinor consiliis tot *originalia instrumenta Christi* delere, Marcio, ausus es, ne caro ejus probaretur." Once more in his *Adversus Judæos*, cap. ix.: "Et quoniam [for quod] ex semine David genus trahere deberet virgo, ex quâ nasci oportuit Christum, evidenter propheta in sequentibus dicit: 'Et nascetur,' inquit, 'virga de radice Jessæ, quod est Maria, et flos de radice ejus ascendet; et requiescet super illum spiritus Dei, spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritus agnitionis et pietatis, spiritus consilii et veritatis, spiritus Dei timoris implebit eum' (Isaiah xi. 1, 2). Neque enim ulli hominum universitas [horum] spiritualium documentorum competeat, nisi in Christum, flori quidem ob gloriam ob gratiam adæquatam, ex stirpe autem Jessæ deputatum, per Mariam scilicet inde censendum [to be accounted thence through Mary forsooth]. *Fuit enim 'De patria Bethlehem et de domo David' (sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est) Maria, ex quâ nascitur Christus.*"

It is fair to assume, that in all these six passages Tertullian refers to the same census-rolls, namely, those first copied and hung up for inspection in the different *ἰδία πόλεις* of Palestine, and then sent home by Sentius Saturninus to be laid up with the other state documents in the Roman archives. There Tertullian and many others saw and studied them; hence he says, fearless of contradiction, "constat," "*it is a well-established fact*, that a census was made in Judæa under Augustine at the time [of the nativity] by Sentius Saturninus." That Tertullian did not merely guess at Saturninus's name (as some have insinuated), but actually found the census-rolls amongst his presidential state papers, we may be certain from the precision and confidence with which he quotes them. Nor is his competency to be a witness to be disputed. He was the son of a Roman centurion; of a very acute mind, and of great learning and experience; but withal very obstinate. He had been in his time a scoffer at Christianity, and nothing but the force of truth could have prevailed with such a man: he afterwards told the Gentiles, "Hæc et nos risimus aliquando. De vestris fuimus. Fiunt non nascuntur Christiani" (*Apol. contra Gentes*, c. xviii.). Throwing himself into the Marcionite controversy, he sought and found materials for confuting his adversary among the state records. Though living in Africa, he had plenty of opportunities of going or sending to the record offices at Rome,<sup>v</sup> and ferreted out the true state of the case. We have only to regret that he did not bequeath us copies of the entire entries concerning the holy family, both in Saturninus's and Quirinius's rolls; but in all his extant works I cannot find one allusion to Quirinius.

IV. But the opinion of most of the early fathers respecting Luke ii. 2 is considered by some to outweigh this testimony of Tertullian. Justin Martyr, who lived about fifty years before Tertullian, says that Christ was born ἀπογραφῆς οὐσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαία τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου (*Dial. cum Tryphone*); and again, that he was born ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου, and

<sup>v</sup> There is a full and interesting account of the various record houses at Rome in Dr. Jervis's volume on *Chronology*, pp. 370—376.

suffered ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου (*Apol.*, i., § 61); and at § 44 he says, after citing Micah v. 2, "Now Bethlehem is a certain town in Judæa, distant thirty-five stadia from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born," adding, ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου, τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ιουδαίᾳ πρώτου γενομένου ἐπιτρόπου. It is clear from these passages that Justin understood Luke to mean what our translators have expressed—"This *apographe* was first made when Quirinius was president of Syria:" in that case, however, Luke would have employed the adverb πρώτον, as at Acts xi. 26. But the fact is, Justin knew of no other *apographe* than the famous one made by Quirinius; with this in his mind, he went to the public record office at Rome, and asked for the census-rolls of Quirinius, president of Syria: they were handed to him; and finding in them what he here states, he was content: *l'art de verifier des dates* was not then understood as it is now, and he did not see the anachronism of connecting the nativity with the census of Quirinius. An error of this kind, once sent abroad by such an authority, is not easily corrected. Eusebius indeed saw the anachronism, but saw no remedy for it except sacrificing Josephus; and so, both in his *Thesaurus Temporum* and in his *Chronicon*, he places the census of Quirinius, and the rebellion under Judas, *before* the death of Herod and the accession of Archelaus; nor does he ever mention Quirinius or Judas again; he evidently surrendered Josephus's accuracy: but this cannot be tolerated; the mention of the thirty-seventh year of the Actiac Era gives a sure stamp of authenticity to Josephus's account; and we must consider the error to lie with the Christian fathers.

It may be said, indeed, that the Greek fathers must have understood their own language, and that (right or wrong) St. Luke must have meant what they supposed. But this does not follow: they misunderstood him in another passage, iii. 23, which they took to mean with our translators, "he began to be about thirty years of age" (see Greswell, *Dissertation* ix., vol. i., p. 318), a translation which blows hot and cold: by affecting precision and indefiniteness at the same time; Greek scholars now render the words, "he was about thirty years of age when he began"—i. e., his public ministry. (See Liddell and Scott, vv. ἀρχομαι, τελευτῶν.)

V. It has been alleged, that Josephus makes no mention of any census at the time of the nativity. It might be a sufficient reply to this objection, that Nicholas of Damascus (whom Josephus avowedly follows in his account of Herod) professed to write only what tended to his honour (*Antiq.*, xvi., vii. 1; xvii., v. 3), and so would be likely to take little or no notice of a measure which must have been very humiliating to Herod.

But M. von Gumpach takes up this point with commendable zeal, and produces Josephus as a witness to the fact of our census. He asserts (but without any proof) that Judas of Galilee is the same person with Judas the son of Saripheus, who was concerned with Matthias and others in pulling down Herod's golden eagle from the temple, for which Matthias and his companions were burnt (*Antiq.*, xvii., vi. 2—4); and

that Judas, not being named as burnt, evidently escaped the fire somehow, and collected his followers to oppose the census. Joazar was high-priest at the time of Herod's death, and deposed by Archelaus soon after; and yet reappears as high-priest in the time of Quirinius, no mention having been made in the interim of his reappointment: this is only a negative argument. The positive statements of Josephus, that the revolt of Judas happened "when Quirinius came to take account of the substance of the Jews" (*War*, vii., viii. 1), and under Coponius, the first procurator of Judæa, who came with Quirinius (*Ibid.*, ii., viii. 1), M. von Gumpach sets aside, declaring that Josephus's "whole narrative of these events is vague, disconnected, and unsatisfactory:" in short, he tries to ruin the character of his own witness: this is very droll.

I turn with more satisfaction for evidence of our census to another part of Josephus. Greswell thinks with good reason, that Pedanius and his co-*πρέσβεις*, who were some of the assessors appointed by Augustus to form the council of Berytus in Syria (*Antiq.*, xvi., xi. 1, 2; *War*, i., xxvii. 2), about Midsummer B.C. 7 (as I calculate), were the imperial commissioners for carrying out the edict (just then published in Syria) under the superintendence of Sentius Saturninus, the ordinary president of the province; who would employ Herod and his officers for carrying out the same edict in Palestine. He thinks with Hervart, Perizonius, Lardner, and others, that the oath of allegiance to Cæsar and Herod, mentioned soon after by Josephus as taken by the whole Jewish nation except six thousand recusant Pharisees, was—not indeed (as Lardner supposes) the *apographe* itself, but—intended to pave the way for it; and that it was taken by the nation when assembled together at the feast of Tabernacles in September. If our blessed Lord was born in October, when the flocks might still be abroad in the fields at night, he would be registered soon after by the census officer. I must refer your readers for more on this subject to Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, Works, vol. i., pp. 289—302.

VI. It is now time to ask with Greswell, "What shall we say, then, to the meaning of the celebrated text, Luke ii. 2?" (*Dissertation* xii., vol. i., p. 521.)

I agree with him in replying, that "the safest course is to understand the words of St. Luke as a parenthetic admonition, not to confound this *apographe* at the birth of Christ with the much later and more memorable *apographe* in the time of Quirinius." In this case we must regard *πρώτη* as an ordinal adjective, and translate, "This enrolment took place first in respect of Quirinius being president of Syria," *i. e.*, before Quirinius was president of Syria. The only difficulty will concern the government of the last clause as a genitive by *πρώτη*: *πρὸ ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου* would be good Greek, and no one could doubt its meaning: *πρώτη* seems designed to intensify that meaning, and would be well expressed by the old English phrase "or ever" (Dan. vi. 24): "This enrolment took place or ever Quirinius was president of Syria," as if utterly forbidding the speculations of Sanclemente and others.

Bishop Middleton, however, considers this construction harsh; and certainly no instance strictly analogous has yet been produced: plenty of instances occur, in which *πρῶτος* governs a *noun* or *pronoun* in the genitive, for example: *πρώτη δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐτελεύτησε*, Suidas, v. Πλακίλλα: ἤρχε τε Περσῶν πρῶτον Δαρείου καὶ Μεγαβύζου, Aristoph., *Aves*, 484: *πρῶτος ὁ Μαρικᾶν ἐεῖδαχθη τῶν δευτέρων Νεφελῶν*, Ejusdem, *Schol. ad Nub.*, 552: *τὸ σοῦ δευτέρου αἰρεθῆναι μείζον εἰς δόξαν νενόμικε τοῦ πρῶτος ἐτέρου*, Themistius, *Orat.* ix.: *οὔτε πρῶτος τις ἀνέβη Κατῶνος*, Plutarch in *Catone Min.*: *οἱ πρῶτοί μου ταῦτα ἀνιχνεύσαντες*, Ælian, *N. A.*, viii. 12: *γεννῆτορα πρῶτον μητέρος εἰς αἶδην πέμψει*, Manetho, i., 329; iv., 404: *Πρὸ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἀρχῶν ἔστι Θεὸς εἰς, πρῶτος καὶ τοῦ πρῶτου Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέως*, Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*, sect. viii., cap. ii.: *Καὶ πρῶτος ἔστεφανοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων*, Dionys., *Halic.*, *Hist. Rom.*, iv. 3: not to mention John i. 15, 30; xv. 18. In all these cases *πρῶτος*, in the sense of "before," governs a *noun* or *pronoun* in the genitive. But after all, a noun is implied in the present instance also: for if St. Luke had expressed his meaning fully, he would have written, *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο [τῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἢ ἐγενέτο] ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*, which no one could object to or misunderstand; and it is a very pardonable ellipsis, to drop *τῆς ἀπογραφῆς* and only retain the period in which it happened: or we may consider *τῆς ἡγεμονίας* implied in *ἡγεμονεύοντος*.

If my speculations in this paper, and at page 412 of your last January number, and at page 180 of your last October number, be correct, our blessed Lord was born about October B.C. 7, baptized in January, A.D. 26, when he was thirty-one and a quarter years old, and crucified on Friday, March 18th, A.D. 29; and with these dates I believe all the other collateral dates, usually discussed in connection with this subject, will be found easily and naturally to harmonize.

St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,  
November 23, 1863.

JOSIAH PRATT.

### DOMITIANIC DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

IN a short notice by the Rev. E. B. Elliott of Dr. Vaughan's lectures on the Revelation of St. John, is the following passage: "Dr. Vaughan has adopted the Domitianic date, 'though,' he adds, 'with a full sense of the difficulty of the question.' What his difficulty is on the question I am unable to imagine, if he has at all carefully examined the evidence. . . . Even Dr. Davidson has renounced the Neronian date as untenable; though he once most strongly insisted on it, as the very key to right Apocalyptic interpretation."

I believe the Neronian date to be untenable, though you may think that Mr. Elliott too much underrated the difficulty of deciding the point.

December 10, 1863.

G. B.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*Mediatorial Sovereignty; the Mystery of Christ, and the Revelation of the Old and New Testaments.* By GEORGE STEWARD. 2 Vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

AT a time when the glory of Christ is assailed in so many ways, either by direct attack or by covert insinuation and depreciation, we regard any attempt in the opposite direction as worthy of special notice. We are, therefore, somewhat predisposed in favour of the work before us, and are willing to urge our readers to peruse it. Confessedly it is a heavy task which we set before them, for the two volumes contain more than a thousand octavo pages. But the subject is one of so much importance that Mr. Steward has not felt justified in producing a smaller book, or has not been able to say all he had to say in a narrower compass. The first volume comprises a preface and an introduction, and twenty-eight chapters designed to investigate the traces of Mediatorial Sovereignty in the Old and New Testaments. The second volume contains nineteen additional chapters upon the New Testament, and four chapters headed, "Truths evangelically illustrated." It is impossible in the brief space at our disposal to go into the details of the plan, but by way of compensation we give an extract from the preface, in which the author gives his own account of the work, and the principle upon which it is constructed.

"It is not in the technical sense a system of theology,—a digest of the articles, institutes, and morals of revelation, artificially ordered and elaborately expounded; it is rather a CHRISTOLOGY, so conceived and wrought out as to comprise the entire foundation and superstructure of the Bible. Accordingly, the work bears a twofold character, it has an aspect both for the world and the church. With respect to the former, it is designedly a contribution to what are usually termed the internal evidences of the Scriptures; with respect to the latter, it is intended to augment somewhat the resources of the Church, by pointing out the wealth of her inheritance in Christ *doctrinally considered*. So far as this aim has been successful, the divine thought or 'purpose' of the Bible has been demonstrated in the development of one great rudimental truth, utterly remote from the sphere and workings of the human mind, a truth communicable to man's mind, but in no sense either cognate with or translatable by it. Agreeably to this view, revelation essentially consists in the purely divine thought which unfolds itself in the character and consummation of a 'purpose or scheme,' rather than in the historic and human elements in which this thought is embodied. These latter constitute merely the divine method of giving expression to the divine thought, which in respect to God is a Revelation, and in respect to man a Religion.

"In this view the relations between the substance, and what may be termed the accidents of the Bible, are fixed and indestructible, resembling the relations between the soul and the body: as these are required to make up the man, so those are required to make up the Bible. By the apprehension of this truth we are freed from the necessity of committing ourselves to mere *theories of inspiration*, and from being entangled in the meshes of insidious or 'doubtful' disputations, while we hold all the more firmly to the authority of the Scriptures, as most veritably comprising the 'oracles of God.' By the same view also we are preserved from the remotest bias to that scepticism which is the certain result of

severing the form from the thought of revelation, as if the latter were but an advanced phase of the operation of the religious element in man, and only a prognostic of its triumph under these or other favourable conditions. The external forms of revelation must stand or fall with the loss or maintenance of its interior truths, since this is the logical, though not the historical order in which both have been delivered to the world; consequently, the integrity of its reception entirely hinge on the acknowledgment and the application of this fact. At first sight this position may seem at variance with received opinions as to the relations existing between the external and the internal evidences of the Bible, and as tending to disparage the former. But this objection is far from being valid because the two classes of evidence must needs be mutually corroborative, though of somewhat different application,—while revelation was in progress, and as yet not stamped with finality, its external evidences would be to a great extent paramount; but afterwards its internal evidences would necessarily wax into ascendancy. The former would, indeed, preserve their place as an authenticating class of phenomena historically indubitable; but the latter from their very nature must become indefinitely cumulative, reflecting as the great centre lights of the Bible, their glory upon its outer bulwarks. Hence, fully possessed by this idea, we are so far from shrinking from the supernaturalism of the Bible—its grand historic peculiarity—that we naturally view this as the necessary counterpart of its spiritualism, and as comprised in the very *rationalé* of a revelation. Were it otherwise, assuming even the possibility of a revelation, its efficiency might be more than doubtful. The spirit of scepticism which now tampers with the marvellous in its outworks of facts could hardly be supposed to leave unmolested the divinity of its truths, nor would the oracle, stripped of all divine surroundings, be left unparodied by the wisdom of the world, intent on confounding the voice of God with the dwellings of men."

The treatment of the various topics discussed is sober, and characterized by ability and independence. But it is very desirable that the reader should pay particular attention to the two chapters of the introduction, in which Mr. Steward shews (1.) that sovereignty is the aspect of divinity most open to man, and (2.) that Scripture is the authentic depository of the divine sovereignty in its relation to man. Many of the observations made are of undoubted weight and importance, and shew that the author does not write at random. As one example we quote the following from vol. i., pp. 288, 289, where he affirms his conviction that the Bible is strictly a record of mediation. The chapter is designed to prove that mediatorial sovereignty is the doctrine of prophecy:—

"The last notice of the bearing of this doctrine on the structure and spirit of Old Testament revelation respects *its influence on the peculiar cast of its thought, feeling, and expression*. These seem almost throughout to be moulded by it,—so much, indeed, that it is not presumption to affirm that, on any other hypothesis, we should have had altogether a *different Bible*: if, indeed, we could have had a Bible at all. For the same reason that a naturalist spurns a Bible, an anti-mediationist must want one. To both the *foundation* of a Bible is superseded, and the superstructure, therefore, is gratuitous and chimerical. The Bible is strictly *the record of mediation*, and every view of God, of man, and of religion, is offered to us from this one standpoint, and is the one effect of its light. God is never seen but through this medium. The very instances in which He comes forth for the purpose of establishing and exalting it,—in a word, to cast about our Lord's own declarations, a sanction and glory superadded to their own most solemn weightiness: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me' (John xiv. 6)."

The next extract is from the chapter headed, The Church the Kingdom of Christ (vol. ii., 272—274):—

"Religion never has existed, nor possibly could exist in the world as a mere doctrine or matter of record, apart from people as its witnesses, and traditionary correspondences corroborative of its facts and records. Every fact or doctrine, no matter how true or important in itself, not thus imparted in human belief and tradition, must necessarily wane into oblivion. It must, for its existence and power, be committed to the current of a living humanity, and go down from age to age in unbroken continuity of recognition, or it parts company with the world; and if not retrieved in some fresh form, surrenders its supremacy to error, which is subject to no such contingency, and will supply the void by its unfailing fountain in human nature itself. Without its historic character where would Christianity have been at this day in the earth? Eighteen centuries have to be traversed historically before its origin is scanned; but this mighty interval is traceable by its documents and institutes,—by its peoples, and its profession during the dark and otherwise impassable chaos. This has been bridged over by the historic continuity of Christianity under some forms of church embodiment, however corrupt. It has thus become a broad and incontrovertible fact set before the world for perpetual generations, inviting inquiry as to its divine credentials from the thoughtful, and, in some degree, pre-occupying the mind of the world with its ideas and influences. It is obvious that such an arrangement of Providence was indispensable to the designs involved in the divine origin of Christianity.

"The Scriptures of the New, like those of the Old Testament, must needs have been furnished with a competent vehicle of transmission to the latest ages. The facts, doctrines, and institutes of this religion must obtain currency in the world, or no ground-work could have been laid for its onward movements with the course of the race. No data would have been furnished for its reformation when corrupted, and no means of return to its pristine blessings when lost. Isolated, and thus forgotten, a new apostolate could not have sufficed to restore its lost position in the world, since even miracles and inspiration could not have rejoined the religion disowned by time and oblivion to its great foundation-facts. These would have been lost in their remoteness, and could never again have regained their first power of propagation and belief. Christianity, even if supernaturally restored through any other medium than the Scriptures and the church, would have been a baseless thing without its proper array of divine and human antecedents,—while, cut off from the past, and not interwoven with the world's story, its very nature and form must have been transmuted from a religion into a philosophy. At the same time it would have been entirely out of keeping with the earlier phases of revelation, which uniformly exhibit a deposit of facts and teachings committed to the custody of men, and given in such order and measure as concatenated the whole into an unbroken series of depending parts."

We quite agree with the author's views on a great many subjects, but there are thoughts which we regard as open to question. Is it, for instance an established fact that the cherubim were the symbol of the glorified Church? Dr. Fairbairn has advocated a similar idea, we are aware, in his valuable work on *Typology*, but we have never been able to see how it can be reconciled with their commission in the Book of Genesis, where they guard the way to the tree of life to prevent mortal man from access to it. There are, however, amid the topics which must be conceded to be doubtful, many passages of rare truth and power, practically useful, and worthy of the attention and acceptance of all. As a whole we think the work a very important contribution to theological literature, and we wish it abundant success. It is fitted to render good service to those who are labouring to promote the cause of God and truth.

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*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Genesis ; with a new Translation.* By J. G. MURPHY, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS is a substantial octavo volume of nearly six hundred pages, but by no means too elaborate, upon the first book of the Bible. Dr. Murphy is known as a first-rate Hebrew scholar, and is professor of that language at Belfast. He has sought to give a revised version of Genesis and a critical and exegetical commentary, answering to the wants of the times, and representing the results of modern scholarship. His translation of the first chapter is, he says, extremely literal, but the rest is a revision of the Authorized Version. He has laboured diligently, and upon the whole successfully, to bring out the peculiar features of this venerable book. In his introduction he gives us some observations upon the Bible as a whole, the Pentateuch as a part of it, and the Book of Genesis in particular. The substance of the volume is too elaborate to be done justice to in a short notice like this. But we have examined a number of passages, and in general we accept the construction put upon the text, and we find a large mass of materials which will be of real service to the students of Genesis. We are not always sure of the interpretation. For instance, is it necessary to say, "In the beginning *had* God created the heavens and the earth; and the earth *had* become a waste and a void?" This view we know is that of Bunsen and some others; but it is a deviation from the simple form of the original. We believe it describes *the fact*, but also that it trenches upon the province of the interpreter, and therefore we would not deviate from the English Authorized Version. Again, on Gen. iii. 24, we are told that "the cherubim are real creatures and not mere symbols." Once more, why translate "Adam" by "the man," in Gen. iv. 1, etc.? In iv. 25 and elsewhere it is allowed to stand; but why in iv. 25 and not in iv. 1? For popular purposes nothing is gained by departing from the usual spelling of proper names as Dr. Murphy often does; for example, we have "Amorah" for Gomorrah. Apart, however, from technical objections, and from the omitted notice of some peculiar constructions (as in Gen. xv. 2), we find much valuable matter in the volume. Perhaps some will wish there had been more direct allusion to current controversies, but it is apparent that without naming them the author has often had his mind upon them, and hence has expounded certain passages more definitely than he otherwise might have done. We earnestly hope that this work may win the attention it deserves, for in many respects it is adapted to usefulness, irrespectively of sundry critical views which will not command universal assent.

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*Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament.* By J. H. KURTZ, D.D.  
Translated by JAMES MARTIN, B.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

DR. KURTZ'S work on *Sacrificial Worship* has excited considerable

attention in Germany, and we have just received proof of the fact in a pamphlet by the author (*Recensentenunfug*), in which he discusses the demerits of two of his hostile reviewers (Drs. Kiel and Dieckhoff). The volume consists of four books, 1. General basis of the Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament; 2. The bleeding sacrifice; 3. The bloodless sacrifice; 4. Modification of the sacrificial worship in connexion with special seasons and circumstances. In his preface Dr. Kurtz reminds his readers that in 1842 he published his work *Das Mosaische Opfer*. He had intended to bring out a new edition of this, but circumstances so changed, and his own views so changed, that it became rather desirable that he should produce a new work, and this he has done. Although called a supplement to his *History of the Old Covenant*, it is a work by itself so far as it goes. Perhaps the work would have been more complete if Dr. Kurtz had given us a chapter on the origin of the idea of sacrifice, and another upon the subject of ante-Mosaic sacrifice in general. He has not done so, and we must be content with incidental references to the records of sacrifice during, perhaps, half the world's history. In its actual form the book is one likely to become useful, and we hope not much the less useful for the allusions to contemporary opinions in Germany, where the subject has given rise to far more controversy than among us.

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*History of the Christian Church, from the Reformation to the present time.* By J. H. KURTZ, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THE present volume is the third section of the history of the Church in its modern Germanic form of development. Everything is put into the shortest form, and by this means the author is enabled to exhibit in a single volume the four periods into which he distributes the subject of the whole section. These periods are the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Each of them is subdivided, and its topics are classified. For instance, we have in the sixteenth century, 1. The Reformation; 2. The Deformation; and 3. The Counter-Reformation. Under No. 1, again, we have (*a*) the establishment of the Reformation, and (*b*) the inner history of the Churches of the Reformation. Moreover, the contents of the whole of the period are ranged in thirty-one sections, and these sections again into particulars. The structure of the other periods is similar in principle. From the structure of the book our readers will readily infer that it is a manual for reference and consultation, a real *multum in parvo*, and not a milk and water dilution suitable for popular lending libraries. It strikes us that the author is generally correct in his account of continental matters, but often at fault in his treatment of topics bearing upon our own country. This is a common defect and easily accounted for; but happily it is no great loss to us because we have other sources of information. The fact, however, suggests the enquiry when we shall have such a Church history of Great Britain as shall be a history of Christianity among us, and not of the sect most favoured by the writer.

We refer, of course, chiefly to the times since the beginning of the Reformation. A thoroughly comprehensive and honestly impartial work of this sort is more than desirable. As a specimen of the absurd mistakes which do occur in Dr. Kurtz's volume we notice what will astonish the congregationalists,—the establishment of a Congregational Board in Queen Elizabeth's time, and the eventual emigration of the sect to North America (p. 99). English Baptists will be shocked to find themselves treated as "anti and extra-ecclesiastical matters" (pp. 204-5). The Church of England will miss the Act of Uniformity of 1662, and smile at its portrait at pp. 334-5. All will wonder at some of the forms which have been given or retained for some proper names. But still we believe the work will be valuable to those who can read it with discretion.

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*The Tübingen School, and its Antecedents ; a review of the History and present condition of modern Theology.* By R. W. MACKAY, M.A., Author of "The Progress of the Intellect." London: Williams and Norgate. 1863.

It is surely impossible to find on the shelves of any bookseller, a drier book than Mr. Mackay's *Tübingen School, and its Antecedents*. Of late, scepticism and denial have presented themselves to the literary world in a form only too attractive. In this book, on the other hand, even the most conservative theologians may well regret that what they would consider a bad cause should be badly stated. Truth always gains by thoroughness ; by the completest possible statement of its own facts and arguments, and the completest possible statement of the fictions and sophisms of error. Moreover, we are under real obligations to the Tübingen school, the extremest of Biblical critics, and we are bound in common fairness to acknowledge these obligations. Unfortunately as Dr. F. Baur and his fellow-labourers are presented to us in Mr. Mackay's pages, their goodness and learning are forgotten, or even concealed altogether by the painful obtrusiveness of a hard, unfeeling, sneering destructiveness. It surely might cost a pang to the most unsentimental of mankind, to tear away from men the spiritual supports upon which their whole lives have been resting, be those supports ever so inadequate. There is no such grief in Mr. Mackay. Rather he seems to find a sort of grim delight in convicting all divines and critics, with about five exceptions, of being knaves and fools.

It is extremely offensive to any thoughtful honest man to listen to gross misrepresentations even of his worst enemies. There are many good people, very good people indeed, who imagine that everybody who does not believe what they believe is an immoral reprobate. They are quite sure in their own minds no one would be a sceptic unless he had a base reason for being one.—"The fault is not in the head," they tell us, "it is in the heart; the carnal mind is unwilling to submit to the restraints of the Gospel, and therefore invents all manner of excuses for rejecting it. Infidelity is always founded upon vice." Of course

the pious people who argue in this way know nothing about infidelity, and they have a confused kind of notion that Hume, Tom Paine, Strauss, Baur, and the Bishop of Natal all believed the same thing. Every well-informed person knows that this is nonsense, and knows perfectly well that Christianity is endangered, so far as it can be endangered at all, by this indiscriminate and ridiculous mode of attacking its supposed enemies. But, surely, what is offensive and unrighteous in the advocates of the popular creed is equally unfair and unscholarly in those who are striving to subvert it; and on the whole, if we must choose between two very bad alternatives, we are strongly inclined to believe, that the chances of every infidel being a bad man are far greater than the chances of every divine being a perjured hypocrite. We accept neither alternative. Unfortunately ecclesiastical vestments do not protect their wearer from all danger of sin; and there are many good and noble men who have the misfortune to be infidels. But Mr. Mackay *does* seem to accept one of these alternatives, and imitates, not to say exaggerates, the silly injustice of those, whose silly injustice he with so much bitterness denounces:—

“The priest,” he says, “is the appropriate elementary civilizer of a barbarous age, subduing savage minds by superstitious terrors to observe the rudimentary decencies of social life, as prescribed for instance in the discipline of Orpheus, or the statutes of Leviticus and Menu. A church fashions the rude feeling of religion into form, represses its excess, and provides a safe channel for its legitimate expression. But its uses soon cease, and are always dearly purchased. Its initial postulate of infallibility opposes an invincible *non possumus* to projected change, and thus becomes an almost insurmountable barrier to improvement, perpetuating the superstitious imbecility which alone justifies its interference, and made its discipline appropriate. The impossibility of recognizing and embracing a higher truth leaves insincerity or ignorance the only alternative. The compression of religion into routine; the indolent surrender of conscience; the perversion of reverence to an idolatry of traditions, vestments, or books; the arrest of education—since education in clerical hands must always be controlled by the primary ecclesiastical conception of the nature of truth,—such are, generally speaking, the results of that momentous sacrifice to short-sighted expediency, that artificial confinement of an essentially progressive faculty within conventional limits, which is implied in a church.”—(p. 6, 7.)

These remarks are precisely parallel in wisdom and honesty, to the silliest and least honest hyperorthodox criticisms of infidelity. Of course they are true to a certain extent. There are to be found in the Church arrogant assumptions, routine, indolence, idolatry; but these are not essential to the existence of a church; on the contrary, they tend to its destruction. But anyhow, if ecclesiastics were ever so silly or ever so wicked, what has that to do with the arguments of the Tübingen school? It gives no validity to their arguments, it can by no sort of contrivance affect the authorship of the Epistles that have been attributed to St. Paul, or the four Gospels. Mr. Mackay has thus far done good service; he has given us a history, though dry and exceedingly uninteresting, of the progress of unbelief; which we are expected to consider identical with “the progress of the intellect.” We are told how people began to think that a part of the New Testament was not thoroughly trustworthy; and then, because they found

that a very silly theory they had hastily adopted about the authorship and infallibility of the Bible was not tenable, they frantically committed themselves to an equally silly though opposite theory, that no part of the Bible was trustworthy. Yet why should any part of the New Testament be attacked? how especially could its historical portion be disproved? Manifestly, only in one of two ways. Either by demonstrating that it is incompatible with well-ascertained and universally operating laws of nature, or by demonstrating that it is incompatible with well-ascertained facts derived from other sources. The miracles were denied, as incompatible with certain laws of nature. Into that controversy, however, a short notice like this affords no space to enter; though we may remark, that physical science and what are called the laws of nature are concerned only with phenomena; they have nothing whatever to do either with substance or cause. That the human animal is hot or cold, angry or amiable, physical science may determine; but what the human animal *is*, what that is which lies underneath these manifestations—that physical science has no means of ascertaining. It is obvious that all phenomena may be classified, and divided into those which precede and those which follow; and those which invariably precede may be called causes, and those which invariably follow may be called effects. But physical science can never determine what *causation* itself is, and *why* one set of phenomena should precede and the other follow. Theology in so far as it has to do with causes, and not simply with phenomena, lies wholly beyond the cognizance of physical science. To say that a certain effect was produced miraculously is only to suggest a hypothesis concerning its cause. That hypothesis concerning its cause may be right or wrong; but the rightness or wrongness can never be determined by physical science, because physical science is only concerned with phenomena, *and not with causation*.

The Tübingen school, however, is not a scientific, but a critical and historical school; it must, therefore, depend for its disproof of the New Testament, upon the assumption or proof that there are other well-ascertained facts incompatible with the New Testament facts. But how are these other facts ascertained? What sources, for example, of the life of Jesus Christ and the apostles are there, excepting the four Gospels, the "Acts of the Apostles," and the Epistles? What then can the Tübingen school do? It can take these different sources of information in turn; it can admit the validity of A for disproving the validity of B, and it can admit the validity of B for disproving the validity of A; and by this cheerful process can ultimately disprove everything. For example, there are certain profound differences and superficial contradictions between the first three Gospels and the fourth. What is easier than to set one against the other? First, St. John is right, then the other three are wrong. Secondly, the synoptists are right, and St. John is wrong. Then there are differences between the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. First, the Acts are right, and the Epistles wrong. Secondly, the Epistles are right, and the Acts are

wrong. And so *all* are wrong. Q.E.D. But if *all* are wrong, there is no foundation for the *disproof* that all are right.

How often divines and churches have been laughed to scorn for finding systems of doctrine in the New Testament. The Epistles are mere *letters*, unartistic, unsystematic. So they are. But the Tübingen school thinks otherwise. They are most elaborate productions; produced for a definite purpose, and tending to the desired result by all manner of crooked devices. A man deceitfully pretending to be St. Paul writes;—"lie not one to another." A man pretending to be St. John and knowing he was not, but forging for the sake of truth, writes "NO LIE is of the truth." St. Paul and the twelve were opposed—we know that from the "Galatians." The Acts were written with the clear, conscious desire to deceive and lie—to make St. Paul in harmony with the twelve—to lie to a generation perfectly well acquainted with all the facts. Surely the New Testament, on this shewing, is a very wicked and demoralizing book.

And what does the Tübingen school make of the fathers? Simply nothing. If they quoted books before they were written, or could be in general circulation, they were very stupid "old fogies" for doing so, "and there's an end on't." We tender our best thanks to Mr. Mackay. He has shewn us much of our own weakness, and has shewn us even more clearly the weakness of the Tübingen school. W. K.

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*Replies to the first and second parts of the Right Rev. the Bishop of Natal's "Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined."*

By FRANKE PARKER, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Luffington, Devon. Bell and Daldy. pp. 373.

WE have been deluged with replies to Bishop Colenso; a great many of which have contained a good deal less argument than vituperation, and indeed very many of them have borne more marks of haste and incompleteness, than has been desirable. If absence of vituperation, careful consideration and fair argument can recommend a book, we certainly think that Mr. F. Parker has a right to command attention. We think that he fairly convicts the bishop of over haste in jumping to conclusions, or want of circumspection in neglecting to take in a sufficiently wide horizon of fact before proceeding to draw, and still more to state, his conclusions.

Mr. Parker brings forward the actual genealogy of a family within the circle of his own friends, in which five generations occurred within ninety years, so that there need be no difficulty in accepting the account of the Book of Chronicles, which gives nine generations in the family of Joshua within one hundred and seventy-seven years. In another part of the same family five generations are spread over one hundred and fifty-seven years. Peculiarities thus would wear the guise rather of facts than of inventions.

With Mr. Parker's observations on slavery we fully agree; but we should have been disposed to enlarge somewhat more on the subject. The Mosaic dispensation was confessedly imperfect, and destined for

people in an imperfect state of civilization. Neither are existing institutions ignored or put an end to by God in his dealings with man, but rather man is put in the way of improving them, so that the good will eventually overcome the evil in them. The Bible nowhere condemns slavery; but its tone and spirit is such, that it must necessarily lead to its amelioration and gradual extinction. Slavery being a regularly recognized institution of the nations at the time of the Exodus, we cannot assent to the Bishop's horror at "Jehovah's tribute of slaves, thirty-two persons." "When St. Paul," says Mr. Parker, "reminds us that we can be Christians, whether 'slaves or freemen,' and when in 1 Cor. vii. 21, St. Paul says, 'Art thou called being a slave? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be free, use it rather;'" the context plainly shews that St. Paul means for the slave to use slavery rather than freedom, even if he might be made free. As St. Chrysostom says: "St. Paul would not have exhorted the slave to become a freeman, when he consoled him and shewed him that he was not at all injured; and whoever intends to live as a Christian only, when he gets into better circumstances, is in great danger of never living as a Christian."

The question of the introduction of the name of Jehovah, is treated at some length with considerable learning and ingenuity. After discussing the meaning of the word "name," and bringing a good many passages to bear upon it, Mr. Parker comes to the conclusion, that the name of Jehovah, as consisting of so many letters and sounds, was known, but that his office as the Redeemer of his people was not manifested before the time of Moses. Many people will probably be satisfied with this explanation; but for our own part we see many more elements of uncertainty in the early portion of Scripture history, than either Mr. Parker or Bishop Colenso. We do not know what the antediluvian language was. If it was not Hebrew, and Hebrew appears to be a comparatively late language, the word "Jehovah" must be either a translation or a conventional representative of some unknown word. And this tells at least as much against Bishop Colenso's theories as for them. Again, what was the language of Abraham? Was it Hebrew, or did he adopt the Canaanitish language, afterwards called Hebrew, which we find as a fact to be nearly identical with the Phœnician? We know that Hannibal and Ananias are explicable from the same source. Jacob and Laban use different languages in Genesis xxxi. 47. Laban calling the heap of stones *Jegar-sahadutha*, and Jacob *Galeed*. Did they notwithstanding communicate together through an interpreter or through the original language of Abraham, which was kept up in his family, though for external use he was compelled to adopt the Canaanitish? Were Leah and Rachel the original names of Jacob's wives, or their Hebrew equivalents? It is easy to see that the word "Jehovah" might thus be a conventional equivalent for an unknown word, without any falsification on the part of the sacred writers. But if this be true, Bishop Colenso's negative dogmatism is to the full as groundless as the positive dogmatism of more orthodox writers.

Mr. Parker lays great stress upon the Septuagint version—greater

indeed than the majority of Hebrew scholars would be likely to concede to him. We think that the relative claims of Hebrew MSS. and the LXX. version, have scarcely as yet been sufficiently tested for a decided conclusion to be come to on this subject. Dr. Davidson has published a small volume of various readings of the Hebrew, but as yet so little has been done in this way, that it would be mere presumption to commit ourselves to a positive opinion. Let Mr. Parker's arguments be weighed, and their true value assigned them by those who have time and knowledge to enter into the question.

The tone and temper of Mr. Parker's work is such, that we gladly wish him God speed, although on many points we feel compelled to suspend our judgment.

A. H. W.

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*Sermons preached on different occasions during the last twenty years.*

By the Rev. EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D. In two vols. London: Rivingtons.

THE first of these sermons is upon confession and the doctrine of the English Church thereupon. Dr. Goulburn is decidedly opposed to auricular confession as it is practised by the Roman Catholics, and he shews that in the Church of England it finds no countenance; the utmost that is conceded, is that recourse should be had to the clergyman by persons who have any burden upon their conscience. At the same time he admits in his second sermon, that the Romish confessional is founded on certain moral instincts. Men like to be true, and they resort to the priest to tell him what they are. They want sympathy, and they go to the priest to seek for it. But why do they not go at once to Christ, who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities? Why do they not follow the apostolic rule to confess their faults to "one another," and pray for one another? It is neither needful nor right to make any mere man, even though he be a priest, the keeper of our conscience, and the depository of its secrets. The Scriptures always represent the pardon of sin as connected with humble and hearty confession to God alone.

The third sermon is on "pure religion and undefiled," and shews that the religion of sinners under the influence of God's grace is something real, solid and substantial. The Gospel commands us to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, but it also reminds us that those who believe should be careful to maintain good works, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world. The sermon on "God keeping and breaking silence," is very excellent and practical; and shews, that although the Lord keeps silence under many provocations, He will one day shew that He is not indifferent to men's actions, and will bring them to judgment. In the fifth sermon we are reminded that the kingdom of God comes not with observation or outward display and pomp; that its progress in the world from the beginning has illustrated this principle; and that the Lord has his own good reasons for such a mode of accomplishing his purposes. "Jacob's dream," lifts us up to the contemplation of heavenly realities, and teaches us that in and through Christ we have



access to God and all his gifts. "The contagious influence of faithful prophesying," teaches us the power of holy example, and its blessed results. "Final impenitence," based upon the parable of the rich man, is suited to warn us of the great dangers we run in cherishing an evil heart of unbelief. The case of Judas exhibits a terrible and actual example of the doom of final impenitence, and of that sorrow which is not after a godly sort. We would call particular attention to the last sermon in the first volume—"The goodness and severity of God as manifested in the Atonement." This discourse was one of a series by different preachers: on "Christian faith and the Atonement," designed to counteract the views of modern sceptics on these subjects. The principal topics treated of in this sermon, are these;—that in studying all Divine truths, and specially a truth like this of the Atonement, we must be careful to accept with the utmost simplicity the intimations of holy Scripture; that the origin of the Atonement is to be sought in the righteous wrath of God against sin; to these are added various weighty considerations on the general subject. It is needless to remark how very valuable at this time is every lucid and thoroughly scriptural view of the Atonement.

The subjects in the second volume are not less happily chosen and treated than those in the first. Among them we may mention, "The search after wisdom," "Christ wielding the keys of death and of the world Unseen," and "The Dispensations." Besides these we would recommend the careful perusal of the sermons on "Human Instrumentality employed in Man's Salvation," "On preaching Christ Crucified," and "Have Salt in yourselves." It would be invidious to select one sermon as more worthy of attention than another, in a collection so manifestly good; but we may be thankful that the doctrinal and practical discourses are such as no evangelical Christian can read without pleasure and profit. We shall be surprized if these beautiful sermons are not extensively read.

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*The Testimony of the Heathen to the Truths of Holy Writ. A commentary on the Old and New Testaments, compiled almost exclusively from Greek and Latin authors of the Classical ages of Antiquity.* By Rev. THOMAS S. MILLINGTON. London: Seeley Jackson, and Halliday.

"PAGAN parallels" is a title which some would perhaps give to this handsome volume. It is the production of one who is partial to classical studies, but has not forgotten his Bible amid them. He acknowledges that in one form or another he has had many predecessors in the field which he has entered upon, and he gives a list of those to whom he has been most indebted. There are a few books not in his list which we should have expected to see there; one of these is old Jacob Duport's *Gnomologia Homeri*, a quarto volume of extracts from Homer compared with passages from other secular writers and the Bible. Another of the books not named is *Extracts from the Penta-*

*teuch compared with similar passages from Greek and Latin authors*, by Dr. Edward Popham; an ingenious work which appeared at Oxford in 1801. Both these works quote the original texts of the Greek and Latin authors consulted. Mr. Millington translates all his extracts, or rather gives them all in English. He prints them under the texts (also given at length) which they are designed to illustrate. In this way he proceeds from Genesis to Revelation. He prefixes notices of his principal authorities, and appends an alphabetical index at the close of the volume. Many of the passages quoted are very remarkable in their analogies to the texts they are employed to illustrate. It is evident that the work has involved a large expenditure of labour, and the result is, on the whole, satisfactory. But it is apparent that some of the resemblances are verbal rather than real, although even verbal coincidences are interesting. Many of the extracts are real and important illustrations of Scripture, and furnish useful testimonies to its genuineness and truthfulness. The work is one which earnest students of the Bible will be able to turn to good account, since probably never before were so many passages of profane writers brought together and compared with Scripture texts. Not that Mr. Millington would regard his book as more than a contribution in its department. We find in his pages many passages which we certainly had not observed, or had no knowledge of; although we miss some which we have ourselves recorded. To the majority of readers the volume will be an interesting and instructive novelty, and as such we have pleasure in calling attention to it.

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*The Gospel according to St. Matthew.* A New Translation with Brief Notes, and a Harmony of the Four Gospels. London: Bagster and Sons.

"J. H. GODWIN" appears at the end of the preface to this little volume, from which we gather that its author is Professor Godwin of the Independent College, St. John's Wood. The text adopted by the translator is mainly, but not wholly, the received text. The translation is designed to exhibit the sense of the original in the English of the present day. The notes are explanatory. The text is arranged in sections and paragraphs. The subsequent harmony is introduced to shew the relations of the Gospels to each other, as independent, consistent, and corroborative. A short introduction to St. Matthew precedes the translation. The translation, from the very fact that it is designedly in the English of the present day, exhibits various peculiarities. Thus, at the commencement, Matth. i. 1, "A family record of Jesus Christ, David's son, Abraham's son;" (ver. 2) "Abraham was the father of Isaac; and Isaac was the father of Jacob; and Jacob was the father of Judah and his brothers." Chapter xvi. 18, 19, are rendered in this form,—“And to thee I say, that thou art a stone, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not have power over it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom

of heaven; and whatever thou shalt bind on the earth will have been bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on the earth will have been loosed in heaven." The translation of the name Peter (a masculine form) is open to objection here, and finds no parallel in the Authorized Version except in John i. 42, where, by an unfortunate decision, as we think, it is rendered "a stone" instead of Peter. The masculine form does occur a few times in the Greek of the Old Testament. The other expressions, "will have been bound," and "will have been loosed," are not, we think, happy attempts to convey the force of the original; and we regard our old version as more appropriate. Nor do we feel reconciled to the translation of verses 25, 26, of the same chapter, "for whoever will save his life shall lose it; but whoever shall lose his life on my account, shall gain it. For what is a man profited if he gain the whole world but lose his life? Or what will a man give as a price for his life." Our own conviction is, that  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  should never be translated *life* without a strong reason for it. There is an enormous difficulty in the way of every man who tries to turn Greek into English, arising out of the widely different genius and grammatical structure of the two languages. This difficulty is increased when the attempt is to turn the Greek of the New Testament into the English of this generation. The homely and rugged simplicity—and greater purity—of the English of the first translators of the Bible among us, has advantages which no efforts at modernizing can cope with.—The notes in the volume before us are often very instructive, and always clear and intelligible, which is more than we can say of many notes. No one will say that in this case the commentary is more obscure than the text. A series of admirable practical lessons comes after the translation. The book well deserves attention.

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*Journal of a Tour in Italy, with reflections on the present condition and prospects of Religion in that Country.* By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D. Two vols. Second Edition, enlarged. London: Rivingtons.

THE additions to this edition are a preface; a letter by an Italian clergyman on the present state of religion in Italy; and a letter on the same subject by an anonymous writer. The letters in question are important documents, and should be read by all who feel any concern for the spiritual welfare of Italy. Canon Wordsworth's book is a record of facts and observations. His journey extended from the middle of May, 1862, to the beginning of July. The narrator proceeded by way of Bale, Milan, Pavia, Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence to Rome, and thence to Paris by way of Genoa and Turin. We have heard it said that the book is not profound enough, but if it had been more so, who would have read it? Our own idea is that it is its avoidance of the mere prosy style of men who go on travel as in a funeral procession, droning out the Dead March in Saul, which makes this book popular, and will make it useful. Look at the writings of Mr. Sey-

mour and Mr. Burgon, why are they read so much? Because they are the honest outspokenings of men who say what they think. So with this, it is to our minds one of the honestest books we have seen for some time. Its author is not afraid to call a spade a spade, nor ashamed to do it. His motto has been that saying of Juvenal's which he puts into the mouth of truth, "*Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio.*" The very qualities which recommend the work to some will render it an offence to others, and Canon Wordsworth has to expect an early niche in the index of prohibited books, because he has once more told the world the truth about Rome. This ought not to be; on the contrary, the papal court should do all it can to have the work read, for people will exclaim, "Is Rome so horrible a place? I must go to see it;" and they will go to see it, to the pecuniary advantage of Rome itself. It is because Rome has the character for being the *cloaca maxima* of superstition, and all sorts of tomfooleries and transparent frauds, and the moral and spiritual offscourings of the church, that it is so visited. Its palaces, its museums, libraries, ruins, and history go for less in public estimation than Pilate's staircase, and Peter's chains and bones, *et hocus pocus omnium gatherum*. One valuable relic Dr. Wordsworth saw at Rome—the Vatican MS., and he found Professor Müller of Padua at work upon it, and he tells us that free access can now be had to it. How desirable that it should be *now* collated accurately! We thank the learned author for the pleasant record of his travels, and for the valuable information which he frequently introduces in connection with places visited.

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1. *Who discovered the sources of the Nile?* By CHARLES T. BEKE, Ph.D. London: Williams and Norgate.
  2. *Notes on an Excursion to Harran in Padan-Aram, and thence over Mount Gilead and the Jordan to Shechem.* By CHARLES T. BEKE, Esq. With a Map. London: Clowes and Sons.
  3. *Views in Ethnography, the classification of Languages, the progress of Civilization, and the Natural History of Man.* By C. T. BEKE, Ph.D. London: Tayler and Francis.

1. In this pamphlet Dr. Beke gives us a letter to Sir R. J. Murchison, and another to Lord Ashburton. The chief aim of the author is to prove that among the moderns he may lay claim to the honour of the *theoretical* discovery of the sources of the Nile. Other topics are introduced, but the main point is sustained by such an appeal to facts, that every one at all interested in what all ought to be interested in, should read what Dr. Beke has to say. The true sources of the Nile seem to have been assigned very nearly to their proper position by the geographer Ptolemy.

2. Quite apart from the writer's opinion as to the situation of Padan-Aram and the Harran of Abraham, these notes are very interesting, and we hope no one will pass them over without giving them perusal. Our readers are quite aware that a good share of discussion

has been caused by Dr. Beke's proposal to identify the modern Harran-el-Awamid with the Harran of Scripture. The modern village lies some miles east of Damascus, whereas the Haran which is generally held to be the Biblical site is far away and east of the Euphrates. The zeal and earnestness with which Dr. Beke has maintained his view cannot but be commended. If we cannot agree with it, we are nevertheless under obligations to it for the agreeable narrative of an excursion over the ground upon which our traveller has fixed as the scene of important transactions in the lives of the patriarchs.

3. This is a reprint of a paper which first appeared in 1835. It touches upon questions which now excite a large amount of attention. With several of Dr. Beke's opinions we quite coincide, but we do not see our way to all his conclusions. The matters touched upon are highly important, and we very willingly call the notice of our readers to a pamphlet which deserves perusal, and from which some useful suggestions may be gathered.

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*Every-day Scripture Difficulties explained and illustrated.* By J. E. PRESCOTT, M.A. The Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Mark. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn.

THE object of this volume is to explain in a compendious form certain passages in the Gospels which may seem obscure or inconsistent. It is therefore designed for general readers. A short and plain introduction to the two first Gospels is prefixed. The annotations proceed in the regular order of the books from which the texts are selected, and foot notes are added with references to authorities and additional illustrations. The style is in accordance with the author's object, and the spirit of the work is every way commendable. It is plain that the book has been carefully prepared, and that its author is acquainted with the latest and best sources of information. We have examined the notes upon some of the more important texts, and have been much interested in them. We are pleased with the work, as an evidence of the intelligent appreciation of the difficulties which ordinary readers of the Gospels must encounter as soon as they begin to reflect upon what they read. Not only are these difficulties appreciated, they are met in a fair and enlightened spirit, and by one who loves, believes, and reverences the sacred pages. Such as will be at the pains to go through this volume will find it far more truly edifying than some of the more voluminous and verbose commentaries which mere sermonizers have produced, and far more satisfactory than some of the verbal exegeses to which learned men are not only prone, but to which they are too apt to limit their attention. Here we have in plain English the results of criticism and of meditation combined, and interspersed with appropriate archæological, topographical, and other illustrations. It is a very superior book.

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1. *The Genuineness of the Book of Daniel asserted on evidence external and internal.* By J. CONWAY WALTER, M.A. London: Longmans.
2. *The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, and other portions of Holy Scripture, with a correction of profane and an adjustment of Sacred Chronology.* By W. R. A. BOYLE. London: Rivingtons.

THE unusual number of books for review in this number, prevents us from inserting a combined notice of the above works as we expected. Of the second we have already spoken briefly in our number for last July, and should have treated it separately but for the appearance of Mr. Walter's book. The subject of these books is one of much interest and importance, and the books themselves deserve a full consideration. That of Mr. Boyle contains a large mass of facts and arguments, which it would be difficult to overthrow, and is one which may always be consulted for the multitudinous evidences which bear upon the case. The author is a barrister, and he confessedly holds a brief for Daniel, who has been put upon his trial by the accusing critics of our day. His plea for the defence is able and elaborate, although in some respects it is less pungent and conclusive from the very multitude of details. The work of Mr. Walter goes less fully into some of the evidences, and is generally not so elaborate. It defends the genuineness of Daniel in an orderly manner on three principal grounds,—antecedent probability, internal evidence, and historical testimony. To some extent, therefore, it goes over the same ground as the other volume, but less in the manner of a lawyer than of a preacher of the Gospel. As a consequence, in some respects, Mr. Walter's book is in a more popular form and style. We do not wish to weigh the one against the other; both are valuable as independent testimonies in favour of a remarkable portion of Holy Writ,—so remarkable, that if it can be defended, as we believe it can, successfully, the results in favour of believing criticism will be immensely great. We have pleasure in repeating our favourable opinion of Mr. Boyle's work, and in recommending the volume of Mr. Walter to our readers' attention.

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*An Exposition of the Prophet Ezekiel, with useful observations thereupon.* By WILLIAM GREENHILL, M.A. Revised and corrected by JAMES SHERMAN. Edinburgh: Nichol.

HERE we have a large octavo volume of about 850 pages, closely printed, in double columns, and all upon a single book of the Bible! Two similar tomes of the same series are devoted to Hosea and 2 Peter, while the fourth takes up the epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. A commentary on the whole Bible, on a like scale, would form a respectable library for a country pastor. Caryl on Job, and Manton on Psalm cxix., and others of the same calibre, could be readily procured. Ponderous as such works may sound, they are not always so to the reader, who will find that their authors managed to bring in a little about almost everything, and in all styles of composition—poetry

excepted. The four volumes of Mr. Sherman's series, reissued by Mr. Nichol at a fabulously low price, should enter the library of every poor parson, who will find them an unfailing resource. They are orthodox, evangelical, and Calvinistic, it is true, but they are not destitute of bold criticism and independent thought. They are sometimes quaint in style and partly obsolete in their vocabulary, but they are rare masters of English withal, and sometimes they rise to eloquence or melt in pathos. They are a school from which very much may be learned, and we have often found profit and satisfaction in listening to the holy lessons which they teach. Greenhill, in particular, was a man of very superior stamp, and it is to be hoped that his merits, which have been recognized for more than two centuries, will now be more widely known than ever. We congratulate Mr. Nichol on the completion of this series. The antipathy which some have to the name of Puritan, will do them harm if it prevents them from reaping the advantage to be derived from such works. We do not mean to say that any one now could with profit to his audience preach over again the lectures of Master Greenhill as they stand, with their quotations in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and their host of divisions and subdivisions. But no more could they preach the sermons of Bishop Andrews, or of Jeremy Taylor. Yet such substantial works, embodying so much genuine thought, real learning, and careful analysis, as well as other qualities, are admirably adapted to feed and strengthen the minds of readers, as well as to warm their hearts. Not the least recommendation of these volumes is the wonderful acquaintance with Scripture which their authors possessed. To the volume on Ezekiel is added a copious index of texts, and another of subjects.

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*The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus. With the Journal of a recent Visit to the Holy City, and a general sketch of the Topography of Jerusalem from the earliest times down to the Siege.* By THOMAS LEWIN, Esq. London: Longmans.

WE are glad to meet Mr. Lewin again on this ground. He enters heartily into his subject, and calmly and clearly states his opinions and the grounds of them. His narrative of the siege of Jerusalem is not the least interesting portion of this volume, as it is one of the most extraordinary episodes of human history. His familiarity with the scene of that terrible struggle is of much advantage to him in his account of it, and hence the graphic and life-like outline which he has given us. The journal of his visit to Jerusalem in the autumn of 1862, is a detailed statement of the observations which he made. Although his stay was brief, he teaches us that very much may be seen and done in a fortnight, quite enough in fact to enable the sojourner, not only to describe Jerusalem as it is, but also to ascertain very much respecting Jerusalem as it was. Of course everything depends on previous preparation and the right use of one's eyes. It is curious to observe how little some things change. Mr. Lewin saw

some women washing clothes in the waters of Siloam, and Antoninus Martyr, or whoever wrote the *Itinerary* which goes under his name, about A.D. 570, speaks of the washings in the waters of Siloam. The third part of this book, the sketch of Jerusalem, has been published before, but now appears with some revision. Much as we know of Jerusalem, its mysteries are not wholly cleared up, and we are thankful to patient and enterprising explorers like our author, who labour to obtain for us the fullest and most accurate information respecting the Holy City—the city which Jew, Mohammedan, and Christian alike agree to call by that name. The value of this interesting and well got up volume is increased by several excellent plans, including a large one of Jerusalem.

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*Ancient Egypt: its Antiquities, Religion, and History, to the close of the Old Testament period.* By the REV. GEORGE TREVOR, M.A.  
London: Religious Tract Society.

CANON TREVOR has produced a very neat and compact volume, overflowing with information and illustrations. We are happy to say that, so far as we can perceive, the information is correct, and the illustrations are accurately drawn. It is really important that Egyptian studies should be properly represented, and that the public should have surer guidance than that of Baron Bunsen on the one hand, or that of Sir G. C. Lewis on the other. The preposterous demands made upon our credulity by some of our Egyptologists is apt to create a revulsion, and to lead to the rejection of the results actually realized. The conflicting theories of these diligent explorers, prove that there is much which is not yet settled, and teach all of us humility in the presence of such a vast problem as that of Egypt. At present, we regard some things in this field of research as certain, some as doubtful, and some as unknown. The difficulty is to draw the line, or to draft these matters into their proper divisions. Canon Trevor has been successful in producing a book which the general public may confidently take up; one in which they ought to feel interested; and one from which they may gather much information. Bible students simply cannot afford to remain in utter ignorance about Egypt. Whether Jacob's family spent 215 or 430 years in that land, no matter; they spent a very long period there, and there they saw many things which all whose intellects are awake, must feel some curiosity to know. From the volume before us, by a short and easy method—in a good style and with many pictures—all who wish may learn much about the land of the Nile and the Pharaohs, much to illustrate and confirm the Bible record. The book is not intended for the young particularly we suppose, but they will be much interested in it.

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*The Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius.* Translated without abridgment, by T. J. CONANT. With a course of exercises and a Hebrew Chrestomathy, by the Translator. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

To praise the Grammar of Gesenius may appear to be superfluous, and to blame it will look like presumption. This edition has the recommendation of cheapness, and is, we believe, accurately printed, although the Hebrew type is rather small. Our main difficulty with the book is a practical one. Is not the time for a revision come? Why should young students now have placed in their hands only just so much as they had who learned Hebrew in 1839? The latest date we have found is at p. 8, in an announcement of vol. i. of the late Dr. Nordheimer's *Hebrew Grammar*. Dr. Nordheimer's second volume came out in 1841, and yet to this day it has not been announced in Professor Conant's *Gesenius*; to say nothing of many other important works which have been published in Hebrew Grammar during the last quarter of a century. Our acquaintance with Hebrew has made much progress in the time just named, owing to the rapid development of philological studies. Would it not, then, be to the interest of the proprietors of this valuable work to make it more valuable? The translator praises "the chaste simplicity and clearness" of the method of Gesenius, and he is right so far as simplicity and clearness can be predicated of works written before this. But we do not see how this version can maintain its ground, except by the mere force of cheapness and the name of Gesenius, against some other works which we refrain from naming. We venture to say too, that the course of exercises and the Chrestomathy at the end, have been more successful in giving learners the headache and heartache, than in "bringing them past the wearisome bitterness of learning." We willingly say that this is an excellent book, but candour has compelled us to say that it is capable of improvement by revision.

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*De Locis Sanctis quæ perambulavit Antoninus Martyr circa A.D. 570.*  
TITUS TOBLER. St. Gall.

THE distinguished editor of this little book is well known for his researches into the topography of Jerusalem, etc. He has sought out and collated several valuable MSS. and printed copies for this edition of Antoninus Martyr, and appended an essay and notes upon the text. The writer, whoever he was, records a journey or pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His travels extended from Antaradus into Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula, and back to Jerusalem and places farther north, including an excursion into Mesopotamia. The book swarms with fabulous accounts, notices of relics, miracles, etc., but it has an evident substratum of fact, and its topography appears to be altogether real. It is written in a corrupt Latin, but is generally intelligible, and many will no doubt be tempted to peruse it now Dr. Tobler has made it so very accessible. We hope to get a translation of it for our own pages.

*The Works of John Howe, M.A.* Vol. VI. "Funeral Sermons," etc.  
London : Religious Tract Society.

WE have already called attention to this admirable edition of the works of a man who was equally eminent as a thinker, a theologian, and a Christian. His writings prove that while he knew how to carry out his own principles, he was a man of large and liberal sympathies. Readers of these volumes will find nothing superficial, and if they light upon controversy they will not complain of its tone. The volume before us concludes the series. It contains funeral sermons preached by Howe, and a funeral sermon preached for him. A copious index to the whole six volumes is appended. The work is well printed on good paper. We have scarcely found an erratum. One in the index occurs and should be corrected, as it ascribes to Spinoza a *Manducatio*, instead of a *Manuductio* ; a material difference ! (Vol. vi., 445 at bottom.)

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*Arctic Discovery and Adventure.* With a Map. London : Religious Tract Society.

A VERY comprehensive compilation, setting forth the facts of arctic discovery and adventure during a thousand years, or from 861 to 1859. The book is evidently the result of assiduous research, and will not fail to be a great favourite with "ingenuous youth," if it has what it merits. It does not come exactly within our domain ; and yet we are all interested in the high moral worth as well as physical courage of some of the explorers : nor must we forget the heroic Christian devotion which has carried the Gospel among the inhabitants of the inhospitable and dreary desolations of the frozen north. One of the chapters is specially appropriated to the Greenland missions. The missions to the far north are still continued, and we have recently perused communications from them of thrilling interest.

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*The Key to the Exercises contained in the First Part of Dr. Kalisch's Hebrew Grammar.* By the AUTHOR. London : Longmans.

STUDENTS who have teachers and wish to learn, will abjure this book which Dr. Kalisch has been at the pains to compile for overtasked professors and the self-taught. The author has resolved that nothing shall be lacking on his part, but that he will do all he can do to make his valuable grammar complete and efficient. This key unlocks the one hundred and fourteen exercises of the first volume, and the supplementary extracts from the Bible. It will be useful for those for whom it is meant ; to the self-taught student especially, if he has the moral courage to use it aright,—that is to say writes out his exercises before he consults the key. As for those who adopt any other course, and begin or go on with the key before them, their case is hopeless ; they will never understand Hebrew.

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*The Gospel of Matthew in Arabic, printed with all the vowels, according to the simplified method of the Rev. Jules Ferrette of Damascus.* With an Introductory explanation. London: Printed by W. M. Watts.

THE printing of Arabic has long been difficult and expensive whenever vowels were necessary. No fewer than three lines of type were required. To facilitate the operation, Mr. Ferrete has invented a method by which only one line of type is needed, and all the vowels may be introduced. The specimen before us is printed in small characters of great beauty and clearness, and is, we feel assured, quite sufficient to recommend the scheme to the notice of missionary societies, and all who are interested in publishing Arabic. The editor says his plan is equally applicable to all languages with alphabets similar to the Arabic, and also to Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, etc. We sincerely wish the method may become general.

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*Specimen of a new edition of the Gospel of St. Luke, according to the Authorized Version.* Guernsey: T. M. Bichard.

AN extract from St. Luke's Gospel, in large type, divided into paragraphs and sections, with descriptive headings to the sections. The arrangement is designed to exhibit the sense as clearly as possible, and so far as the specimen extends it is remarkably successful. If the plan is carried out we are not sure whether it would not be well to insert the marginal renderings which really belong to the version. References to parallel passages are a commentary, and might or might not be added. We would have no edition of the English Bible printed without the marginal renderings. With these, and a judicious arrangement of the text, it is easy to see that plain readers may be greatly assisted in their endeavours to understand a book which is printed more, and edited less perhaps, than any other.

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*Transactions of the Chronological Institute of London.* Vol. II., Part IV. London: H. G. Bohn.

THIS part of the Chronological Institute's Transactions contains a compendium of Hebrew chronology from the reign of Solomon to the birth of Christ, by J. W. Bosanquet, Esq., who has frequently contributed papers on similar subjects to the pages of this Journal. The learned author has spared no labour in the execution of his task, and those whose attention is directed to such matters will find many things herein deserving of notice. We pronounce no opinion on the merits of the scheme, but we see enough to justify us in expressing a hope that our chronological readers will study this elaborate essay. The Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Tyrian, Median, and Lydian chronology for the same period was treated in a previous paper by the same writer.

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*Great Truths in very Plain Language.* By Rev. A. OXENDEN. Third Edition. London: W. Mackintosh.

A LITTLE book of five sermons, in a simple style and earnest tone, addressed to men's hearts and consciences. The subjects are Sin, Salvation for the Lost, Holy and Happy, Prayer, and Heaven and Hell. The author's doctrine is quite evangelical.

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*Contemplations on the Redeemer's Grace and Glory.* By a CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. London: W. Mackintosh.

BOOKS in this style are not common among us. They are more frequently written by members of the Romish communion. Yet when they agree in their principles and spirit with the teachings of Scripture, they are well adapted to stir up the languishing devotional feelings of Christians. We do not know why such a book as that before us should not become very popular. The contemplations are twelve, and appear to us to be very suitable for the private reading of Christians. To such we recommend this little manual.

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*Vorlesungen über die Lehrbegriffe der Kleineren Protestantischen Kirchen-parteien* von Dr. M. SCHNECKENBURGER. Herausgegeben von Dr. K. B. HUNDESHAGEN. Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

THE author of this work is dead, and his manuscript has been edited by Dr. Hundeshagen. It contains an Introduction, and lectures on Arminianism, Socinianism, Quakerism, Methodism, Moravianism, and Swedenborgianism. Each of these subjects appears to be treated with thoroughness and judgment.

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*Evangelischer Kalender.* - Jahrbuch für 1864. Herausgegeben von Dr. F. PIPER. Berlin.

THIS is one of the most interesting of the many almanacs published in Germany. Dr. Piper and other learned writers introduce biographical notices of great names in Church history and literature, and essays on important subjects. The principal article this year is on Rome the Eternal City, from the pen of the editor. We have pleasure in recommending it.

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*Chaldäisches Lesebuch aus den Targumin des Alten-Testaments Ausgewählt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen und einen vollständigen erklärenden Wort-Register versehen* von Dr. G. B. WINER. Neu bearbeitet von Dr. J. FURST. Leipsic.

THIS is a new and revised edition of Dr. Winer's Chaldee reading-book. It will be found valuable as an introduction to the language of the Targums, and as a companion to Dr. Winer's Chaldee grammar; though it may be used with any other grammar of the language. The book is cheap, compendious, and well arranged and edited.

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*Beiträge zum Schriftverständniss in Predigten von Dr. F. L. STEINMEYER.* Vol. I., third and revised edition. Berlin.

A SERIES of twenty expository lectures on various important passages of the New Testament. The volume is orthodox, and may be safely recommended for its execution.

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*Proposed Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem, with description of its Present State and Former Resources.* By JOHN IRWINE WHITTY, Civil Engineer, D.C.L., LL.D., M.A. Oxford and Dublin, F.R.G.S., Author of "Geology of Bear Island," "Anthracitic Coal of the Silurian System," "Coal Fields of the Lower Carboniferous Rocks," etc. And an Introduction by the Rev. Canon STANLEY, D.D., Chaplain to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Author of "Sinai and Palestine," etc. Illustrated with Maps and Drawings. London: Printed at the expense of the London Syrian Improvement Committee. W. J. Johnson, Fleet Street. 1863.

THE present work is a valuable contribution to our literature on the topography of Jerusalem; and will be read with great satisfaction by all who feel an interest in the welfare of the Holy City. We shall recur to this volume more at length in our next number.

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*Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern.* By JOHN LAURENCE VON MOSHEIM, D.D. A literal translation from the original Latin with copious additional notes, original and selected, by JAMES MURDOCK, D.D., and HENRY SOAMES, M.A. Edited and brought down to the present time by WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A. In three volumes. London: Longmans. 1863.

THIS handsomely printed edition is a revision of what we may call the trade edition. The translation of Dr. Murdock is recognized as the best in our language, and has been frequently printed under the auspices of various editors and publishers. For such as want a good edition and not simply or chiefly a cheap one, the present will have stronger claims than any other we know of. Mr. Soames was very well qualified for the position which he took as the English editor of Dr. Murdock. His edition of 1850 is one of our standard works, but like all books of its class it affords unlimited scope to annotators, and hence the new labours of Mr. Stubbs. "In the present edition the text of the last edition by Mr. Soames is retained; the notes of Dr. Murdock, of Schlegel, and of Mr. Soames, are corrected with some very slight retrenchment; a few occasional notes, and a chapter in continuation have been added by the editor." Mosheim's work is so well known that we need not characterize it; but those who wish to avail themselves of it in its most acceptable form, cannot do better than procure this carefully revised and well got up edition. The new chapter in continuation of Mr. Soame's sketch of the present century occupies about sixty-five pages, and brings down the narrative to the discussions connected with *Essays and Reviews*, and Bishop Colenso's volume on the *Pentateuch*.

*A Full Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the received Text of the New Testament.* To which is prefixed a Critical Introduction. By FREDERICK H. SCRIVENER, M.A. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. London: Bell and Daldy.

THE Introduction to this neat little volume supplies a lucid account of the discovery and publication of the *Codex Sinaiticus*; a palæographical description; a survey of the internal character of the text; and a consideration of the claims of Simonides to have been the writer. In this introductory matter there is not only embodied much that has already been observed, but also much that is new and important; constituting it probably the best account of the MS. in our language. The collation seems to be very exact, and to be everywhere worthy of Mr. Scrivener's conscientious regard to fidelity. Such as have not the original editions will find here nearly all they want for ordinary purposes; and those who have them will be thankful for the facilities afforded by this manual so far as the New Testament is concerned.

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*Notes and Dissertations; principally on difficulties in the Scriptures of the New Covenant.* By A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.

THIS volume contains for its magnitude an unusually large amount of critical conjectures, characterized by sound scholarship and judgment. Most of them have been already published in this Journal, and we think the author has been rightly advised to collect and give them to the world in a separate and consecutive form. Mr. Wratislaw is one of our most valued contributors, and on this account, as well as on account of the ingenious and yet solid rational and suggestive character of his book, we had hoped to give it an extended notice. In this we are disappointed, for the present at least, but we feel sure that our readers will have already formed a high estimate of the author's critical sagacity. The articles are seventy-six in number; seventy-two of them elucidative of Scripture texts; one upon "The Lord's Supper not a Passover," one upon the "Te Deum," and two others. We still hope to give a notice of this book more in accordance with its merits; but meanwhile we heartily recommend it to all sincere and intelligent students of God's Holy Word, as well deserving their careful attention, and fitted to throw light upon a number of difficult texts.

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*A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History.* Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. In three volumes. London: Murray.

WE can but record the completion of this important work, which on the score of research and scholarship excels everything else of the kind in our language, if not in all others. It is, of course, very much technical and scientific, and can hardly be said to represent any school of theology; but those who are investigating the branches to which it is specially devoted will find it a mine of wealth. Comparisons are

odious, or we should say that the topographical articles of Mr. George Grove are, as a whole, the best specimens of that kind of thing with which we have ever met. The one on the Dead Sea [*Sea, the Salt*] in the last volume is beyond all praise. The articles on Versions of the Bible, by Dr. Tregelles and others, are very elaborate, as are those on New Testament, Old Testament, and other great subjects.

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*A Biblical Cyclopædia or Dictionary of Eastern Antiquities, etc.*  
 Edited by JOHN EADIE, D.D. Parts II.—VIII. London :  
 W. Wesley.

A PORTABLE, cheap, and useful Dictionary of the Bible, and one the popularity of which is attested by the constant demand for new editions. It is well fitted for Sunday-school teachers, and general readers.

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*Cassell's Bible Dictionary.* Illustrated. Parts I.—IX. London :  
 Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

THE articles in this work are by different writers, and are therefore not all of equal merit; but the effort to bring before the reading public the results of learned inquiry, so far as it can be done, deserves all praise. The articles are many of them of a superior order, and it is the simple truth to say, that no popular Biblical dictionary in English ever embodied so much genuine matter. This work has a theological as well as a scientific aspect, and its theology is avowedly and unmistakably Biblical. We have noticed an occasional erratum, especially in the accents; but such things can hardly be avoided. We hope the book will be brought to a successful issue, and be the means of bringing vast stores of hitherto unavailable knowledge within the reach of multitudes. Nothing can be gained in the long run by keeping back from the masses the fruits of scholarship: on the contrary, the evil may be great; and therefore we rejoice in so well directed an endeavour as this, to give to our countrymen, generally, a cheap dictionary of the Bible far in advance of what the unprivileged have hitherto had compiled, with special reference to their wants.

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*The complete Works of Richard Sibbes, D.D.* Edited, with Memoir by  
 Rev. A. B. GROSART. Vols. IV., VI. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

WE have on other occasions directed attention to this rare specimen of an old English divine. Richard Sibbes was no doubt great in an age of great men. His works continue to be read and prized by the religious part of the community. Hence they have several times been published, though never in anything like so complete a form as now. The present is in many respects an edition to be commended, and it must take the place of *Standard Edition of Dr. Sibbes*. The labour bestowed by the editor, or rather editors, has been great, and hence we have every guarantee for the accuracy of the text.

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*Lost—but not for ever. My personal narrative of Starvation and Providence in the Australian Mountain Regions.* By Rev. R. W. VANDERKISTE. London: Nisbet and Co.

A BOOK for all readers, strikingly and earnestly written; incorporating important exhortations with the record of remarkable personal perils and deliverance. Well fitted to arrest attention and awaken an interest in the duties and claims of religion.

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*The Forty Days after our Lord's Resurrection.* By Rev. W. HANNA, LL.D. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

ON a former occasion we were happy to speak in very laudatory terms of a work on the "Last Day of our Lord's Passion," by Dr. Hanna. The present volume is supplementary to it, or at least a natural *sequitur*; and as it is characterized by the same attractions of style and tone, we expect it will be similarly popular. It is a very good book, and that is much to say.

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*Scenes in the Life of St. Peter.* A Biography and an Exposition. By JAMES SPENCE, M.A., D.D. London: Religious Tract Society.

A SERIES of chapters based upon the passages of the New Testament, in which prominence is given to St. Peter. The question whether St. Peter was ever bishop of the Church at Rome is considered in an appendix. With Dr. Spence we should hold that the New Testament does not contain even the shadow of an allusion to St. Peter's ever having been at Rome at all. The uninspired writers who locate him there as bishop, are however very ancient and numerous. No one has ever yet been able to explain satisfactorily this silence of Scripture so as to reconcile it with the common tradition. Dr. Spence's book is written in a clear and forcible style; with sound judgment; on high scriptural principles, and in a spirit of earnest piety. The work is beautifully got up, and is one which we very cordially recommend to intelligent Christian readers.

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*Platonis Phædo.* The *Phædo* of Plato edited with Introduction and Notes by W. D. GEDDES, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

THIS very nicely printed book is from an Aberdeen press, and, singularly enough, is said to be the first edition of a Platonic dialogue proceeding from Scotland. We cannot better indicate its character than by borrowing the words of the editor:—"The aim which I have chiefly had in view has been to concentrate around this portion of Plato illustrative collateral material drawn from ancient and modern thought, such as might enable the reader to enter on its study with a sympathetic appreciation both of the intrinsic value and of the historical effects of its speculations." The volume comprises a carefully written Introduction and Analysis, the Greek text in a bold clear type, with copious English notes; and a large body of supplementary notes also



in English. As the greatest effort of antiquity to realize and demonstrate the immortality of the soul, this work has ever been, and ever must be famous; and no Christian scholar should be unacquainted with it. Our sense of its importance is such that we propose to consider it in detail at an early period. Meanwhile, we beg to say that we have found this edition thorough, scholarlike, and reliable; and that we have pleasure in giving it our best recommendation to all who would read and understand the inimitable Phædo.

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*The Analogy of Thought and Nature investigated by Edward Vansittart Neale, M.A.* London: Williams and Norgate.

MR. NEALE has undertaken no light task. The vast domains of mind and of matter are before him, and his endeavour is to investigate their analogies. He starts with the process of thought in our own minds; he follows its results in the great metaphysical systems of ancient and modern Aryan thought, and he compares this process with the results of the study of nature exhibited in modern science. The book is therefore purely scientific, and does not enter upon the sphere of revelation, nor even upon the general questions of morality or religion. The effort has been to ascertain facts, whatever their possible bearing upon morals or religion. The first part treats of "the law of thought," in seven chapters; the second part is on the "history of thought," in three chapters; the third part is on the "divination of thought," in eight chapters; and to all these four appendices are added. No brief notice can adequately describe the breadth, profundity, variety and interest of this able book. It is truly *multum in parvo*, and will we think be of real service to those who are trying to work out some of the great problems which lie before us. The volume contains evidences of great originality, of very extensive reading, and of habits of close observation; and we imagine that the author has here spread before us the fruits of long and patient labour. He shews an equal familiarity with physical and mental science, and seems to have within his reach well-nigh all that has been written or done by what we may call representative men. We think the work one of unusual power and originality; and if our readers believe us, and even if they suppose we exaggerate, we advise them to procure it and judge for themselves. We do not say that we see our way to everything here propounded, but this is not to be expected; it does not prove Mr. Neale to be wrong, and it does not prevent us from saying that we like his independent and able book.

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*The New Testament for English Readers.* Containing the Authorized Version, with marginal corrections of readings and renderings, marginal references, and a critical and explanatory Commentary. By HENRY ALFORD, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. In two volumes. Vol. I., Part II.—*The Gospel of St. John and the Acts of the Apostles.* London: Rivingtons.

IN our last number, p. 192, we endeavoured to give something like a description of the plan of this useful undertaking. The second portion has reached us too late for anything like an adequate examination of it at present, but we are anxious that it should receive a brief notice at once.

This division contains the introductions to St. John's Gospel, and to the Acts of the Apostles, and the Commentary upon those two books. Dr. Alford accepts the tradition that St. John wrote the fourth Gospel as an eye and ear-witness, for Christian readers, and in view of certain corruptions of sacred doctrine; perhaps, between A.D. 70—85, and in Greek. He upholds the claim in behalf of Luke as author of the Acts, and replies to the pleas in favour of Silas in particular (see *J. S. L.*, Oct., 1850, and July, 1860). The date assigned to the book is A.D. 63. A chronological table is appended in illustration of Acts.

The Commentary is to a great extent explanatory, but the notes are generally and necessarily brief, often rather hinting at the idea of the text than developing it. A certain proportion of the notes is illustrative, and bears upon history, topography, etc. Some of the notes again are critical, occasionally, and in all cases of important variations, alluding to readings which differ from the text of the Authorized Version. The renderings of this version are frequently amended in the margin. Quotations from the Old Testament are traced to their sources as far as practicable. Upon one of these we venture to make a suggestion.

In John vii. 38, Jesus says, "He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." Hereupon Dean Alford says, "As the Scripture hath said, these words must apply to the words, 'out of his belly shall flow, etc,' since the words, 'he that believeth on me,' could not form part of the citation. But we look in vain for such a text in the Old Testament, and an apocryphal or lost canonical book is out of the question." Our supposition is that our Lord had in view Proverbs xviii. 4, which in the LXX. is a remarkable approximation to this *quoad sensum*. The idea, of course, is that streams of living water, that is, of holy words and influences will issue from the heart and mouth of the believer. The words in question may not be a verbal citation, but rather, *in accordance* with what Scripture says, it might be objected that our Lord would not refer to the Septuagint. We do not know that; and even if He would not, St. John might in drawing up his report. We hope this work will be extensively adopted for frequent consultation by private Christians.

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*We have also received the following:—*

- Salvation; or, Christ our All.—Redemption, or Christ our All.—Spiritual Triumph, or Christ our All. Three Tracts. London: W. Mackintosh.
- A Familiar Epistle to Robert J. Walker.—From an Old Acquaintance. London: Saunders, Otley and Co.
- Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik und Literatur. Leipsic: Herbig.
- Ein Jahr der Gnade in Jesu Christo. Part I. Die Zukunft des Menschensohnes, oder der Advents,—Weihnachts,—und Epiphanienkreis. Predigten von Dr. W. Hoffmann. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben.
- Standard Alphabets for reducing unwritten languages and foreign graphic systems to a uniform orthography in European letters. By C. R. Lepsius, D.D., etc. Second Edition. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Batracho-Myo-Machia: or, The Battle of the Frogs and Mice. An Homeric Fable; reproduced in Dramatic Blank Verse. By T. S. Norgate. London: Williams and Norgate.
- The Birthday of a Church. On the Laying of the Foundation-stone of All Saints' Church, Windsor, by Her Royal Highness the Crown Princess of Prussia. A Poem by Rev. S. J. Stone, B.A., Curate of Windsor. Second Edition. Windsor: Provest.
- Jésus dans l'Histoire. Examen de la Vie de Jésus par M. Renan. Par E. Hayet.
- L'Ecole Critique et Jésus-Christ. Apropos de la Vie de Jésus de M. Renan. Par E. de Pressensé.
- Personal Consecration. Inaugural Address before the Congregational Union. By E. Mellor, M.A. London: Jackson and Walford.
- The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined. By Bishop Colenso. The Part IV. London: Longmans.

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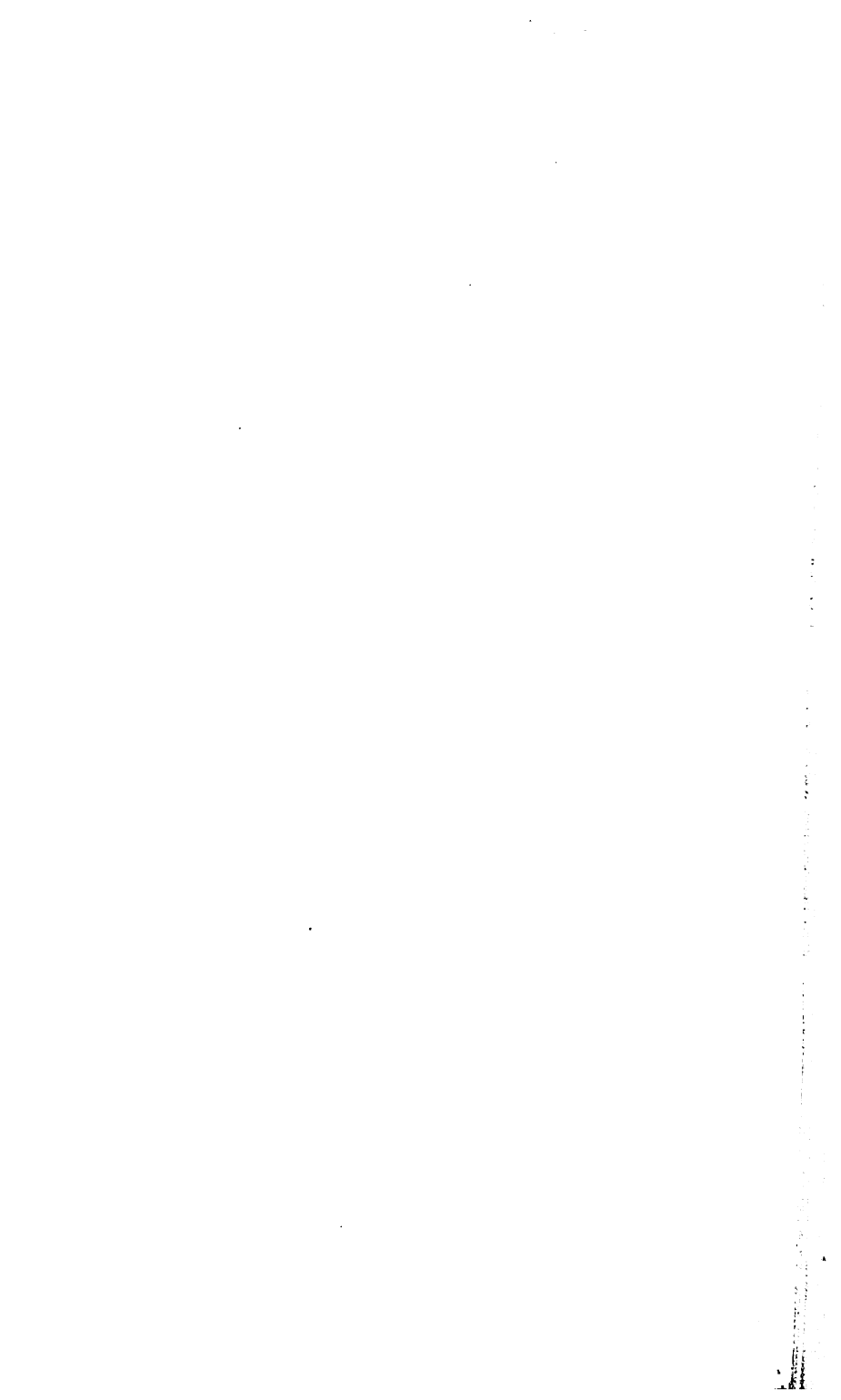
*\*\* Although we have exceeded our usual quantity in this Number by eight pages, owing to the extent of some valuable papers, several items of Correspondence, Book Notices, and Miscellanies, must stand over to appear in our next.*

END OF VOLUME IV. (NEW SERIES).









OCT 21 1929



